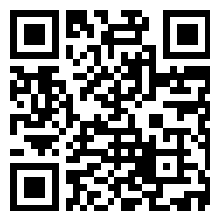

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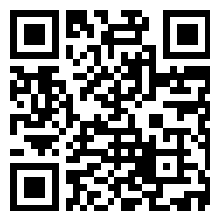
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SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

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1926

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VOLUME I, 1926

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CONTENTS

RECORDS OF THE ACADEMY

Historical Background and Prospect. (G. R. Coffman)	5
Report on the First Annual Meeting. (R. A. Cram)	451
Presidential Address: Mediaeval Gloom and Mediaeval Uniformity. (E. K. Rand)	253
Announcement of the First Election of Fellows	251

ARTICLES AND NOTES

H. M. AYRES, A Note on the School Pronunciation of Latin in England . .	440
C. H. BEESON, The Vocabulary of the <i>Annales Fuldenses</i>	31
A. BLOUNT, see "An Index of Abbreviations," etc.	
G. R. COFFMAN, The Mediaeval Academy of America: Historical Background and Prospect	5
A. S. COOK, Augustine's Journey from Rome to Richborough	375
C. C. COULTER and F. P. MAGOUN, Jr, Giraldus Cambrensis and Indo- Germanic Philology	104
X J. DICKINSON, The Mediaeval Conception of Kingship as developed in the <i>Policraticus</i> of John of Salisbury	308
A. M. FRIEND, Jr, Two Manuscripts of the School of St Denis	59
H. S. GEHMAN, The Arabic Bible in Spain	219
G. H. GEROULD, 'Tables' in Mediaeval Churches	439
A. GRISCOM, The Date of Composition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's <i>Historia</i> .	129
✓ J. H. HANFORD, The Progenitors of Golias	38
✓ C. H. HASKINS, The Spread of Ideas in the Middle Ages	19+
—, A Further Note on a Note	221
An Index of Abbreviations in Miss Alma Blount's Unpublished <i>Onomasticon Arthurianum</i>	190
F. P. MAGOUN, Jr, The <i>Compilation of St Albans</i> and the Old-French Alex- ander Romance	225
F. P. MAGOUN, Jr, and C. C. COULTER, see C. C. Coulter.	
✓ M. B. OGLE, Some Aspects of Mediaeval Latin Style	170
W. A. OLDFATHER, An Angular Form of a Rare Abbreviation for -S	443
<i>Onomasticon Arthurianum</i> , see "An Index of Abbreviations," etc.	
L. J. PAETOW, Exposition du Moyen Age	217
E. K. RAND, Editor's Preface	3
—, Chaucer in Error	222
—, Mediaeval Gloom and Mediaeval Uniformity	253

Contents

E. K. RAND, An Uncial Fragment of the <i>Letters of the Younger Pliny</i>	343
—, A Manuscript of Tours, No. 286	344
—, <i>Ioannes Saresberiensis Sillabizat</i>	447
J. R. REINHARD, The Literary Background of the <i>Chantefable</i>	157
D. V. THOMPSON, JR, <i>Liber de Coloribus Illuminatorum siue Pictorum</i> from <i>Sloane MS. No. 1754</i>	280
—, <i>Liber de Coloribus: Addenda and Corrigenda</i>	448
† J. W. THOMPSON, The Romance Text of the <i>Strassburg Oaths</i> . Was it Written in the Ninth Century?	410
L. THORNDIKE, Public Readings of New Works in Mediaeval Universities .	101
—, A Note on a Note to a Note	103
—, Relations of the Inquisition to Peter of Abano and Cecco d'Ascoli .	338
—, Yet Another Note in Reply to a Further Note on a Note	445
H. H. THORNTON, The Poems Ascribed to Frederick II and "Rex Fredericus" .	87
† —, The Poems Ascribed to King Enzo	398
E. H. WALLER, A Welsh Branch of the Arthur Family-Tree	344
J. F. WILLARD, Inland Transportation in England during the Fourteenth Century	361
A. WILMART, <i>Le Lectionnaire de Saint-Père</i>	269
—, Errata in " <i>Le Lectionnaire de Saint-Père</i> "	450
K. YOUNG, The Home of the Easter Play	71

REVIEWS

<i>Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi</i> , see <i>Bulletin DuCange</i> , etc.	
S. BATEMAN, <i>Simon de Montfort, His Life and Work</i> . (J. F. Willard)	351
H. BEENKEN, <i>Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland, 11. und 12. Jahrhundert</i> . (A. Kingsley Porter)	233
† C. H. BEESON, <i>A Primer of Medieval Latin</i> . (C. U. Clark)	110
M. BLOCH, <i>La Vie d'outre-tombe du Roi Salomon</i> . (G. H. Gerould)	243
<i>Bulletin DuCange: Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi</i> . (Sister A. Margaret) .	119
<i>Byzantion</i> , tome I. (R. P. Blake)	244
<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls</i> , Vols VI, VII, VIII. (J. F. Willard)	115
† C. U. CLARK and J. B. GAME, <i>Medieval and Late Latin Selections</i> . (C. H. Beeson)	113
A. S. COOK and C. B. TINKER, <i>Select Translations from Old English Poetry</i> . (F. P. Magoun, Jr)	460
P. DITTRICH and O. STANGE, <i>Vox Latina III: Ausgewählte Proben lateinischen</i> <i>Schriftums von 200 n. Chr. bis zur Gegenwart</i> . (C. U. Clark)	110
<i>Essays in Mediaeval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout</i> . (C. H. Haskins)	118
J. B. GAME and C. U. CLARK, see C. U. Clark	
S. GASELEE, <i>An Anthology of Medieval Latin</i> . (C. U. Clark)	110

Contents

E. GILSON, <i>La Philosophie au Moyen Age</i> . (J. H. Ryan)	116 + —
—, <i>Saint Thomas D'Aquin</i> . (J. H. Ryan)	116 + —
A. GRISCOM, <i>The "Book of Basingwerk" and MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. V.: A Study of Early Welsh Manuscripts</i> . (J. S. P. Tatlock)	353
K. P. HARRINGTON, <i>Mediaeval Latin</i> . (C. U. Clark)	110 +
P. T. HOFFMAN, <i>Der mittelalterliche Mensch</i> . (K. Francke)	114 +
F. LOT, see <i>Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge</i> , etc.	
<i>Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot par ses amis et ses élèves</i> . (C. H. Haskins)	352 —
H. P. V. NUNN, <i>An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin</i> . (C. U. Clark)	110
F. OLIGATI, J. S. ZYBURA, tr., <i>The Key to the Study of St Thomas</i> . (J. H. Ryan)	350
J. J. PARRY, <i>The Vita Merlini</i> . (J. S. P. Tatlock)	353
J. H. PITMAN, <i>The Riddles of Aldhelm: Text and Translation</i> . (F. P. Magoun, Jr)	357
R. L. POOLE, <i>Chronicles and Annals: A Brief Outline of their Origin and Growth</i> . (C. H. Haskins)	243
J. R. REINHARD, <i>Amadas et Ydoine, roman du xiii^e siècle</i> . (F. P. Magoun, Jr)	359
W. W. ROCKWELL, <i>Liber Miraculorum Ninivensium Sancti Cornelii Papae</i> . (G. H. Gerould)	242
R. K. ROOT, <i>The Book of Troilus and Criseyde by Geoffrey Chaucer</i> . (Announce- ment)	360
—, <i>The Book of Troilus and Criseyde by Geoffrey Chaucer</i> . (F. N. Robin- son)	461
E. H. SEHRT, <i>Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur altsächsischen Genesis</i> . (T. Starck)	456
O. STANGE and P. DITTRICH, see P. Dittrich.	
C. B. TINKER and A. S. COOK, see A. S. Cook.	
T. F. TOUT, see <i>Essays in Mediaeval History</i> , etc.	
M. de WULF, <i>Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale</i> , 5th rev. ed. (Announce- ment)	121
M. de WULF, E. C. MESSINGER, tr., <i>History of Mediaeval Philosophy</i> , Vol. I. (J. H. Ryan)	347 1
J. S. ZYBURA, ed., <i>Present-Day Thinkers and the New Scholasticism</i> . (J. H. Ryan)	454

CT

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

EDITOR'S PREFACE	E. K. RAND	3
THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA: HISTORICAL BACK- GROUND AND PROSPECT	G. R. COFFMAN	5
THE SPREAD OF IDEAS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.	C. H. HASKINS	19
THE VOCABULARY OF THE <i>ANNALES FULDENSES</i>	C. H. BEESON	31
THE PROGENITORS OF GOLIATH	J. H. HANFORD	38
TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SCHOOL OF ST DENIS	A. M. FRIEND	59
THE HOME OF THE EASTER PLAY.	K. YOUNG	71
THE POEMS ASCRIBED TO FREDERICK II AND "REX FREDERICUS"	H. H. THORNTON	87

NOTES

PUBLIC READING OF NEW WORKS IN MEDIAEVAL UNIVERSITIES	L. THORNDIKE	101
A NOTE ON A NOTE TO A NOTE	L. THORNDIKE	103
GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS AND INDO-GERMANIC PHILOLOGY	C. C. COULTER and F. P. MAGOUN, Jr.	104
REVIEWS		110

A Handful of Helps to the Study of Mediaeval Latin (C. U. Clark and C. H. Beeson); P. Th. Hoffmann, *Der Mittelalterliche Mensch* (K. Francke); *Calendar of the Fine Rolls*, Vols. VI, VII, and VIII (J. F. Willard); E. Gilson, *La Philosophie au Moyen Age* and *Saint Thomas D'Aquin* (J. F. Ryan); *Essays in Mediaeval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (C. H. Haskins); *Bulletin DuCange: Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Sister A. Margaret); M. De Wulf, *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale*, 5th rev. ed. (Announcement).

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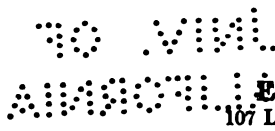
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE formation in America of a MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY is an encouraging sign of the times. The conception of the Middle Ages as a period of dark ignorance, crude taste, and blind fanaticism has few supporters left. It may safely be relegated to those outworn superstitions once most effectively damned if branded as mediaeval. It is more and more apparent that in letters and institutions, philosophy and art, the Middle Ages present a chapter in the development of civilization which the student of human progress can ill afford to neglect. We may no longer bestow a civil leer on

the Classics of an age that heard of none.

Rather, we turn to Jean de Meun, Dante, and Chaucer for beauties of form, heights of thought, and pleasant scenes from the comedy of life that can challenge comparison, certainly, with anything in the time of Pope. The MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY will, we hope, become a rallying point for the cultivation and study of these Middle Ages.

The history of the movement that has led to the establishment of the ACADEMY is presented in the following pages by Professor Coffman, who has been, from the start, the life of the undertaking. The ACADEMY embodies no visionary scheme of a few enthusiasts. It is the natural flower of an irresistible growth. [An interest in Mediaeval Latin is the bond that has united the members of this society from its inception; it is the bond that next to the Church, or, rather, as part and parcel of the Church, united the mediaeval communities themselves.] But while Mediaeval Latin is still the centre of our interests, it is not the circumference. The new ACADEMY would include in its scope the entire civilization of the Middle Ages. It welcomes to

membership any citizens of our country or other countries who cherish a lively and intelligent interest in mediaeval culture and its significance for our times.

(L) The ideals of the ACADEMY will be illustrated, we hope, in our journal, SPECULUM. The term Middle Ages we take in a widely comprehensive sense. On what lies outside, SPECULUM cannot well be focussed; its range is large enough as it is. But any aspect of an outlying period that bears significantly on the Middle Ages may appropriately be discussed in this journal. Just how many centuries are included in the Middle Ages everybody knows but no two can define in the same way. Following the example of St Augustine when confronted by a theological problem of some moment, we would answer, "If you ask us not, we know; if you ask us, we know not." Contributors need not consider dates and border-lines, if the point of their discourse is directed at what everybody would agree is Mediaeval. SPECULUM, this mirror to which we find it appropriate to give a Latin name, suggests the multitudinous mirrors in which the people of the Middle Ages liked to gaze at themselves and other folk — mirrors of history and doctrine and morals, mirrors of princes and lovers and fools. We intend no conscious follies, but we recognize satire, humor, and the joy of life as part of our aim. Art and beauty and poetry are a portion of our mediaeval heritage. Our contribution to the knowledge of those times must be scholarly, first of all, but scholarship must be arrayed, so far as possible, in a pleasing form. No subject is common or unclean merely because it deals with small details; but details must tend towards a significant goal. It is no less our purpose to avoid vain repetition, the popularization of matters well-known. We aim at what is new, in fact or statement or interpretation. Propaganda, in the recent and repellent sense of the word, is excluded from our programme. Our pages are open to contributors of all shades of belief or point of view. They may regard the Ages of Faith with adoration or with contempt, if only they will tell us something about them. It is thus our hope that from many angles, new glimpses of history and philosophy, letters and art will find reflection in this mirror of mediaeval life.]

E. K. R.

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PROSPECT

GEORGE R. COFFMAN

THE purpose of this article is to record briefly the history of a movement which has resulted in the incorporation on December 23, 1925, of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, and to suggest something of the possibilities of this organization for the future. That such an article should appear in the first number of SPECULUM is altogether fitting; for this journal is to be the official organ of the Academy.

The initial impulse to this movement was the presidential address delivered by Professor John M. Manly before the Modern Language Association of America in December, 1920.¹ Since his analysis of the situation then existing in modern languages applied equally to the whole field of mediaeval studies in this country, and since his recommendations for a comprehensive and constructive programme point the way to a new era in American humanistic scholarship, I indicate something of the content of his address. After commending the Association for its fine record of achievement during its thirty-seven years of existence, Professor Manly emphasized the lack of organized coöperative activity in that body:

In the field of research we see that everything has been left to the individual members. Not only has there been no attempt to direct the investigations, there has been equally no attempt to bring together, in any special way or for any special purpose, members who are working on subjects closely related or capable of being made of mutual service. . . . No great author or period has been fully studied; no great text or body of related texts has been edited; no problem of literary history or criticism has been made the object of concentrated and consistent study. . . . The general impression produced by a survey of our work is that it has been individual, casual, scrappy, and scattering. . . . if we needed financial support for some important undertaking and were asked to justify our appeal by reference to what we have done, we could not point to large, unified achievements.²

¹ "New Bottles, The President's Address," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1, March, 1921, pp. xlvī-lx of Proceedings for 1920.

² *Ibid.*, pp. xlvii-lviii.

Following this indictment, he suggested some important problems to be undertaken, and, after voicing the conviction that the necessary money for such tasks would be available if the cause was intelligently presented, he recommended that a programme be drawn up "for reorganization of the meetings with a view to greater specialization and greater stimulation of research; and the working out through carefully chosen committees of plans for important investigations and of methods of aiding individual investigators."

As a result of this recommendation one of the groups organized during 1921 chose as its subject "The Influence of Latin Culture on Mediaeval Literature," or, as it was later expressed, "Mediaeval Latin Studies." This original group was the nucleus of the present MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA.]

At the meeting of the Modern Language Association in Baltimore in December of the same year, this was constituted a permanent group or section. Its first session consisted of an animated committee-meeting at which the eighteen or twenty present carried on informal discussion, occasionally directing their remarks to the chairman when they had crystallized some suggestion. In the personnel of the group, in the trend of the discussion, and in the agenda of activities outlined for the following year, there was already a suggestion of a Mediaeval Academy of America. There were representatives — geographically well-distributed — from all departments of modern-language study in the leading American universities, as well as individuals from outside the academic circle, known to the public through their literary activities in modern fields. In response to an invitation of the chairman, Professor Rand had sent for discussion a comprehensive syllabus of suggested studies. This syllabus, along with numerous other suggestions which have been coming in for the past four years from the United States and abroad, may well form the basis for a programme of constructive studies to be considered by the ACADEMY. As to immediate procedure, all of those present recognized that, because of the vast scope of territory included in the subject assigned and because of the multitude of tasks to be undertaken, it was obviously impossible to make comprehensive assignments covering the whole field. So it was

agreed that a programme of work should be drawn up which would develop coöperation on the part of persons interested in Mediaeval-Latin literature. The following proposals were discussed:

1. To secure as complete a list as possible of scholars working in this field and, wherever possible, a statement of the tasks in which they are engaged.
2. To put workers in closely related projects into communication with one another.
3. To secure data as to what the colleges and the universities are doing in the field of Mediaeval Latin Studies.
4. To study possibilities for wider coöperation (i) with scholars in classics, history, philosophy, and related subjects or fields; (ii) with organizations and institutions, such as the Benedictine Order. It was suggested that in this group might be the beginnings of an Academy of Mediaeval Latin Culture.
5. To connect this group with scholars in the mediaeval field in England and on the Continent.
6. To concentrate upon a few concrete projects of general interest in this field, such as encouraging the introduction of specific courses in Mediaeval Latin in the graduate schools of the country.¹

A further indication that, in their inception, the aims of the group reached beyond the Modern Language Association is found in the following excerpt from a letter from the present writer, chairman of the group, to Professor Manly, general chairman of all of the Modern Language groups, written two weeks after the meeting in Baltimore:

I have in mind an advisory council consisting of such men as Professors Rand, Haskins, Tatlock, Allen, Grandgent, Paetow, Mr Carl Van Doren, and others representing the various fields and academic departments of Latin cultural interests. *Such a council might possibly develop into an Academy of Mediaeval-Latin Culture with a definite program.*

And a paragraph from a letter by Professor Rand, written a little later, indicates that he, too, from the first heartily approved of this suggestion:

¹ See *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXXVII, March, 1922; *Proceedings for 1921*, pp. xlii-xlix. The interested reader will find here also Professor Rand's syllabus.

The idea which you suggest of an Academy of Mediaeval Culture is certainly a splendid goal to look forward to. I can even imagine in the future that with the help of my friend, Ralph Adams Cram, the Academy will be locally situated in a Gothic monastery.

In these beginnings, then, and in all of the activities of this group and, later, of the committee of the American Council of Learned Societies up to the present, the interest has been centred primarily in Mediaeval Latin literature and in the varied aspects of Mediaeval Latinity. With this fact in mind the reader will readily understand why the group in the Modern Language Association turned at once to Professors Rand and Beeson. Obviously the first steps in any programme were to effect a simple organization, to discover the precise situation with regard to Mediaeval Latin in American educational institutions, and to encourage the introduction of specific courses in this subject in the graduate schools.

The first step taken to achieve these ends consisted in a conference between the chairman of the group and Professor Beeson, held in Chicago about two days after the session in Baltimore. The problem of an introductory course in Mediaeval Latin was the subject for discussion. Though at the present time there are several anthologies which might be used for such a course, no satisfactory text was then available. Professor Beeson finally expressed himself as willing to prepare an anthology for this purpose, provided he could be assured a publisher. A syllabus of the proposed selections, which he made during the following months, formed the basis for discussion in December, 1922, not only in the Modern Language Association but also in sections in the American Philological and Historical Associations. Professor Beeson's book appeared a few months ago.¹

During the spring of 1922 the organization of the committee in the Modern Language Association was completed. From the beginning two elements were kept in mind: that it must be national rather than sectional in character; and that it must enlist the services of the best Mediaeval Latinists from whatever department of study or from whatever learned society. In the first place, then, the country was divided geographically, with Professors Gerould and Tatlock as

¹ Cf. review, "A Handful of Helps to the Study of Mediaeval Latin," pp. 110 ff., *infra*.

chairmen for the East and for the Pacific Coast respectively; the present writer was appointed chairman for the Middle West and executive secretary of the group. In the second place, Professor Rand was persuaded to accept the general or advisory chairmanship. As a result of this organization, a uniform programme was presented in December, 1922, at meetings of the American Philological Association, the Modern Language Association, and the Pacific Coast Philological Association. As announced in a bulletin issued during the summer of 1922, the main purpose of this organization was "to synthesize in a constructive programme the efforts of all individuals or groups from classics, history, modern languages, philosophy, and related fields who are interested in the Latin cultural aspects of the Middle Ages."

The first definite project of the committee indicated above was a survey of the condition of Mediaeval-Latin studies in the graduate schools of this country. A subcommittee consisting of Professors Tatlock, Cross, and Brooke analyzed the data collected and prepared specific recommendations. Through the courtesy of the editors of that magazine, their report appeared in *Modern Philology*, XXI (1924), 309-315. The last two pages are packed with valuable suggestions and recommendations which deserve careful consideration, at the proper time, by the Council of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA. During this same year the secretary began to compile a mailing-list of those interested in the purposes of this group. This list now includes between five and six hundred names from all over the world. Indicative of the widespread interest in the various activities are letters received by the secretary from all parts of the United States, from Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries; also from a considerable number of business and professional people outside of the academic life.

After the meetings in December, 1922, it became evident that the interest had grown far beyond the organization with which it was then affiliated, and that some kind of reorganization which would give Mediaeval Latinists from the classics, history, and philosophy a place of equality with those from modern languages was necessary.

Two possibilities for such reorganization were considered by the committee: (1) the formation of an independent organization to be known as a society or academy for mediaeval studies; or (2) affiliation with some organization already in existence. At first the committee favored the former of these possibilities, but after correspondence and conference with Professor Haskins, chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies, Professor Rand, the general chairman, and the secretary, with the approval of the other two members, completed arrangements for the appointment of a committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies as a standing committee of the American Council of Learned Societies. The original committee as appointed by Professor Haskins consisted of Professors E. K. Rand (chairman), C. H. Beeson, M. De Wulf, G. H. Gerould, L. J. Paetow, J. S. P. Tatlock, J. W. Thompson, J. F. Willard, and the present writer as executive secretary. Since that time Professor H. M. Ayres and Mr John Nicholas Brown have been added to the committee.

During the year 1923 also, several other projects were proposed or initiated:

1. In response to urgent requests, Professor Paetow began a book, not yet completed, entitled *The Revival of Interest in Mediaeval Latin* with the following tentative table of contents: chapter i, "Latin in the Middle Ages"; chapter ii, "The Humanists and Mediaeval Latin,"; chapter iii, "Mediaeval Latin in the Modern Times"; chapter iv, "Latin as an International Auxiliary Language"; chapter v, "The Revival of Interest in Mediaeval Latin in the Twentieth Century." Each chapter is to include a critical bibliography.
2. In connection with the American Council of Learned Societies, the committee interested itself in the international project for a new Mediaeval-Latin dictionary. Professor Beeson, chairman of a special committee of the Council for this project, and American representative on the international committee, had attended the Union Académique Internationale in Brussels in April, 1922. The Union Académique Internationale, it may be explained here, is now committed to a Mediaeval-Latin lexicon to come down to about the year 1000. The organization is completed, the work distributed, and Paris is the centre, with Professor Goelzer of the Sorbonne as director.

3. Through Professor Gerould, in coöperation with the American Library Association, the committee proposed a plan for coöperative buying of Mediaeval-Latin materials so as to avoid unnecessary duplication. Professor Gerould suggested also a bibliography of Mediaeval-Latin materials in the libraries of this country. These are projects for the Academy to consider.
4. At the meeting of the British and American Professors of English at Columbia University in June, 1923, the active coöperation of the English scholars was enlisted. Dr G. G. Coulton of St Johns College, Cambridge University, agreed to sponsor the project in England. In the *Literary Supplement* of the *London Times* for November 1, 1923, appears a letter by him outlining the plans of the Committee and requesting the names of those interested. As a result of this announcement, between fifty and one hundred English scholars have written to Dr Coulton or to the secretary indicating their interest in the movement. The closing sentence of Dr Coulton's letter is significant as including a phrase which expresses one of the principal aims of the Academy: "To those who have felt the need of what the Provost of Eton once called, 'a clearing-house of mediaeval studies,' the energy of these American professors promises very effectual help." May our American Academy not be forgetful of its international opportunities!
5. The committee considered ways and means of publishing a journal devoted to mediaeval studies. It recommended that the publication contain, in addition to reports, special studies, reviews, and comprehensive bibliographies. And it suggested also a project for publishing in uniform edition translations of Mediaeval-Latin classics.
6. In November, 1923, the secretary prepared and mailed to almost four hundred persons interested in some aspect of Mediaeval-Latin studies a bulletin explanatory of the work of the committee.

In the meantime, while the Committee was getting its programme under way, Professor J. F. Willard, working independently, was preparing an annual bulletin on the progress of mediaeval studies in the United States. Through the courtesy of the University of Colorado, with some financial assistance from the American Council of Learned Societies this year, three numbers have already appeared.¹ These constitute a valuable and comprehensive source of information concerning the status of mediaeval studies in this country. In accordance with its general aims, the Committee for the past two years has

¹ *Progress of Mediaeval Studies in the United States of America*, compiled by James F. Willard, Professor of History, University of Colorado (Boulder, Colorado, May, 1923, 1924, 1925).

coöperated with Professor Willard by helping him secure data for this bulletin.

In addition to the "Report on the Status of Mediaeval-Latin Studies" and Professor Willard's bulletin mentioned above, the prominent activities for the year 1924 were: the initiation by Professor Beeson of work in this country on the Mediaeval Latin dictionary; the recommendation of a committee to raise funds for a journal of mediaeval studies; the establishment of closer connections with the Continent; the preparation of a special bulletin by the secretary; and a gift of three thousand dollars to be used toward a journal of mediaeval studies. To discover what difficulties would develop in connection with the Mediaeval Latin texts assigned to America, Professor Beeson set to work under his supervision a group of graduate students at the University of Chicago. During the spring the secretary met Mr Jean Malye, general delegate of the Association Guillaume Budé, an organization which through lectures, bulletins, and a publishing house "is engaged in restoring French classical scholarship to its proper high position." Mr Malye expressed a keen interest in our work and offered to give it publicity in France through his bulletins. Several enthusiastic letters came to the chairman from Germany, including one from Professor Paul Lehmann, Traube's successor at Munich; and Professor Maurice De Wulf of the University of Louvain has been among the most enthusiastic supporters of our enterprise. During the holiday season of this same year, special sessions in the Modern Language Association, in the American Philological Association, and in the American Historical Association were devoted to Mediaeval Latin. Professor Paetow presented before Section L of the American Association for the Advancement of Science plans for the proposed journal of mediaeval studies and for the dictionary. During this same year Dr Francis P. Magoun, Jr. accepted the chairmanship of a special committee for Establishing an Annual Bibliography of Mediaeval Latinity. He drew up a plan for procedure and had the initial stage of the work well in hand when plans for *SPECULUM* and for the Academy delayed further immediate activities.

Since the chairman and the secretary of the Committee were con-

vinced that funds were an immediate and imperative need for the realization of their programme, they centred their main efforts on effecting an organization for this purpose. To consider this problem, the secretary, with the approval of the chairman, issued a call for a meeting of the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies in New York on January 2d, 1925. They invited for a joint-meeting at that time the special subcommittee on Founding a Journal of Mediaeval Studies, which had been appointed some months before by the American Council of Learned Societies and of which Professor H. M. Ayres was chairman. The important event of the meeting was a telegram from Professor Rand, who was unable to be present, announcing that Mr John Nicholas Brown had given three thousand dollars towards establishing the journal, hoping but not stipulating that the two committees would raise the additional three thousand then estimated as needed for the first year. As a result of the discussion which followed, the leadership of the financial campaign was delegated to Professor Ayres, and the goal for the necessary endowment of the journal was set at one hundred thousand dollars. At this same meeting it was voted as the sense of the Committee that ultimately an Academy of Mediaeval Studies should be formed; Professor Rand was nominated to the American Council of Learned Societies as editor-in-chief of the mediaeval journal to be established; Mr Brown, Dr Magoun, and the present writer were appointed a committee to draw up with Professor Rand nominations for an editorial board to be submitted to the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies.

As soon as the American Council of Learned Societies had approved the vote of the committee in nominating Professor Rand editor-in-chief and had authorized the appointment of the editorial board as indicated above, the committee specially appointed proceeded to draw up a list of nominations for the editorial and advisory boards. With the approval of the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies Professor Rand appointed the managing and the publishing editors. After the editorial board had been approved by the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies, and an advisory board of eighteen had been selected by the same committee from a list of twenty-nine names submitted, Professor Haskins, as authorized by the American

Council of Learned Societies at its January meeting, named the editorial body as now officially constituted. As a result of the vote of the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies, the title chosen for the new magazine was *SPECULUM, A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES*.

We now come to the final stage of the activities leading to the *MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA*. On Friday afternoon, June 12, 1925, Mr John Nicholas Brown and Mr Ralph Adams Cram, in an afternoon meeting with Professor Rand at the Colonial Club in Cambridge, broached the idea of taking steps at once to found an academy which would include within its scope, in addition to Mediaeval Latin, all aspects of mediaeval civilization. The proposal was made the subject of discussion at a dinner at the Harvard Club in Boston on Friday evening, June 19, at which were present Professor Rand, Mr Brown, Mr Cram, Dr Magoun, and the present writer. At this dinner were drafted certain considerations. The first of these considerations represents a broadening of the aims drafted two years earlier by the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies:

- I. An Academy is essential to accomplish the ultimate objectives of the Committee on Mediaeval-Latin Studies: An understanding of the records of the Middle Ages and their significance in human history. This involves (1) Lists of Documents; (2) The edition or other reproduction of Documents; (3) Dictionaries and other linguistic helps; (4) Publications dealing with the whole field or with parts thereof; (5) The study of the relation of Mediaeval Latin to its Classical Background, to mediaeval vernacular literature, and to mediaeval and modern life and thought; (6) Provisions for research in the fields of Mediaeval Institutions, Mediaeval Art and Archaeology, Mediaeval Literature — various kinds of subventions.]
- II. An academy will most successfully coördinate various projects already initiated or proposed in the mediaeval field. These include:
 1. *SPECULUM, A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES*
 2. Dictionaries
 3. Bibliographies
 4. Publishing projects of various kinds.

- III. An academy will be a coördinating agency for all individuals and groups interested in mediaeval culture.
- IV. An academy is the logical next step for those interested in mediaeval studies to take in order to become a coördinate organization in the American Council of Learned Societies. ┘

Mr Brown and Mr Cram further pointed out that the proposal for an academy in the near future was a timely step in connection with *SPECULUM*, *A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES*, and other projects temporarily suspended because of lack of funds. Finally, it developed in the course of the dinner that pledges of six thousand dollars could be secured at once to initiate a national campaign. This proposal, with the accompanying considerations in support thereof, the secretary submitted to the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies in July. As a result of their approval of this proposal and of further resolutions submitted in October, Mr Brown (chairman), Mr Cram, and Professor Haskins were appointed a subcommittee on incorporation, and Mr Brown and Mr Cram accepted the invitation of the Committee to assume the financial leadership in the campaign for endowment.

It is well to pause here for a moment to summarize the more notable achievements of the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies during the past four years:

1. It has contributed its modest part toward the international revival of interest in mediaeval studies.
2. It has paved the way for international coöperation among students of mediaeval literature.
3. It has helped to develop a sense of solidarity and common purpose among individuals and organizations in America, interested in any aspect of mediaeval life and thought.
4. It has formulated a comprehensive and constructive programme of significance to all interested in the continuity of civilization.

5. Through the generous coöperation of Mr Brown it has made possible a publication devoted exclusively to matters mediaeval.

On the other hand, many of the projects enumerated above, as well as other valuable proposals, still lie buried in the secretary's files. Some require further study and some require funds.

A capable and responsive committee, a large, interested group outside, and the American Council of Learned Societies, which since 1923 has given financial assistance for clerical expenses, have made possible these achievements of the past four years. At the moment of writing the secretary recalls especially the contributions of Professors Manly, Allen, Haskins, Beeson, Willard, and Rand. The first of these goes down in our records as the critic and the seer. With him stands Professor P. S. Allen, who in December, 1921, preceding the meeting in Baltimore, first suggested the possibility of an academy and outlined a general plan of action which has proved most useful. For the past three years Professor Haskins has been a constant and helpful counsellor. The merits of Professor Beeson's *Primer of Medieval Latin* speak for themselves. Here the only word is a tribute to him as the maker of a much needed text-book. In such a task there is little glory for the scholar; but for the making of this book a genuine scholar was essential. Estimated in terms of time and energy, his contribution to Mediaeval Latin studies has probably been greater than that of any other individual. It is a pleasure also to make special mention of Professor Willard's work as compiler and editor of the bulletins on the progress of mediaeval studies in the United States. The fact that this is the contribution of a teacher in a western state-university, where conditions as to hours of labor and library facilities at best are not as favorable as in the leading universities in the East, is a splendid tribute to the individual initiative and spirit of coöperation of the mediaeval scholars in this country. None has shown a finer and more generous spirit than Professor Willard, and the fact that a western state-university provided funds for such an enterprise is a hopeful sign in these days when even academic interests are too often primarily in immediate and material

things. Finally, to the influential leadership, the tireless energy, the wise judgment, and the tempered optimism of Professor Rand all of us are most deeply indebted.

The next chapter in the development of mediaeval studies in America is still to be written. The purpose of the **MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA** as formulated by the incorporators is clear: (6) "To conduct, encourage, promote and support research, publication, and instruction in Mediaeval records, literature, languages, arts, archaeology, history, philosophy, science, life, and all other aspects of Mediaeval civilization by publications, by research, and by such other means as may be desirable, and to hold property for such purpose." The activities of the group in the Modern Language Association and of the Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies have been merely a preparation for the attainment of these larger objectives. The hope of the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies is that its heritage to the **ACADEMY** will be a combination of a comprehensive vision and practical projects. The interpretation of a thousand years of civilization is no small task, especially when as obscured and complex as those of the Middle Ages. It is a task which will require the coöperation and the creative energy of students of art, archaeology, folk-lore, government, law, literature, medicine, philosophy, theology and all other branches which help us comprehend our mediaeval ancestors. And it is a task fully as significant for modern civilization as the more notable discoveries in the field of the natural sciences. To accomplish this task, one of the functions of the new **ACADEMY** will be that of a coördinating office, a national and international clearing-house for all matters mediaeval. This means that the **ACADEMY** will not take over the activities of any institution, corporation, or learned society now in existence; rather will it foster that interest and coördinate activities already in being.

Finally, the **ACADEMY** will provide means to enable scholars to complete important investigations. Monographs or books on mediaeval themes will not need to be published abroad or at the partial expense of the author as has been the case of two notable works of the last few years. For all of these projects money is needed. Conser-

vative estimate places the minimum requirement at one million dollars. For such a need only Professor Manly's epic appeal is adequate:

The cynical among you are still objecting that such undertakings cost money, and that while money is poured out in large sums for research in physics and chemistry and metallurgy and botany and every other branch of the physical sciences, this support of research is due to the fact that business men see immediate practical returns from the development of these subjects. That it is easier to obtain money for subjects of this kind is true, but it is very far from being true that men and women of large wealth are interested only in subjects that pay in money. They are interested in any subject that awakens their imaginations by its significance for the large problems of human history and destiny. Astronomy has for many years obtained large sums for the equipment and support of the most subtle and recondite researches. No doubt astronomy has many practical uses, but it is not these which have enabled it to obtain the funds it needed: it has won by its appeal to the imagination of men. We of the humanities have been too reticent, too lacking in human fellowship. We too have stars in our firmament, systems as mysterious and fascinating as comets or double suns, but we have too seldom invited the public to look through our telescopes and share our visions of the strange and interesting processes by which the chaotic chatter of anthropoid apes has been organized in the wonderful fabric of human speech or their formless outbursts of emotion have after many centuries issued in lyric and drama. . . .

There is . . . plenty of money in the world, and the men and women who control it are ready to give it freely for visions — visions of all kinds — visions of food for starving peoples, visions of wider opportunities for cramped lives, visions of astronomical discoveries, or of excavations of long-buried civilizations, visions of dead poets and painters and lawgivers, visions of man in every stage of his long climb up from his feeble and brutish beginnings.¹

Our immediate task is to rise "to the highth of this great argument" and give men and women of wealth a vision of the wonderful possibilities of this new MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

¹ Professor John M. Manly, "New Bottles, The President's Address," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1, March, 1921, pp. lii, lvi-lvii of Proceedings for 1920.

THE SPREAD OF IDEAS IN THE MIDDLE AGES¹

By CHARLES HOMER HASKINS

IN THE general history of ideas an important chapter deals with the means by which ideas are carried from individual to individual and from group to group. The story is a long one, with the club and the sword and similar instruments of sweet reasonableness at one end, and the headline, the aeroplane, and the radio at the other, while slower and possibly more efficacious agencies lie between. The Middle Ages present a special phase of the subject, combining as they did static rural conditions and primitive modes of travel with a social structure which required a certain amount of communication between widely separated units of the same type, so that extreme localism in some respects coexisted with a common European civilization in others. Certain historians have accordingly stressed the regional, others the general, elements in mediaeval culture, with a tendency toward a vague and mystical *Volksgeist* on the one hand or an equally vague and mystical *Zeitgeist* on the other. A more realistic view of mediaeval society may be reached by considering briefly the more common ways by which ideas passed, and noting some matters toward which investigation may profitably be directed. This paper aims to suggest and illustrate by examples to which any one can easily add, rather than to present the results of a specific piece of research. The word "idea" is used, for lack of a better, to include not only abstract conceptions but new information of every sort, new themes and modes in literature, and new types in art.

In the Roman empire the ease of intercourse and communication was proverbial. What with the system of roads and bridges, the constant passing of troops, officials, and messengers, the free interchange of wares between distant provinces, and the habit of long journeys by sea and land, the amount of travel has been declared greater than was to be found again before the nineteenth century.²

¹ Read before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 12 November 1924, and before the American Historical Association, 30 December 1924.

² L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (New York, 1908-13), I, 322. Cf. M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1924).

For specific illustrations it is enough to recall the voyages of Paul of Tarsus; the vogue of Antioch, Athens, and Alexandria for western students; the Phrygian merchant who made seventy-two journeys to Rome; and the man of Cadiz who travelled all the way to Rome and back merely to set his eyes on the historian Livy. The result was a singularly uniform and cosmopolitan civilization throughout the Roman world, from which the local and provincial spirit was strikingly absent and through which ideas passed with singular ease and swiftness, as exemplified in the "ubiquitous professor" and in the spread of Christianity and other forms of Oriental religion.

This unity of life and ideas came to an end in the West with the Germanic invasions, and in the region of the Mediterranean with the Saracen conquests. Roads fell into disrepair, commerce dried up, education declined, and book-learning almost disappeared. Localism was writ large across the Europe of the early Middle Ages, the localism at first of the tribe and the estate, later shaping itself into those feudal and manorial units upon which mediaeval society rested. Both politically and socially these units were very nearly independent, and the exchange of products and ideas was reduced to a minimum. Under these conditions culture became regional, at the widest, and we witness the slow formation of those provincialisms which still survive so tenaciously — types of cottage roofs and schools of ecclesiastical architecture, local products of the soil and local cuisines, local costume and local custom, local saints and local beliefs, local dialects and folk-lore and literary traditions — all that mass of deep-rooted and full-bodied localisms which give to European life its variety and flavor and sense of age-long contact with the soil. Naturally ideas and information spread only slowly, and against great resistance, from one district to another; custom determined everything, and the type altered little from age to age. If this were all of mediaeval life, our theme were soon exhausted.

As a matter of fact, the spread of ideas in the Middle Ages is only in part a history of slow diffusion through the resisting medium of local habit and custom. It is chiefly concerned with the relations of scattered centres of another sort, stations of high tension, if you like, communicating with other stations of the same type with compara-

tively little reference to distance or the nature of the intervening space. Such centres, representing different social strata, consisted chiefly of monasteries and cathedrals, courts, towns, and universities.

That the church was the chief source of unity for mediaeval society is a commonplace which is not open to dispute. When, however, we pass beyond the fundamentals of law and creed and ritual to the cultural side of the church's influence, we must make certain distinctions. The church drew men to Rome, but only in small numbers before the twelfth century, when the growth of the canon law and the centralization of the papal monarchy began to compel or at least encourage the presence of ever-increasing numbers of litigants and petitioners and other visitors *ad limina Sanctorum Apostolorum*. The church sent men on distant pilgrimages, but the pilgrims moved to specific places by definite routes whose significance we are only beginning to understand. The church fostered ecclesiastical architecture, but the types of building and decoration show a strange combination of regional influences and of imitation of far distant types through the intermediary of pilgrims and travelling prelates and architects, like that Villard de Honnecourt whose surviving sketch-book shows him at Chartres and Lausanne and in Hungary as well as in his native Picardy. The history of ecclesiastical travel has much to teach us.

In the earlier Middle Ages the chief centres of intellectual life were the various monasteries, set like scattered islands of knowledge in a sea of ignorance and barbarism, and the spread of knowledge was chiefly from one such centre to another. Much of this intercourse was naturally local, but much of it also was at long distance, by routes which we do not yet fully understand. Thus the annals of a group of Anglo-Norman establishments were based on annals which came from the Rhine by way of Burgundy and went back ultimately to the Easter-tables of Bede. A detailed description of the opening of Charlemagne's tomb at Aachen by Otto III turns up unexpectedly at Novalesse on the Mount Cenis pass.¹ A noteworthy report of King John's condemnation by the court of Philip Augustus appears in the

¹ Th. Lindner, *Die Fabel von der Bestattung Karls des Grossen* (Aachen, 1898).

annals of Margam, on the Welsh border.¹ Bury St Edmunds in 1181-82 has a six-months' visit from the Norwegian archbishop Eystein.² Matthew Paris at St Albans had detailed information respecting the Tartars.³ The monks of Mont-Saint-Michel in Normandy were in close touch with those of Monte Santangelo on the east coast of Italy, where St Michael was also the patron. St Evroult in Normandy sent out daughter monasteries to Mileto, Venosa, and St Eufemia in Italy, where its local ritual, the *cantus Uticensis*, was sung long afterward.⁴ The miracles of St Nicholas, so important in the history of the religious drama, passed from the East *via* St Nicholas of Bari as far as Bec and Hildesheim, not only to churches dedicated to this patron saint but also to others along the road like S. Salvatore at Lucca,⁵ as attested by its portal. The monastic *confraternitates* often joined widely separated communities, and the mortuary *rotuli* travelled long distances. One of the best illustrations of the fallacy of a merely regional view is Traube's study of the so-called "national hands," in which he demonstrated that there was no such thing as a Merovingian or a Lombard book-hand, but only the handwriting of the several monastic *scriptoria*, with occasional monks passing from one to another, so that the manuscripts of Corbie in Gaul show closer resemblances to manuscripts of northern Italy than to those of Frankish neighbors.⁶

As time went on, the possibilities of monastic intercourse were enlarged and systematized by the formation of the great organizations of Cluni and Cîteaux with their chapters and visitations and systematic colonization; and the share of these orders in the spread of French culture to Germany and Spain has long been recognized by historians of art. In the Franciscan and Dominican orders the local

¹ F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy* (Manchester, 1913), pp. 463 ff.

² H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1921), pp. 89-95.

³ *Chronica Maiora*, *passim*.

⁴ Ordericus Vitalis (ed. A. Le Prévost, Paris, 1838-55), II, 89-91.

⁵ A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture* (Boston, 1923), nos. 224, 225; and, in general, G. R. Coffman, *A New Theory concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play* (Menasha, Wis., 1914), pp. 45-66; and in *Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 269-275.

⁶ See particularly his "Perrona Scottorum," *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy (phil.-hist. Kl., 1900), pp. 472-476; and in his *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* (Munich, 1909-1920), III, 97-99.

element almost disappears in a European organization which emphasizes uniformity and migration. At the hands of the friars historiography becomes general rather than local, while works of theology and erudition circulate freely among their new centres of study and teaching. Even the suppression of heresy by the Dominican Inquisition tends indirectly to favor the wide and rapid circulation of the standard manuals of doctrine and procedure.

The importance of the cathedral as an intellectual centre dates from the ninth century, when the maintenance of cathedral schools and the adoption of the common life of the canons were prescribed by the Carolingian legislation. In spite of their growing divergence of interests, bishop and chapter constituted for most purposes a single intellectual group, having affinities on the one hand with monastic communities and on the other with the feudal courts, while the ecclesiastical organization ensured a certain amount of communication within each province. The intellectual influence of the cathedral centres reached its height in the revival of the twelfth century, as seen in the spread of translations from the Arabic under Archbishop Raymond of Toledo, in the continental relations of Canterbury under Archbishops Theobald and Thomas Becket, and in the resort from all parts of Europe to the cathedral schools of northern France.

The court, feudal, episcopal, or royal, is important primarily for the circulation of the courtly type of literature, through the intermediary of jongleurs, trouvères, and *goliardi*, those "jongleurs of the clerical world." Such composers and colporteurs required patrons, and only the richer courts could offer them permanent support, so that they were perforce migratory, passing from court to court or moving about with a migratory patron, like the "Archpoet" with the archbishop of Cologne in the wake of Frederick Barbarossa. In this way the subject-matter of French poetry spread over western Europe; original French and Provençal lyrics acquired currency in Italy; and French became the courtly language of a large part of Latin Christendom. Even the larger courts shared their men of letters: Peter of Blois was the 'intimate friend' of the rulers of England and of Sicily; ¹ the poet Henry of Avranches, who has a pension and

¹ Stubbs, introduction to *Roger of Hoveden*, II, xcii.

a livery of wine from Henry III of England, is also found writing Latin verse for Frederick II.¹ And when whole courts wandered, as on the Crusades or the *Römerzüge* of the German emperors, the possibilities are obvious. Nor was the interchange of courts limited to belles-lettres. Otto III receives his Byzantine ideas of government through his mother; Manuel Comnenus sends Ptolemy's *Almagest* as a present to the king of Sicily; while Frederick II is in scientific correspondence with various Saracen sovereigns. King Roger draws to Palermo men of learning from every land, and one of his officials, Master Thomas Brown, is afterward found sitting at the Exchequer of Henry II.² Henry's Assize of Arms was, we are told, one of the administrative expedients imitated by Philip Augustus.³ French royal institutions were used as models in creating the central government of the Burgundian state, while this in turn served as a type for the Hapsburgs when Maximilian brought skilled officials from the Netherlands to Vienna. In a still different field lies the well-known fact of the spread of Wiclif's doctrines to Bohemia by the marriage of Richard II. Historians ought frequently to heed, not only Lavissee's reminder that kings, like other people, inherit from their mothers, but also the fact that kings and their courts are influenced by their wives and their wives' relatives and followers.

The towns of the Middle Ages were, like the monasteries, islands, islands, in this instance, of political and social freedom in a sea of rural bondage. While they grew in part by drawing to their free air serfs from the adjacent country, their relations were chiefly with other towns. Here again geographical proximity was not the only occasion for contact. If the urban constitution of Soissons was imitated chiefly by its immediate neighbors and in Burgundy, the *Etablissements* of Rouen spread through the Plantagenet dominions to the

¹ *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XVIII (1878), 482-492; *Monatschrift für die Geschichte West-Deutschlands*, IV (1878), 336-344. One of my students, Mr Josiah C. Russell, is preparing a study of Henry of Avranches.

² See my *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), chs. 9, 12; and, for Anglo-Sicilian relations, my articles in *English Historical Review*, XXVI (1911), 433-447, 641-665. On the foreign relations of the court of Henry II, see Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on Mediaeval and Modern History*, chs. 6 and 7; and my paper in the *Essays in Mediaeval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1925), pp. 71-77.

³ Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), p. 193.

Spanish frontier, while the customs of the Norman *bourg* of Breteuil have been traced as far as the Welsh border and Ireland.¹ The intercourse of towns was primarily commercial, and it is not easy to discern the manifold connections between the exchange of wares and the exchange of ideas.² Significant illustrations may be seen in the spread of Albigensian doctrines from Italy to France and the Low Countries through the industrial population — weaver (*textor*) and heretic were often synonymous in the North — and in the share of the Italian cities in the transmission of Byzantine learning to the West through Italians resident at Constantinople (Burgundio the Pisan, Moses of Bergamo, James of Venice, etc.). The intellectual rôle of the cities is, however, hard to follow in the case of the Crusades, for alongside the general enlargement of experience and of the subject-matter of romance there is little to set in the way of new scientific knowledge from the East. The Crusaders were, in the nature of the case, not scholars or men of ideas: the amount of translation from the Arabic in Palestine and Syria is surprisingly small, and even the new geographical learning filters very slowly indeed into the manuals of the thirteenth century.³ Fairs are an especially important phase of urban intercourse, while toward the close of the Middle Ages the growth of capitals and metropolitan markets in the case of London and Paris introduces a new relation whose intellectual implications need further study.⁴ By this time, too, there was a bourgeois literature and an urban art to communicate from town to town.

The importance of the mediaeval universities in the spread of knowledge may be taken for granted. By its very definition a *studium generale* was open to scholars from every country, and students and professors passed freely from one institution to another, carrying with them books and lecture-notes and whatever else their heads

¹ G. Bourgin, *La commune de Soissons* (Paris, 1908); A. Giry, *Les Etablissements de Rouen* (Paris, 1883-85); Mary Bateson, "The Laws of Breteuil," *English Historical Review*, XV-XVI (1900-1901).

² On the travel of merchants, see H. Pirenne, *Mediaeval Cities* (Princeton, 1925), and his references.

³ Haskins, *Mediaeval Science*, chs. 7, 10; J. K. Wright, *Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 1925), pp. 77, 87, 292.

⁴ T. F. Tout, *The Beginnings of a Modern Capital* (British Academy, 1923); the volumes of Marcel Poëte on mediaeval Paris; and the studies of N. S. B. Gras on the metropolitan market.

contained. These conditions secured easy communication between distant seats of learning, while they also favored the quick diffusion of knowledge through the educated class. Moreover, the universities were the earliest centres of the book trade as we understand it, and the provisions for the multiplication, sale, and rent of standard works helped these at least to travel by their own momentum. In these respects the university life of the later Middle Ages reached a comparatively close approximation to early modern conditions; the chief difference, to use Shaw's phrase, lay in the iconography. From the thirteenth century onward we can register with some definiteness the knowledge of the university world, and the principal scholastic writers have been the subject of minute investigation. The obscurer problems lie rather in the period immediately preceding — the sources and the course of the new Aristotle, the new medicine, and the new Euclid and Ptolemy; the origin and career of the northern translators who appear unheralded in Spain and Sicily; the routes by which their work passed northward, and its reception in the monastic and cathedral schools of the twelfth century. Michael Scot suddenly makes his appearance at Toledo in 1217; what was his earlier career? Daniel of Morley toward 1200 returned to England from Spain with "a precious multitude of books"; what did they contain? Did the Fourth Crusade have any discoverable relation to the spread of Greek learning? ¹

The migration of books is always an important phase of the migration of ideas, and this was peculiarly true in the Middle Ages, when scholarship depended in so large a degree upon antecedent authority. The choice spirits of all ages have influenced one another with surprising disregard of time and space, the spirit leaping from one to another as it listeth through the medium of the written page; but in the Middle Ages everything depended on the transmission of the written page. "Plato," says Coulton,² "might have shaken hands with Anselm," but actually he could not, for Anselm had access to no work of Plato save a part of the *Timaeus*. For various reasons books had very little independent movement of their own.

¹ We need more studies like that of Miss Dorothy Stimson, *The Gradual Acceptance of the Copernican Theory of the Universe* (Columbia University thesis. 1917).

² G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* (Cambridge, 1923), I, 21.

Being valued neither as furniture nor as fuel, they were closely connected with the centres of intellectual activity, and the migration of books is for the most part a phase of the intercourse between such centres.

I do not mean to claim exhaustiveness for the foregoing list of centres active in the spread of ideas and information, still less to imply that each worked at long range only and in entire isolation from the others. Recent studies show interrelations between the regular and the secular clergy in the same neighborhood,¹ and interpenetration of the lay and ecclesiastical worlds in art and music and literature to an extent once deemed impossible. Nevertheless, the main problem lies in tracing the connections within these respective sets of centres, the paths along which ideas moved from place to place. These obscurer topics require investigation at once more thorough and more comprehensive than heretofore. On the side of detailed research we need to know more of mediaeval roads viewed as lines of communication, and their relations to the centres of learning and literature. "In the beginning was the road," says Bédier.² The course of the roads is known, but the historical facts have not been sufficiently grouped about them and analyzed, their wayfaring life has not been sufficiently explored. We also need to study more closely the "wanderings and homes of manuscripts," the catalogues of mediaeval libraries, the content of the European mind at definite intervals.

A realistic study of the spread of knowledge must also take account of the rapidity of movement, the rate as well as the route. The report of Frederick Barbarossa's death in Asia Minor required four months to reach Germany, while the news of Richard's captivity in Austria reached England in about as many weeks. At this period the normal time from Rome to Canterbury was seven weeks, but urgent news could make the journey in four.³ Was the rapidity

¹ E. g., G. R. Coffman, "A New Approach to Mediaeval Latin Drama," *Modern Philology*, — XXII (1925), 239–271.

² *Les légendes épiques* (2d ed., Paris, 1914–1921), III, 367.

³ R. L. Poole, *The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury* (British Academy, 1924), p. 6. F. Ludwig, *Untersuchungen über die Reise- und Marschgeschwindigkeit im xii. und xiii. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1897), is useful so far as it goes.

with which books crossed Europe really so remarkable as it seemed to Renan? ¹ How fast did a book or a scholar actually travel? What do we know about the exchange of letters in the days before the post?

We also need to apply to the Latin literature of the period more of the searching investigation of origins and connections which has been applied to the vernacular, and to consider more closely the mutual relations of Latin and vernacular. Above all, for many of these problems we need the combined effort of the historian, the geographer, the philosopher, the philologist, and the archaeologist, specialists who have too often, especially in the United States, worked in the isolation of separate compartments.

May I reënforce this argument by citing two pieces of synthetic research performed by scholars outside the conventional field of history yet yielding results of wide significance to the historian? One is the work of Bédier on the mediaeval epic, the other the recent study of Romanesque sculpture by Arthur Kingsley Porter.² Bédier, by a brilliant combination of evidence drawn from literature, history, topography, and archaeology, places the French epics in an entirely new light, both as literary and as historical documents. Instead of resting upon songs and sagas of the earlier Middle Ages, these poems are shown to belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whose point of view and conditions of life they reflect, and to represent specific sources of information, not the vague and elusive *tout le monde* of popular tradition. They were composed in large measure for the travelling public of pilgrims and frequenters of fairs, and to a considerable degree out of local materials furnished by those concerned with specific shrines and relics, especially shrines situated along the great routes of pilgrimage, Roman roads then marked by masses of Roman ruins in which many of the imaginary scenes are localized. Written by travellers and for travellers, they must be interpreted in relation to Rome and Compostela, while they show the closest coöperation of classes once deemed entirely distinct, the monks and the jongleurs, and a free interpenetration of vernacular

¹ E. Renan, *Aerroës* (Paris, 1869), pp. 201 f.

² Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*, ed. cit.; A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture on the Pilgrimage Roads* (10 vols., Boston, 1923). I do not mean to imply that all the conclusions of these scholars have won universal acceptance.

and sacred literature. Even Charlemagne, grim conqueror of the Saxons and the Avars yet unknown to the northern epic, is annexed by the pilgrim and the crusader and turned toward the South and the pilgrims' roads, defending Rome from Saracens who had never been there in his time, celebrated above all for the three journeys consuming fourteen years in Spain, which he visited but once, blazoned forth on the windows at Chartres for the journey to Constantinople, and Jerusalem, which he never took at all. And Einhard's sentence on Roland, sometimes considered an interpolation, becomes the plausible origin of the *Chanson de Roland*, which celebrates specific shrines on the pilgrims' and crusaders' road to Spain, — a combination of the knightly and the clerical, of the Latin and the vernacular which breaks down all the water-tight compartments of convention.

To this demonstration of the inadequacy of merely regional and traditional explanations in the fluid material of literature Porter's study comes as a sort of corollary in the stiffer medium of stone. Here the theory of provincial schools of Romanesque architecture had already admitted Byzantine influences in Périgord and evident relationship between the sculpture of both sides of the Pyrenees. By close study of the monuments along the pilgrimage roads Porter shows the northward spread of Byzantine influences and the type of the Holy Sepulchre; but his fullest demonstration traces the diffusion of Cluniac art, first in Burgundy, then to England, Galicia, Germany, Apulia, and Palestine, but especially by the great road to the shrine of St James at Compostela, along which "there was a distinct tendency for Cluniac priories, for relics, and for monumental sculpture to gather."

This particular mode of inquiry is not, of course, to be imitated everywhere. The science of the Arabs came from Toledo, not Compostela; the religious ideas of St Francis did not spring from the French songs which he loved in his worldly youth; the sources of the *Canterbury Tales* cannot be traced at wayside stations on the Old Kent Road! What is of general validity for the spread of ideas is the emphasis upon habitual lines of communication, the fresh scrutiny of all available material, the realistic and many-sided approach, the combined attack at once by land and sea and air!

Finally, it may perhaps be suggested that the older modes of communicating ideas have not, even now, entirely disappeared, but survive in ways that are often overlooked. If the newer psychology detects mediaeval survivals in the contemporary mind of the individual, attention may also be called to their persistence in our social mind in the mechanism by which ideas pass from group to group. We are too prone to forget the prevalence of intellectual stratification and non-communicating groups. Ideas still move in part according to social and intellectual units. Thus universities and academies are still to a certain extent, though in a far less degree, islands in the midst of ignorance; scientists communicate with scientists, and professors with professors, without regard to the intervening medium. So Greenwich Village speaks to Greenwich Village, while the Ku Klux Klan may flourish in the shadow of great universities. Chesterton says somewhere that the Englishman who goes abroad to see different people could find greater surprises in his own kitchen. So-called high-brow movements in politics are too apt to think only of other high-brows and forget the "low-brow" voters of whom majorities are made. Illustrations could be multiplied indefinitely; I have meant merely to suggest that certain contemporary conditions can be more easily understood in the light of the intellectual history of earlier times.

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THE VOCABULARY OF THE *ANNALES FULDENSES*

By CHARLES H. BEESON

TO the uninitiated, who form their conclusion from a comparison of the imposing exterior of the seven volumes of DuCange with the modest single volume of Harper's Latin Dictionary, the contribution of the Middle Ages to the vocabulary of Mediaeval Latin is likely to be greatly exaggerated; to the occasional reader of mediaeval literary texts who is forced to seek aid from these volumes the impression is possibly even more exaggerated, since he finds that in spite of its bulk this great work so often fails him. Even scholars who have more than a speaking acquaintance with DuCange will not agree. The theologian, for whom DuCange is an encyclopædia rather than a dictionary, may entertain the belief that the work is fairly complete; the historian will not be so optimistic, though opinion may vary with the character of the text he happens to be reading. At the opposite extreme from the theologian will be found the student of literature; a scholar working in the field of Mediaeval Latin poetry has gone on record with the statement that he has consulted DuCange many times and has invariably been disappointed. For the first misconception mentioned above the encyclopaedic character of DuCange is to blame, for the second the fact that its interests are so largely theological.

It is the purpose of the present article to analyze the vocabulary of a short Mediaeval Latin text and to indicate the extent and character of the new elements that have entered into it.¹ The text chosen is the so-called *Annales Fuldenses* for the years 838-887 (ed. Kurze, pp. 29-107), the Latinity of which reveals a command of language on the part of the writer and a control of syntax that can scarcely be paralleled in the chronicles of the time. The subject matter and the simple style has enabled the writer to content himself with a vocabulary of comparatively modest dimensions; the choice of words is

¹ Most of the material has been taken from the collections made by my student Miss Helena Gamer, who is writing a dissertation for the Master's degree on the Vocabulary and Syntax of the *Annales*.

made with unusual precision. To what extent do our dictionaries meet the very moderate demands made by the reader of such a text?

The vocabulary of the *Annales* has been checked with DuCange and Forcellini-DeVit, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, the work which is to serve as the starting point for the new DuCange. Occasional reference is also made to Harper's Latin Dictionary.

The first considerable addition to the vocabulary of Classical Latin was the influx, in the early centuries of our era, of ecclesiastical words, many of them being Greek. These words are fairly well provided for, at least as far as the commoner ones are concerned, by Forcellini and Harper. This accounts for the fact that the number of new words in the *Annales* is so astonishingly small. The only word that is not found in any of the dictionaries is *compendior*, 'shorter' (for CL. *compendiosior*), *per viam compendiorum*, p. 88. Until another instance of the occurrence of this word is reported, it may be regarded with suspicion as being the product of a scribal error. New forms are: the superlative adverb *immanissime*, *boum pestilentia immanissime grassata est*, p. 92, and the names of the months *Septembrius*, *Octobrius* and *Novembrius*, which occur along with the CL. forms.

The following words are not found in Forcellini: *abbatia*, 'abbey,' p. 93; *archicapellanus*, 'archchaplain,' p. 30; *canonicus*, 'canon,' p. 97; *forconsilio* (*foris consilio*), 'plot against,' *eos forconsiliabo* (*v. l. fores consiliabo*), p. 55; *insignium* (= *insigne*), *missis ei insigniis regalibus*, p. 31; *marca*, 'border' 'boundary,' *quibus custodia commissa erat Pannonici limitis et Carantani atque per suos marcam ordinavit*, p. 55; *rationabiliter* (= *ratiocinabiliter* or *rationaliter*), *hereticus rationabiliter convictus est*, p. 38 (for the meaning cf. *episcopos deposuit et communione privavit; iuste quidem et canonice*, p. 57; *irrationabiliter* is found in Forcellini and Harper); *suffraganeus*, 'suffragan,' p. 70; *superista*, 'aedituus,' from *ὑπερίστυς*, p. 99; *vas-salus*, 'vassal,' p. 36. All of these words are found in DuCange, and *abbatia* and *canonicus* in Harper also.

In the case of new meanings of words found in the dictionaries, the situation is not so satisfactory. Many of the old words developed new meanings as the natural result of their evolution: e. g., *medians*, 'mediating,' from CL. 'being in the middle.' Others changed their

meanings to meet new conditions: e. g., *comes*, 'count.' Sometimes the new meaning is the opposite of the old one: e. g., *libertus*, 'freed-man,' is equivalent to *servus*, since this class was gradually reduced to a condition of servitude. Other words are often used with a meaning that only roughly corresponds to the original force and in consequence the precise meaning may be missed: e. g., *provincia* may be used of a territory which is under the jurisdiction of a count (= *comitatus*) or of a bishop (= *diocesis*); the nobles are referred to more or less loosely as *nobiles*, *primores*, *primates*, *optimates*, or even *senatus*. Occasionally a special or technical word has become generalized: e. g., *supplicatio* in CL. has reference to a definite ceremony of thanksgiving, in ML. it means 'supplication' 'prayer'; *lator* in CL. means the 'mover' or 'proposer' of a law, in ML. it means the 'bearer' of a letter or report. Finally some words have become specialized in meaning: e. g., *fideles* means the 'faithful subjects' of a king or has an ecclesiastical connotation. Our classical dictionaries generally furnish a clue to these new meanings, but not always. That many of them have escaped DuCange is not surprising when one considers the enormous mass of mediaeval literature. There is less excuse perhaps for his failure to register the new meanings from the *Annales* since he occasionally does cite this text in his definitions.

The following meanings are not found in any of the dictionaries: *abiectio*, 'deposition,' *audita imperatoris abiiectione*, p. 107; *confirmo*, *orientales Francos sibi fidelitatis iure confirmavit*, i. e., he assures their allegiance by having them perform the act of homage, p. 31; *constringo*, 'bind one's self,' *se iuramento constrinxit*, p. 93; *contestor*, 'testify' 'assert,' a weakening of the legal meaning, *contestatus est suae non fuisse voluntatis*, p. 36; *deficio*, 'scatter' 'disappear,' *qui evadere potuerunt, in civitates defecerunt*, p. 76; *dispono*, 'arrange' 'decide,' *cum fratrem invisere disposuisset*, p. 41; *exauctoror*, 'depose' 'put out of office,' *alios nonnullos exauctoravit et beneficia multo vilioribus dedit personis*, p. 100 (in CL. the word means 'discharge' a soldier,—DuCange has the noun *exauctoratio* in the mediaeval meaning); *expugnatio*, 'pursuit' of an enemy, not 'attack' on a place, *ab expugnatione hostium desistens*, p. 97; *imminens*, 'a coming on suddenly,'

not 'impending' as in CL., *propter imbrium inundationem et frigus imminens non modicum equorum suorum perpassi sunt damnum*, p. 104; *immunis* = *liberatus*, *a suo iuramento reddidit immunem*, p. 93; *lator*, 'reporter' 'witness,' *quantas caedes et incendia in itinere exercuerit, quia certum latorem non habui, scribere nolui*, p. 85 (Forcellini gives the meaning 'letter carrier' in addition to the legal meaning mentioned above); *mereor*, 'be deemed worthy,' *Deo gratias egit quia filium sanum recipere meruit*, p. 41; *modus*, 'contents' 'tenor,' *epistolam hunc modum continens*, p. 101; *nuntium*, 'messenger,' *Bohemorum nuntia rex audivit*, p. 83 (DuCange gives the meaning 'legatio'); *opus*, 'deed,' *voluntatem opere compleisset*, p. 41 (DuCange cites only '*opus turpe*' which he defines as '*crimen infame*'); *praeda* = *praedatio*, which also occurs in the *Annales*, *regnum illius praedis et incendiis fatigaverunt*, p. 101; *praefero*, 'place over' as prefect, *praelatus est Carantanis*, p. 57; *praevaleo* = *possum*, *ita ut nec manum quidem ad os mittere praevaleam*, p. 68; *relaxo*, 'forgive,' *ut [peccata] tibi relaxentur*, p. 77; *supplicatio*, 'entreaty,' not addressed to the gods, *regem crebris supplicationibus sollicitant*, p. 43; *texo* = *narro*, *quoniam per omnia longum est texere* (v. l., *explicare*) *qualiter desudaverit*, p. 54; *textus*, 'text' 'contents,' *cuius sacramenti textus theutonica lingua conscriptus*, p. 89; *vermes*, 'locusts,' *vermes quasi locustae, quattuor pennis volantes et sex pedes habentes, ab oriente venerunt et universam superficiem terrae instar nivis operuerunt, cuncta quae in agris et in pratis erant viridia, devastantes*, p. 79.

The following meanings are not found in Forcellini: *aspicio* = *pertineo*, *causae ad se ipsum specialiter aspicientes*, p. 42; *assisto*, 'advise,' *qui patri imperatoris assistere solebant*, p. 98 (in CL. used only of trial proceedings); *attestatio*, 'calling to witness' 'invoking,' *cum attestazione divini nominis*, p. 37; *beneficium*, 'benefice,' *vicum Dorestadum iure beneficii tenuit*, p. 39; *bicameratum*, 'of two rooms,' *oratorium bicameratum*, p. 78 (Forcellini defines, 'having two storeys'); *clusa*, 'mountain pass,' *clusis Alpium se defendere nititur*, p. 85; *comes*, 'count' and *comitatus*, the 'territory' under his jurisdiction, several cases; *confusio*, 'shame' 'disgrace,' *ad confusionem sui totiusque exercitus*, p. 99, so also *confusus*; *contradico*, 'forbid,' *illa contradicente ne tantum scelus committeret*, p. 40; *conventus genera-*

lis, 'diet,' p. 29; *cruz*, 'crucifix,' *cum reliquiis et crucibus*, p. 52; *dextrae*, 'alliance' 'compact,' *Behemi dextras sibi a Carlmanno dari petunt et accipiunt*, p. 70; *diaconus cardinalis*, 'cardinal deacon,' p. 104; *discursus*, 'despatch,' *frequentibus legatorum discursibus*, p. 53; *dissimulo*, 'refrain from,' an extension of the classical meaning 'neglect' 'disregard,' *ceteris omnibus a susceptione eius dissimulantibus*, p. 44; *episcopatus*, 'territory controlled by a bishop,' *cui rex episcopatus et abbatias et comitatus ad servitum delegavit*, p. 93; *excutio*, 'carry off,' *praedam excussit*, p. 100; *factio*, 'evil deed' 'plot,' *validissimam conspiracyonem libertorum legitimos dominos opprimere conantium, auctoribus factionibus capitali sententia damnatis, fortiter conpescuit*, p. 33; *huiuscemodi factionis*, p. 87 (referring to an invasion); *fidelis*, 'subject' 'vassal' (DuCange, 'qui fidem suam domino obstrinxit'), *ab aliis fidelibus imperatoris invitatus*, p. 102 (the ecclesiastical meaning does not occur in the *Annales*); *homo*, 'subject' 'man,' *homines Arabavi episcopi adversus dominum suum conspirantes*, p. 37; *homo*, 'body,' *mortalem hominem exuit* (i. e., *obiit*), p. 46; *infra* = *intra*, *infra quaesturam suam*, p. 43; *intervenio*, 'intercede,' *ut animae in tormentis positae suis apud Deum precibus intervenissent*, p. 82; *laudes*, 'lauds,' *clero laudes vespertinas celebrante*, p. 45; *libertus* = *servus*, *validissimam conspiracyonem libertorum legitimos dominos opprimere conantium*, p. 33; *medians*, 'acting as mediator,' *Liutberto mediante*, p. 65; *memoratus*, 'before mentioned,' *memoratus pontifex*, p. 91 (in Harper); *optimates*, 'nobles' 'vassals,' *principes et optimates regni*, p. 46; *paradisus*, 'entrance' 'vestibule' of a church, *in paradiso Sancti Petri*, p. 99; *placitum generale*, 'assembly' 'diet,' *placitum generale habuit*, p. 35 (*placitum*, 'decision,' also occurs, always in the singular; Forcellini cites only the plural form with this meaning); *praefero* = *praeficio*, *qui praelatus est Carantanis*, p. 56; *quaestionarius* and *quaestura*, meaning the 'judge,' and his 'district,' *ut nullus quaestionarius infra quaesturam causam susci-peret agendam*, p. 43; *remedium*, 'expiation' 'salvation,' *nisi verus Deus esset non afferret remedium*, p. 106 (DuCange cites only *remedium animae* with this meaning); *series*, 'contents' 'text,' *sacramenti series huiusmodi fuit*, p. 54, *partis utriusque scriptorum* ('letters') *seriem*, p. 58; *signum*, 'bell,' *signis ecclesiae concrepantibus*, p. 48;

sophista, 'scholar,' *Hrabanus sophista et sui temporis poetarum secundus nulli*, p. 35; *villa*, 'village' (in Harper), common; *viva voce* = *proprio ore*, *Karolus viva voce multis audientibus retulit*, p. 78.

All of these meanings are found in DuCange except *discursus*, which is provided for *s. v. discurrere*: *discurrere dicuntur missi qui mittuntur in provincias* and *praefero*, which is, however, implied in the definition of *praelatus*.

Mediaeval Latin developed many new idioms and constructions which received little or no attention from DuCange. When these have been registered in the new dictionary, it will be possible to write a Grammar of Mediaeval Latin.

The following departures from the classical idiom may be noted (the list is not complete). *Adhibeo* is used with a dative, *comites suis adhibens consiliis*, p. 65; *ascendo*, 'go up' a river, *per alveum Rheni fluminis ascendentes*, p. 100 (this verb is transitive in Forcellini, but the absolute use is common in the Vulgate); *caro* is always plural, which is rare in CL.; *coepi* is used superfluously, *si contra eos pugnare coeperimus non eos sine cruenta obtinebimus victoria*, p. 80; *in coniugem accepit*, p. 36 occurs for CL. *in matrimonium duxit*; *constitutus* is used as a substitute for the present participle of *sum*; so also *positus* and *consistens*; *cum suis consiliatus*, p. 98, is used where CL. would use *consulo* with the accusative; *corripio* is used, like CL. *arguo*, with the genitive, *infidelitatis correptus*, p. 102; *debeo* is used as a future tense sign, *iurabant quod nullus deinceps regnum inquietare deberet*, p. 79; *diem ultimum clausit* is used for CL. *diem supremum obiit*, p. 31; *dirigo*, 'send' is frequent with a person as object, instead of a thing, as in Forcellini and Harper; *evacuo* is used with a separative ablative, *Rhenus cuncta loca sibi contigua omnibus frugibus et lino et foeno evacuavit*, p. 104; *firmo* is followed by a subjunctive clause instead of an infinitive, *iuramento firmans ne quicquam deinceps machinaretur*, p. 55; *habeo* is used as a general purpose word, *eo quod ibi montes initium habeant*, p. 51; *graves combusturas habuisse reperti sunt*, p. 45; *conventum habuit*, p. 55; *colloquium habens*, p. 72; *idem* is used for the definite article; *ille* = *is* and *suus*; *immunis* is used with *de* and the ablative where CL. uses the genitive, ablative, or ablative with *a*, *de omnibus criminibus se ostendit*

immunem, p. 52; the use of *de* for *ab* or *ex* is common in all separative constructions; *is* = *suus*; *iste* = *hic*, *ille* and *suus*; *iuro* is used with *in* instead of CL. *per*, *in reliquiis* [sanctorum] *iuravi*, p. 68; *obnoxius* occurs with the ablative instead of the genitive or dative, *crimine periurii non tenetur obnoxius*, p. 93; *omitto* is used with *quin* instead of an infinitive clause, *noluit omittere quin expleret*, p. 71; *Deum* (CL. *a Deo*) *postula ut relaxentur*, p. 77; *proficiscor* is used superfluously, *exercitibus ire profectis*, p. 49 (cf. Eng. 'start to go'); *qualiter* = *ut*, *nisus est qualiter denegaret*, p. 90; *regno* is used with *super* instead of *in*, *Hlutharium super se regnare cupientes*, p. 46 (cf. *ut aut ipse super eos regnum susciperet*, p. 43); *quia* is used for *nam*, p. 46; *quidem* . . . *vero* occurs several times for *μεν* . . . *δε*; *rebello* is used for *resistere* in the literal sense, *cum tantae multitudini rebellare timuissent*, p. 102; *rogo* is used with an infinitive clause instead of a subjunctive, *rogabant in bonum monstra converti*, p. 71; *sive* . . . *sive* = *et* . . . *et*; *succedo* is used with an ablative phrase instead of an accusative phrase, *qui patri successit in regno*, p. 39 (elsewhere also the distinction between *motion to a place* and *place where* is not observed).

The results of this examination of a short text will serve to throw some light on the character of the task that confronts the revisers of DuCange and on the importance and necessity of this great undertaking.

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THE PROGENITORS OF GOLIAS

By JAMES HOLLY HANFORD

THE name and fame of Bishop Golias as an incarnation of the libertine spirit in mediaeval culture have been familiar enough to students since the publication in 1841 of Thomas Wright's *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*.¹ Titular author of a score of satirical and humorous compositions in Latin accentual verse, noticed early in the thirteenth century by Giraldus Cambrensis as a certain *parasitus, gulositate et leccacitate famosissimus*, of his own day, associated with the term "goliard" as the chief or patron of a kind of international *Bund*, the so called *ordo vagorum*, he is one of the focal points of an important field of mediaeval enquiry and, as such, has provoked much scholarly curiosity. The net result of all discussion thus far has been a disputed etymology and the verdict that Golias, in spite of the veracious Gerald, must be accounted a mediaeval myth.

A myth assuredly he is. The suggested identification with Walter Map has never been seriously maintained. The divers origins of the poems to which the fictitious designation is attached in manuscripts of the thirteenth century and later is proved beyond a doubt. The Philistine Archbishop bears too obvious a kinship with his cousin, the Abbot of Cokaigue, and fits too nicely into the ancestry of Pantagruel² to be other than an analogous grotesque creation of the mediaeval mind. It remains to anatomize the conception itself, to trace the heredity of Golias in turn and to discover, if not the single conscious creator of so prolific an idea, at least the definite traditions which merged to give it being.

We may consider first the roster of the works which actually bear in one manuscript or another the name of Golias and are therefore his authentic image as presented to the readers of such *nugae* in the later

¹ Published by the Camden Society.

² Noted by J. M. Manly, 'Familia Goliae,' *Modern Philology*, V (1907-08), 208-209. See Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, chapter I.

Middle Ages. There are apparently twenty of them in all,¹ fourteen in the "goliardic stanza," three in other accentual rhythms, two in leonine hexameters, and one in prose. The name Goliath, in various forms, occurs in each case in the rubric. One of the poems² is assigned not to Goliath himself but to a *discipulus Goliae*, and in another,³ the *Epistola Goliae ad Confratres Gallicos*, the ascription is contradicted by the text, for the scapegrace Richard, who commends a travelling friend to the merry toppers of the order in France, describes himself as an *Anglus Goliardus, obediens et humilis frater non bastardus*. In another piece, *Goliath de Coniuge non ducenda*,⁴ the titular author names himself in the text. He is on the point of marriage when he is divinely exhorted to abstain:

Goliath igitur uxorem fugiat.

This is the only instance of the sort. Elsewhere the personal application is a matter of title only and the reader is left to adjust the content of the poems to the Goliath idea as best he can. He has, to aid him, beside the grotesque image of the Philistine giant and the etymological associations, real or fancied, with *goliardus* and *gula*, the fact that Goliath is commonly designated *Episcopus*, and, in single instances, *Magister* and *Pontifex*.

Is it possible, then, to envisage a dramatic figure, the personification of crass and ribald materialism from the poems themselves? Not a consistent one, certainly. There is, in fact, but a single poem, the *Confessio Goliae*,⁵ in which the lineaments of such a figure are at all complete, and even here, though we have in rich abundance the characteristic goliardic traits of avowed sensuality and waywardness, an almost Rabelaisian flouting of the moral and churchly code, we have no explicit indication of the mock ecclesiastic and patron of graceless clerks. Indeed the speaker is himself a suitor for indulgence and ap-

¹ Wright prints twenty-two poems and the prose satire as bearing the name of Goliath. The three epigrams, nos. 19, 20, 21, are not, however, so entitled in the MSS. The Goliath ascriptions for nos. 3, 4, 6, 8, 10 rest on Flacius Illyricus, Leyser, or Bale, who perhaps had manuscript authority. One poem not published by Wright, the epigram *In cratere meo*, is reported by Meyer (see note 20) as having in an Oxford MS. the title *Episcopus Goliath cum biberet vinum mixtum aqua*.

² Wright, No. 11.

³ Wright, No. 14.

⁴ Wright, No. 17.

⁵ Wright, No. 15.

pointment.¹ Yet once given the suggestion, we can, without too great violence, reconstitute the poem as a pronouncement of his creed and a revelation of his quality. Equally dramatic, but to different effect, is the poem *Dives eram et dilectus*,² inscribed, in the manuscript used by Wright, simply *Goliae*. The personality here is not at all the Golias of the *Confessio*, expressing through his mock repentance a frank defiance of the ascetic ideal, but a comically self-pitying old mendicant of the clergy, indignant at his wrongs. The idea is more difficult to integrate with "Golias Episcopus" than the other, and the poem was even more clearly not composed as a dramatic utterance in the person of the Philistine Archbishop. A third piece³ carries us a little further. It is an exclamatory imprecation of curses on the head of a certain individual who has stolen the author's cap, and closes with a burlesque excommunication. The title in one of Wright's MSS is *Rithmus Guleardi de pilleo furato ab Episcopo dato* and in another it is simply "Gol." which may be either *Goliae* or *Goliardi*, but Wright's instinct in classing it with the Golias ascriptions is justified by its appearance as *Excommunicatio eiusdem episcopi* (i. e. Gulii) in Haureau's MS. of Queen Christina.⁴ In two further pieces⁵ we find ourselves still in the same burlesque atmosphere — the epigram on the mixture of wine and water and the *Goliae Dialogus inter Aquam et Vinum*. To this whole group I shall return for fuller discussion later. However inaccurately they may fit the implication of the rubrics, they yet supply a kind of content to the idea, which we shall look for elsewhere in vain. The most that can be said of the remaining Golias pieces in Wright is that they are written in a common vein of undignified garrulity, and generally in the characteristic goliardic quatrain. They do not even exhibit a single point of view. Some of them are versified sermons or general

¹ In the version printed in *Carmina Burana* (CLXXII) he offers himself to his patron as a scribe. The stanzas are omitted in the MS. used by Wright.

² Wright, No. 13. The title *Goliae de suo Infortunio* has apparently been supplied by the editor.

³ Wright, No. 16.

⁴ *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1891), XXIX (2), 272 ff.

⁵ Meyer, No. XIV (see below, p. 44, note) and Wright, No. 22.

Jeremiads against moral corruption.¹ So far as they are concerned Goliath might be an Episcopus or Pontifex without reproach. A larger class, including the *Apocalypsis Goliae*,² are satires upon the corruption of the clergy, the papacy, the monks. There is scandal enough in these, but it does not redound upon the head of their supposed author. Goliath is here the apostle of decency or at least the scourge of vice, and the odium of gulosity is transferred from himself to the objects of his wrath. In point of fact, however, these pieces are but characteristic specimens of Mediaeval anti-clerical satire as it flourished in England in the thirteenth century, and on the Continent long before. Their "I" is merely the impersonal spokesman of such literature generally. Exception may be made of the *Metamorphosis Goliae*,³ a paganizing allegory of university life, with a breezy denunciation of the monks who are encroaching on it. This embodies a specifically goliardic point of view and so may be appropriately converted into an utterance of the archgoliard himself in his function of Magister.

The Goliath of the poems is, then, not only a myth, but a singularly Protean one, a fiction compounded of many simples. It is interesting to observe the efforts which have been made to give it a more concrete definition. The story begins with Giraldus Cambrensis,⁴ who writes as if he knew Goliath in the flesh. He is inveighing against the scandal of anti-Papal versifying, which had evidently become common in his time. After quoting two anonymous epigrams he pounces upon Goliath and proceeds to assail him in his most vulnerable point, the connotation of his name: "*qui Goliath [lege Gulias?] melius quia gulae et crapulae per omnia deditus dici potuit.*" He is "*litteratus tamen affatim, sed nec bene morigeratus, nec bonis disciplinis informatus.*" He writes in metre or rhythm "*non minus impudenter quam imprudenter.*" Giraldus now quotes as a specimen of his work eight stanzas of a satire against the Pope (Wright, No. 4) and finally, as a proper epitaph, spoken "*ex cordis abundantia,*" two from the *Confessio*, including the *Meum est propositum in taberna*

¹ E.g. Wright, No. 3, *Praedicatio Goliae* and No. 10, *Praedicatio Goliae ad Terrorem Omnium*.

² Wright, No. 1.

³ Wright, No. 2.

⁴ *Speculum Ecclesiae*, quoted by Wright, pp. xxxvii-xxxix.

mori, the beginning of a passage which, detached from its context, became the most famous drinking song of the Middle Ages.

Giraldus's description is evidently an *Abbildung*, colored by indignation, from these two poems and perhaps these alone. His Goliard is, correspondingly, a combination of scurrilous satirist and impudent avower of fleshly sins. The modern commentators are not content with this. Gabrielli¹ calls Goliard a "*contraposto al Pontifice di Roma.*" Straccali² says that the name is that of an "*essere immaginario e simbolico nel quale l'Associazione dei Vaganti riconobbe il proprio capo ideale.*" Chambers,³ more comprehensively but less logically, writes that the "Goliards were especially satirists of the hypocrisy, cupidity, and evil living of those in high places, for whom they conceived a grotesque expression in Bishop Goliard, a type of materialistic prelate in whose name they wrote and whose *pueri* or *clerici* they declared themselves to be." These statements embrace the idea of the mock ecclesiastic and of the head of the "*familia Goliardae.*" Even so they are not sufficiently inclusive, for they fail to suggest the humorous rôle and personality of the mendicant Goliard who describes his plight in the *Dives eram*, the work which next to the *Confessio* bears the strongest accent of genius and individuality.

It is time to abandon the attempts to supply a formula, even the most flexible, for a conception which is really but the happy accident of a series of literary ascriptions and to examine more closely the process under which the conception took shape, and the basis on which the ascriptions themselves were made.

We have to do, first of all, with the development of certain literary traits of personality and attitude which manifest themselves in the Goliard poems but have their origins quite independently, appearing in works which antedate the earliest Goliard ascription by many years. These traits are essentially a product of the conditions and tradition of Latin minstrelsy.

It has long been recognized that the writers of goliardic verse fulfilled a function analogous to that of the vernacular minstrel or jon-

¹ Annibale Gabrielli, *Su la Poesia dei Goliardi*, Città di Castello, 1889, p. 46.

² A. Straccali, *I Goliardi, ovvero I Clerici Vagantes delle Università Medievali*, Florence, 1880.

³ *The Mediaeval Stage*, I, 160.

gleur as purveyors of literary entertainment for the learned and ecclesiastical world. It is impossible to generalize about a group so varied, but some of its members, certainly, abandoning whatever academic or ecclesiastical ambitions they may once have had, assumed the part of professional entertainers and spent not only their restless youths, but their whole lives in ministering to the lighter hours of that vast international body of individuals of every variety of taste and temper to whom the flexible church Latin of the Middle Ages was a second mother tongue. They often went even further, divesting themselves of their clerical inheritance and adapting their talents to the amusement of lay audiences until they became indistinguishable in habit and character from the ordinary minstrel or jongleur. In so far, however, as they adhered to Latin and sought a purely ecclesiastical patronage, they represent a distinct line with a technique and attitude which is quite their own. Placed, as they were, in the position of dependents on a household or institution, yet sharing with their masters an academic training which set them above the multitude, partaking of the quality of domestic fool on the one hand and of learned laureate on the other, they have as stock in trade a combination of extravagant flattery, graceless almsbegging, and the affectation of intellectual superiority. Under special privilege of indulgence they satirize individuals and classes, at once flaunt and deprecate their waywardness of life, and revelling in impudence, proceed even to the mocking of those solemnities which are the profession of their patrons and have perhaps been their own. All this in the name of entertainment pure and simple. The spirit of reform is something different, though the two elements may and do become interfused.

The tradition of the Latin minstrel and *joculator*, as distinct from that of the ecclesiastical satirist, is undoubtedly a very old one. It is perhaps, as Reich and Winterfeld maintain, a legacy from ancient Rome. We know that from the ninth century the church was active in its denunciation of various forms of clerical profanity and it is reasonable to suppose that literary activity in Latin, essentially identical with the goliardic movement with which we are familiar, flourished continuously throughout the Middle Ages. Before the twelfth

century, however, the record of such activity is fragmentary and the movement itself comparatively ill-defined. The earliest recoverable example of a fully developed type of goliardic minstrel manifesting in his work some such combination of characteristics as I have described is Hugo of Orleans, called Primas, who reached his maturity in the generation of Abelard. This figure is of great importance for the present study. Whatever predecessors he may have had, it seems entirely probable that he was the first individual whose genius fully grasped the literary possibilities of his function and put upon a ragged art the stamp of an enduring comic idea. In a more direct way, too, he is one of the progenitors of Goliath, for the *Dives eram* is his work and the type of comic personality represented by it is apparently his creation.

The name Primas has long been a familiar and tantalizing one to students of goliardic poetry. He has passed through literary history like an *ignis fatuus*, bobbing up continually and as often eluding the attempt to give him a local habitation, a canon, and a date. That he has at last been fixed we owe to the discovery in 1907 by Wilhelm Meyer of an Oxford manuscript containing a collection of 23 poems in quantitative and accentual meters, some already known to scholars, others new, but all manifestly the work of a single hand and revealing by explicit allusions the circumstances and personality of their author.¹ In the light of this material, the hints about Primas in the chronicles and elsewhere take on new meaning and the story of his career becomes unexpectedly complete. He was evidently at one time a teacher of rhetoric and the art of versifying at Orléans; he flourished early in the twelfth century. By the time we see him in Meyer's collection he is already verging on old age and has become a semi-professional minstrel of the clergy, a passing favorite in certain quarters, receiving gifts and entertainment in return for learned buffoonery. His poems are mostly occasional and they invariably contain requests for benefactions. It is quite clear that he passed from one ecclesiastical foundation to another; for we hear of his entertainment among the monks and canons of Reims, Amiens, Sens, Beau-

¹ 'Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas (des Magister Hugo von Orleans),' *Nachrichten von d. Kgl. Gesells. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1907, pp. 75 ff.

vais. He also appears from time to time as a protégé of individual ecclesiastics of higher rank.

Though he can on occasions compose a dignified hexameter narrative, graced with the vicious arts of the rhetorical style, on the apocryphal visit of Ulysses to Tiresias at Thebes,¹ or put into the mouth of a Greek leader a Horatian meditation on the fall of Troy,² the latter evidently designed for recitation at the conclusion of a banquet, his muse is, in general, contemporary and intensely personal, and his verse turns largely on the poles of flattery and abuse. Thus in the sixteenth poem in Meyer's collection, written in a mixture of French and Latin, he begins with a venomous assault on the head of the clerical community at Beauvais, from whom he has recently received shabby entertainment. The point of the attack is that the clerics of Beauvais, in electing a bishop, have chosen not one of their own number but a rank outsider. Upon this wretch the poet, with avowed animus but genuine humor, looses the shafts of his invective. The new bishop has made a good bid for the election by show of holiness and has quite pulled the wool over the eyes of the simple canons. Primas himself is not so easily deceived. "When I saw him," he says, "methought I beheld a great devil," and he goes on to predict a swift and shocking change as the bishop throws off his hypocritical mask. "Pallid and lean as he is now, in two years he will be fat and gross. His teeth will clash over six monstrous fish. He will fill himself with wine and be carried to his bed dead-drunk. He will slip off to the village to indulge in meat eating and worse during Lent. Then, O Beauvais, your folly will be manifest when the tyranny, incontinence, avarice, ignorance of your leader begin to show themselves. Take warning and when you next elect choose a good fellow from your own ranks."

Having thus discharged his poison against a stingy patron Primas turns to Sens, where he was formerly maintained in comfort. "You," he says, "have done the right thing in electing one of yourselves. Behold, what entertainment I received! Two servants behind my chair, no hairy squabbling fellow but smooth and gentle boys. Your bishop is a gracious man. He has given me a horse — a good goer —

¹ Meyer, No. X.

² Meyer, No. IX.

fat and young. Now won't you provide me with his hay. I'll sing you a song so pious, so sweet, that pity will distil from your eyes. As it is, here in Beauvais, I've had to pawn both saddle and bridle. It's not the manners of my country to give a man a breakfast and let his nag want food all night. A present for my journey, and glory, grace and all good things be yours *in saecula saeculorum!*"

The eighteenth poem, in accentual trochaic couplets, opens with the praise of Amiens, its distinguished citizens, its honest clergy, the fullness of whose piety has recently been shown. Coming among them poor and naked, the victim of sharpers at the gaming table, Primas has been sent away with a full purse. From Amiens he turns to the mother chapter, Reims, to congratulate her on so fair an offspring. Reims is elder and enjoys the greater dignity. Foremost among her great men is Albericus. He teaches the true doctrine — not the arts of Capella, no pagan rhetoric of Priscian, neither Plato nor Timaeus, but one God and the sacraments of Christ. Frederick, Adelard, Langobardus, and the generous youth Otto are his worthy colleagues. There is but one black sheep in so fair a flock, a wretch branded with the mark of crime. How can you who listen to Jesus Christ pay attention to this thief? The scar on his throat is a symbol of gluttony. He has been scorched once. He may be scorched again. Let him keep silent or depart. Otherwise, he may find himself thrown upon the floor.

Aut discedat aut taceto,
vel iactetur in tapeto.

These two pieces may serve as examples of Primas's method and as indications of his minstrel way of life. His comic genius is best seen in the poems in which he mingles his spleen with humorous self-portraiture, displaying his gracelessness and narrating his misadventures with a racy frankness and mock pathos which reminds one irresistibly of Falstaff. There is, for example, a witty little narrative ¹ in rhyming elegiacs of his entertainment at the house of a pretended friend — a hypocritical rascal who, after welcoming him with flattery and plying him with food and drink, took advantage of his post-

¹ Meyer, No. I.

prandial dullness to fleece him at the gaming table. The concluding verses ruefully describe the depletion of his purse. Swelling at first like the paunch of a glutton after a banquet and giving forth a merry clink, the poor creature loses, at length, its good rotundity and falls upon a melancholy silence. There is also the more celebrated mantle-poem,¹ in which Primas takes witty revenge upon a bishop who has had the meanness to present him with a cloak from which the fur lining has been removed. He represents himself as appearing in the street with the wretched thing about him. "Is that coat yours?" says a passer-by. "Mine," replies the poet, ashamed. "Whoever gave it, gave you your death of cold." Then he addresses the coat itself. "Miserable mantle, lean and unprotected. Keep out if you can old Boreas and the fury of the storm." Finally the garment itself replies:

"Fur nor fleece have I none; I'm thin and threadbare and ragged.
The wind, through a thousand holes, will whistle and strike like a javelin.
Go buy a coat, my poor Primas, I'm quite unable to aid you;
For, well-a-day! I am Jacob the bald, not Esau the hairy."

We now have the proper setting, personality and circumstance for the *Dives eram*,² which ranks as Primas's most original and genial work. The poet, now become old and feeble, tells how he was turned out of the comfortable berth which the chapter had obtained for him as a minor officer in their almshouse, because he had championed the cause of a disobedient inmate and opposed his expulsion by the Capellanus. He appeals to the canons for reinstatement and abuses the Capellanus very scurrilously. The piece bears witness not only to the satirical and humorous talent of the poet, but also to a touch of human sympathy beneath the motley. I will present a few lines as a sample of Hugo's style:

Dives eram et dilectus
inter pares preelectus:
modo curvat me senectus
Et etate sum confectus.
Unde vilis et neglectus
a deiectis sum deiectus,

¹ Meyer, No. II.

² Meyer, No. XXIII.

The Progenitors of Goliath

quibus rauce sonat pectus
 mensa gravis, pauper lectus,
 quis nec amor nec affectus
 sed horrendus est aspectus.

Primas now turns to scold the Capellanus, that ancient specimen of faithlessness and greed, who has barbarously laid hands upon him:

Homo mendax atque vanus
 infidelis et profanus
 plus avarus quam Romanus
 me deiecit capellanus
 veteranum veteranus
 et iniecit in me manus
 dignus dici Dacianus.

So the piece rattles on loquaciously fluctuating between the notes of indignation and self pity. "Now," says Primas, "I bear the weight of poverty. My acre, my estate, my home is the wide world, wherein I wander forlorn. Where be now my gibes and gambols, my flashes of merriment that were wont to set the table in a roar? I beg my bread in shame. Whither shall I turn if not to the clergy, nourished as I was at the Pierian spring, educated at the feet of Homer."

Paupertatis fero pondus;
 meus ager, meus fundus,
 domus mea totus mundus,
 quem pererro vagabundus.

Quondam felix et fecundus,
 et facetus et facundus,
 movens iocos et iocundus,
 quondam primus, nunc secundus
 victum quero verecundus.

Verecundus victum quero.
 sum mendicus. Ubi vero
 victum queram nisi clero,
 enutritus in Piero,
 eruditus sub Homero?

After a hundred lines of such ejaculation the poet finally becomes sufficiently composed to give a coherent account of the incident which brought him low. A poor lame brother, a spirit kindred, evidently, with his own, had violated some petty rule of the hospice and

been cast forth unceremoniously into the mire. The poet has rushed impulsively to his assistance and become involved with him in a common fate:

Provolutus est in luto
frater pede preacuto,
quem clamantem dum adiuto
et putabam satis tuto,
fui comes provoluto
et pollutus cum polluto.

Poor Primas thus found himself alone with the battalions of authority ranged against him. Everybody stood up for the chaplain, the Jebusites for the Jebusite, the Pharisees for the Pharisee and for himself nobody but God. "How could I have helped it," he goes on, "how could I have foreseen the end? Beholding such an act of injustice, — this rascally corrupter of maid, wife, and widow visiting his spleen on a poor lame beggar while he in his distress called out from the gateway for a friend and a deliverer, and lay there unpitied and alone, covered with mud and uncertain whether that maimed foot of his should carry him down the naked shingles of the world! — I challenged the disgraceful act. But as I called out 'malefactor,' I found myself giving an unexpected leap into the air and here I am."

Such, then, is Hugo of Orleans, professional mendicant and jester, indeed, but a genuine humorist withal, in whose tattered Latin rhymes we seem to catch the very soul of comedy, the vivid embodiment of a unique personality, ridiculous, disreputable, appealing. His contemporary fame and enduring popularity are well attested. The most authentic notice of him comes from the Chronicle of Richard of Poitiers,¹ where, under the year 1142, it is written: "At this time there lived in Paris a certain scholastic, Hugo by name, called Primas by his associates, of mean stature, twisted in countenance. He was versed in secular learning from his youth, and the fame of his wit spread through many regions. He was quick and ready in composition, as appears in the verses he wrote on a poor mantle given him by some bishop, a poem which made all who heard it burst out laughing."

¹ *Monumenta Historica Germaniae, Scriptores*, XXVI, 81; cited by Delisle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XXXI (302-311), and by Meyer, p. 80.

✓ The date to which Primas is here assigned is accurate. Meyer infers that he was born in the last decade of the eleventh century. The period of his activity thus antedates the great developments of secular Latin poetry and establishes Hugo's position as a pioneer in goliardic tradition.

Returning now to his more specific relation to the problem in hand, we may note in Primas the absence of some of the essential elements in the character of the imaginary Goliath and at the same time the presence of suggestions which are further developed in the later poems. Evidently Primas has nothing of the reformer in his composition. His invectives are purely personal. Yet in describing some of the individual ecclesiastics who have injured him, he falls into a form of utterance which might easily be converted to the purposes of a more general abuse. Witness the account of the greed and corruption of the newly elected Bishop of Beauvais. On the other hand, while he is himself evidently addicted to all forms of goliardic vice and makes no bones of his craving for sensual enjoyments, he has not constructed his anti-asceticism into a philosophy. Finally, he is not a mock bishop, nor explicitly the leader of a ribald sect. Yet he is evidently on the way to becoming both. His title, Primas, originally referring to his scholastic function and equivalent to Magister, would naturally, when that function had been forgotten and he was known only as a poet and a mountebank, be taken as an appropriate characterization of his primacy among the Latin versifiers. It was entirely natural, therefore, that he should ultimately be thought of as a master of the whole brood of the "*ribaldi*" and receive the more or less official title of "*Primas Vagorum*." But the term, by a happy accident, is also an ecclesiastical one, and we accordingly find the designations "*Episcopus*" and "*Presbyter*" attached to his name in continental manuscripts.¹ The general idea of a burlesque prelate was, of course, a familiar enough one to the Middle Ages from the institution of the Boy Bishop; and the associations of the name Primas would appear to prepare the way for the connection of

¹ The *Dialogus inter Aquam et Vinum*, which appears in Wright (No. 22) among the poems ascribed to Goliath, is headed *Versus Primatis presbyteri* in a Venetian MS. See Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 78, note 29.

such a fictitious personage with the authorship of goliardic verse. We know that such an association was established on the Continent as early as the first decade of the thirteenth century. Thus a certain Surianus, minstrel at the court of the Archbishop of Eberhard II of Salzburg, styles himself in a burlesque dispensation of the year 1209 "*praesul et archiprimas vagorum scolarium*," and in an account book of Bishop Wolfer of Passau (1203-4) payments are recorded "*cuidam Ebberardinorum episcopo et cuidam alii mimo*" and on another occasion "*domino episcopo*."¹ It was, perhaps, by that time a favorite trick of the clerical *joculator* to masquerade as a high functionary of the church and to think of himself as a reincarnation of the original Primas.

It required, however, the intervention of a second genius in this kind to enrich the content of the goliardic idea and further to establish the groundwork of the myth of Goliás. Such a genius is to be found in the memorable Archpoet of Cologne, who flourished a generation later than Primas at the Archiepiscopal Court of Reinald of Dassel, Chancellor of the Empire under Frederick Barbarossa. The main facts regarding the Archpoet have been available since Jacob Grimm's publication in 1843 of a Göttingen manuscript which contains a trustworthy though incomplete collection of his poems.² His significance in the history of Latin literature can be understood only by comparison with his predecessor of Orleans.

Less erudite than Primas, he yet pleads like him the benefit of clergy, and is careful to distinguish himself from the vulgar *histriones* and *balatrones* who are his rivals. His poems are all addressed to a clerkly audience and they are manifestly designed for recitation; they possess the same fullness of personal reference, flattery, satire, complaints of poverty and sickness, requests for benefactions. Like Primas, too, the Archpoet is a vagrant, though he is more fortunate

¹ Franzen, 'Zur Vagantendichtung,' *Neophilologus*, V (1920), 62-63. *Ebberardinus* is a synonym for *goliardus*, perhaps, as Franzen suggests, because of the patronage of such minstrels by Bishop Eberhard.

² "Gedichte des Mittelalters auf könig Friedrich I. den Staufer," *Abhandlungen der kgl. Akad. d. Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, 1843, p. 143 f.; republished in *Kleinere Schriften* III, 1 ff. Subsequent discussions of the Archpoet are numerous: e. g., N. Spiegel, *Die Vaganten und ihr Orden*, Speyer, 1892; B. Schmeidler, *Die Gedichte des Archpoeta*, 1911; M. Manitius, *Die Gedichte des Archpoeta* (Münchener Texte, Heft 6), 1913; Franzen, *loc. cit.* note 28, etc.

than the other in having a *point de repère* in a great and indulgent noble of the church. The fact that he was given the task of celebrating the martial deeds of the Chancellor and of Frederick himself on his Italian expedition, together with his title of Archpoet, suggests that he was a kind of poet laureate of the imperial and archiepiscopal society of his time. He fills the office, however, without dignity, and it is evident that what was expected of him is primarily entertainment.

His direct indebtedness to Primas is evident on every hand. In the third poem in Grimm's manuscript the singer calls the bishop's attention to his shabby coat, says that he knows by his pulse that one foot is already in the grave, and winds up with the usual appeal for a gift. The piece was inspired by Hugo's satire on his furless mantle already cited. Elsewhere he describes himself as racked with a continuous cough, prematurely bald, and unable to continue his wonted merriment. The younger poet evidently patterned his literary activity after that of the already famous Hugo and borrowed from him his title and the primary motives of his art. If, however, the Archpoet exhibits Primas's penchant for recounting his misadventures and if he catches, as he does, something of the earlier minstrels' touch of extravagant absurdity which elevates beggary to the level of comic art, he does so with a difference. He lacks, for one thing, the vein of personal spitefulness which animates some of the best of Hugo's work, and he is not given in the same degree to the dramatic elaboration of concrete episodes. Thus he represents himself, quite in Hugo's vein, as having been fleeced by the physicians of Bologna whither he repaired for a cure and also, it would appear, for study, but instead of describing the details, he touches quickly upon the incident, contenting himself with a pun upon the "*medicus*" which he had hoped to be and the "*mendicus*" which he became. His wit, on the other hand, is even more brilliant, and he displays qualities of comic invention which more than replace the genial realism of his predecessor. This is well illustrated in Poem III, written in the meter of Hugo's *Dives eram et dilectus* and somewhat similar in theme and tone. The opening lines describe a great festal gathering at Vienna. Amid the throngs of nobles and their hangers-

on, including all manner of actors and minstrels, each expecting a donation, comes the Archpoet, skulking. He has misbehaved and is out of favor. He compares himself to Jonah who, having fled from the word of the Lord, was punished in the belly of the whale. This Jonah has been in the durance of disfavor long enough. He asks Reinald to pity him, as the Lord did his prophet, and bid the monster spit him forth. He will go cheerfully to Nineveh fearless of swords and arrows. His way of life he will reform altogether. He will become as sanctified as the prophets and will sing for his patron songs of unbelievable excellence. Reinald shall be the palm and he the vine.

These verses manifest the same garrulous facility as the similar piece of Hugo's but there is in the comic self-portraiture a new accent of personality. Frank sensualist as Primas shows himself to be, in the narrative, for example, of his entertainment by the harlot Flora,¹ he never, as we have seen, poses as a mock repentant sinner. This appears to be the Archpoet's special contribution. It is another Falstaffian characteristic, appearing in poem after poem of our bard, and reaching its culmination in the celebrated *Confessio*, which I have already numbered among the suppositious works of Goliath. This poem, though it is not in Grimm's Göttingen MS., is certainly his.² The allusions to Padua, whither the poet has accompanied his masters on Frederick's Italian Campaign, and to the *Electus Coloniae*, i. e., the bishop of Cologne, already appointed but not installed until his return to Germany in 1165, and the similarities to the Archpoet's other work, put this beyond the slightest question. Of the merits of this extraordinary composition, its passionate and defiant energy, the resonance of its rhythms, its bold and brilliant phraseology, I need not speak. Attention may, however, be called to one passage which appears to have been interpolated from another poem (No. IV), of the Archpoet, where it fits the context more appropriately. In this fourth poem the author begs indulgence from Reinald for not having gone about the task of composing a work on the deeds of

¹ Meyer, Nos. 6 and 7.

² He prints it as No. X of his collection, from a Brussels (formerly Stalbo) MS., which contains this and two other poems of the Archpoet.

Frederick, as he had been commanded to do. His excuse is that he cannot write to order against time. As the spirit of prophecy sometimes departed from Elijah, so the spirit of poetry is not always attendant upon him. Sometimes he can make a thousand verses *stans pede in uno*, and will yield to no one. Then again his brain seems to go to sleep and the muse slips from his clutches. Some bards seek solitude to hammer out their inspirations, relying on abstinence and labor. With him it is all otherwise. Then come the verses, twenty in all, repeated in the *Confessio* as an elaboration of the articling of his sins, already sufficiently complete, under the head of drunkenness. I quote two stanzas:

Tales versus facio, quale vinum bibo;
 nil possum incipere nisi sumpto cibo;
 nichil valent penitus que ieiunus scribo;
 Nasonem per calices carmine preibo.

Mihi nunquam spiritus poetrie datur
 nisi prius fuerit venter bene satur;
 dum in arce cerebri Bachus dominatur
 in me Phebus inruit et miranda fatur.

In these lines and in the *Confessio* at large the poet has uttered the literary manifesto of the goliards, raising a banner to which the whole crew of decency-defying rhymers of the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries might flock. Frowned upon by long-faced Puritans but everywhere welcomed by the easy-going, they have learned to make virtues of their defects, turning into material for laughter the opprobrium which is cast upon them. The tendency toward such an inversion is inherent in the mediaeval situation. Actually to formulate it required, I think, some genius. One hesitates to say that Archipoeta was the first to do so, but in view of his early date and his strongly marked originality this seems at least probable. At any rate his *Confessio* ranks as the leading document in the goliardic tradition, and in it the Archpoet offers himself as a hero, even more authentic than Primas of the literary movement and the moral attitude. He stands ready, in the company of his predecessor, to transfer his title, with true mediaeval humility, to Bishop Goliath or whatever other commanding name, real or fictitious, may justly claim it.

The process of the transfer is not difficult to explain. The name of the Philistine giant ¹ had long been used as a term of reproach for the enemies of decency and order in the church. Professor Manly ² has supplied us with the basis for such an application in the following passage from a sermon attributed to St Augustine and embodied in the ritual:

Stabant filii Israel contra adversarios quadraginta diebus. Quadraginta dies, propter quatuor tempora, et quatuor partes orbis terrae, vitam praesentem significant, in qua contra Goliath, vel exercitum eius, id est, contra diabolum et angelos eius, Christianorum populus pugnare non desinit. Nec tamen vincere posset, nisi verus David Christus cum baculo, id est, cum crucis mysterio descendisset.

It was doubtless in allusion to this symbol that St Bernard dubbed his opponent, Abelard, Goliath, and Abelard's fellow-heretic, Arnold of Brescia, Goliath's armor bearer.³ The term *familia Goliae* applied to "*clerici ribaldi*" first appears in an ecclesiastical statute attributed to Walter of Sens ⁴ (887-923), where the expression is said to be in common use.

Such, then, were the connotations of "Goliath" and his "*familia*" before the rise of the two great goliardic personalities in Hugo and the Archpoet. His elaboration into a personage and the ascription to him of a canon of works, originally set in another frame, is characteristic enough of mediaeval fancy. Let us consider, then, first, the case of the *Confessio*. The title in the Stalbo manuscript used by Grimm, which is the earliest and represents the work most nearly in its original form, is *Confessio Poetae*. In *Harleian 2851* it is *Goliardus de Vitae Suae Mutatione*. Finally, in *Harleian 978*, in *Cotton Vespasian A XIX*, and in the manuscript of Queen Christina it is

¹ I have assumed throughout this discussion the original identity of Goliath and Goliath. This was the opinion of Giesebrecht, Hubatch, and Straccali. Professor Manly's contribution cited in the next note appears to put it on a solid basis. The term *goliardus* may still, for all I can see, be of independent derivation, whether its first use is prior or subsequent to the phrase "*familia Goliae*."

² "*Familia Goliae*," *Modern Philology*, V (1907-08), 201 ff.

³ First noted by Bûdinger in *Sitzungsberichte d. Kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Wien, 1854), XIII, 316. See also Gaston Paris, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1889, p. 258 ff.

⁴ For a full discussion of this document with arguments for its genuineness, see J. W. Thompson, "The Origin of the Word Goliardi," *Studies in Philology*, XX (1921), 83 ff.

Confessio Goliae. We may conjecture as a possible intermediate step *Confessio Goliardi*, though I have noted no such rubric among the eleven recorded manuscripts. The most natural assumption is that the transfer to Goliard was first made in the spirit of satire. Some copyist, coming to the poem in the mood of Giraldus Cambrensis, may well have felt under obligation to stigmatize with reproach a scandalous composition which at once interested him and violated his sense of decency. The epithet Goliard lay ready to his hand. If the writer was a manifestation of the *familia Goliae*, why should he not be Goliard himself? Having attached the name to the poem, he had created by a stroke of the pen the conception of a literary personality, an avowed champion and monstrous symbol of dicing, gluttony, and lust. The extension of the name to kindred pieces, whether of the Archpoet himself or of Hugo or of other goliards who imitated them, would naturally follow. We do not now know how far the process went. The crowning idea that Goliard was a bishop or a pope was presumably first suggested by the title Primas. Perhaps, indeed, this association anticipated the ascription of the *Confessio*, since Primas, on the Continent, undoubtedly took precedence as a type-figure. If, then, Goliard was already thought of as a burlesque prelate, the ascription to him of the *Confessio* would have deftly converted the poem into an ecclesiastical utterance, a ready-made representation, the most scathing yet devised, of the scandal of the clergy. In any case, the identification of Primas with Goliard would soon assimilate the other (the more so since Primas repeatedly names himself in the texts) and would be taken up with enthusiasm by the goliards themselves. The newly-installed bishop, already a Primas among vagrants, would be welcomed as a model patron, a generous and indulgent ecclesiastic such as the heart would wish but seldom finds, minstrel still beneath the vestments and knowing like themselves the joys and pains of lyric mendicancy. The family of Goliard, rejoicing in a leader elevated from their own ranks, would thus take on new meaning and its members be bound by closer ties.

I have suggested that the ascriptions may have extended to a considerable number of the characteristic works of Hugo and the Arch-

poet, with a corresponding widening of the idea. We know that it did to one authentic poem of Primas besides the *Dives eram*, the universally current epigram "*In cratere meo*" which combines a widely felt resentment at the stinginess of the patron-class with an almost religious abhorrence of enfeebled drink.¹ The popularity of these works prompted, in turn, the addition to the Golias canon of such a piece as the *Goliae in Raptorem suae Bursae* (i. e., *Guleardi de pilleo furato*, Wright, No. 16), which is not by Hugo, as the metre shows, but is exactly in his vein, and the same may be said of the *Goliae Dialogus inter Aquam et Vinum*,² a dramatic elaboration of the idea embodied in the epigram.

The direct contribution of the Archpoet is, so far as we know, limited to the *Confessio*. His own *Apocalypsis*, however, is perhaps accountable for the idea of the quite distinct *Apocalypsis Goliae*, and for the framework of allegory and vision in the *Metamorphosis Goliae* and the *Goliae Dialogus inter Aquam et Vinum*, while his metre became the almost universal one for the entire canon, including the didactic and satirical works and the *Goliae in Raptorem*, which owes its substance to Hugo.

We seem, then, to have arrived by various channels at the object of our search. The details are of course conjectural and other factors than the ones mentioned, as, for instance, the mediaeval spirit of parody, doubtless entered in. But the general process by which the fiction of Golias took form must have been about what I have described. Certainly it is to Hugo of Orleans and the Archpoet of Cologne that Golias primarily owes his substance, for without them he would be but the shadow of a name — the mere embodiment of a churlish reproach against freedom and the lust of life. In his authentic essence he is created in the composite image of two kindred spirits of a purer fire. French and German blood boils together (harmoniously enough) within his veins. But his future lay with England, for

¹ This piece, as noted above, is actually ascribed to Primas in one continental MS. The scribal tendency was naturally toward assigning to Primas everything which at all resembled his authentic work, and to Golias everything that had been attached to Primas.

² Meyer, No. XIV. The epigram does not say explicitly that the wine was a gift, but it is so understood by Salimbene who quotes it as a work of Primas with the superscription "*Alia vice datum fuit sibi vinum nimis limphatum*," Meyer, p. 161.

his name seldom occurs in continental manuscripts, where Primas and the Archpoet continue to rule in their own right, and the majority of the utterances subsequently put in his mouth are apparently of English authorship. That these are, on the whole, mere expressions of the satiric and even of the ascetic spirit and make not even the pretence of perpetuating the personality is perhaps an evidence of the English temper and its imperfect assimilation of a joke. One would like to think, however, that the spirit of gaiety in Walter Map had something to do with the promulgation of the jest. In any case, there were not lacking, even in Britain, merry souls who could dance to the tune which had been set for them abroad. Witness the already mentioned Pauline epistle of an English Goliard to the *discipuli Goliardie* that are in France. Witness, too, the more distant but still quite distinguishable echoes of goliardic strains in the vernacular poetry of Dunbar and Skelton.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SCHOOL OF ST DENIS

ALBERT M. FRIEND, JR.

DELISLE in 1886 described *MS. 1141* of the *fonds latin* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, under the title, "*Fragment de sacramentaire dont l'origine est indéterminée.*"¹ In 1924 Leroquais, the latest writer to deal with this manuscript, says: "No indication permits us to specify the church for which this manuscript was executed; the arguments, be they taken from its decoration or from the library to which formerly it belonged, appear inconclusive; in any case they seem insufficient to justify an attribution."² Yet the manuscript in question is one of the most richly decorated of the volumes which have come down to us from the Carolingian period. The style of the ornamentation is precise and unmistakable, the number of full-page pictures unusual, particularly when we take into account that the manuscript is a fragment of ten folios. With all this wealth of artistic evidence it seems impossible that this sacramentary should still remain in the limbo of the works of art whose origin is not determined.

The very first of its full-page pictures ought to give at once a clue to the origin of the manuscript (Fig. 1). In the centre of the illustration stands a young man in the dress of a Carolingian prince over whose head the Hand of God, reaching down from the clouds, holds a jewelled crown. Accompanying the prince at this divine coronation-ceremony and seeming to lend their sanction to the act are two archbishops, one on either side, each robed in full regalia including the pallium. Under the scene filling out the page to the border is a blank, gold-edged, purple panel still lacking the inscription in

¹ L. Delisle, "Mémoire sur d'Anciens Sacramentaires," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXII (1886), 146.

² Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les Missels Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France* (Paris, 1924), I, 36.

[Professor Friend has failed to add, doubtless because the fact is conspicuous in his plates, that the script of *MS. 1141* is similar in its general characteristics to that of *MS. 2292*. A future number of *Speculum* will contain two facsimiles of a famous book of St Denis, the so-called Second Bible of Charles the Bald. All these specimens may well be the products of the same scriptorium. — E. K. R.]

golden letters which would have made the picture intelligible and this article superfluous.¹ Of course the page illustrates some coronation, either contemporary or past. But what coronation-ceremony in Carolingian history is here depicted or referred to, no writer has had the temerity to guess. Janitschek describes the miniature as a "Frankish prince between two priest-monks."² Weber speaks of "a prince . . . [and] at his side two ecclesiastical dignitaries with the pallium."³ Leroquais calls the figures "an emperor between two ecclesiastics."⁴ Not much, evidently, has been gained from the study of the picture by itself. But if, by other means, the manuscript which contains it can be dated and placed with some degree of accuracy, the identification of the coronation scene may become inevitable and thus, in turn, confirm the attribution of the manuscript.

Fortunately it is possible to get some light on the sacramentary quite aside from our picture. *MS. 1141* is not an isolated specimen of its style but an important member of a group of manuscripts. Janitschek, the first to separate the illuminated manuscripts of the Carolingian period into schools, assigned it to his "School of Corbie" whose centre was in the north of France.⁵ At the same time he noticed that, of all the manuscripts included in the so-called School of Corbie, this sacramentary allied itself most powerfully with another, the Sacramentary of Nonantola (*Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 2292*). The striking similarities in ornament between these two manuscripts put their relationship beyond doubt. Delisle had already pointed out that the decoration of the Preface and the beginning of the Canon in *MS. 2292* recalled the style of *MS. 1141*.⁶ If we make the comparison ourselves between one of these pages of *MS. 2292*, fol. 8r (Fig. 4), and a page of *MS. 1141*, fol. 7v (Fig. 3), we see that the leaf border is strikingly similar: the identical treatment and number of lobes in the acanthus leaves, the same fan-like leaves in the corners, the similar rosettes placed in the middle

¹ The EXCELSA VOCE shows through from the other side of the leaf.

² H. Janitschek, *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 102.

³ L. Weber, *Einbanddecken, Elfenbeintafeln, Miniaturen, Schriftproben aus Metzger liturgischen Handschriften* (Metz: N. Houpert, 1913), I, 53.

⁴ Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 36.

⁵ Janitschek, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Delisle, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

of each border. Since the sureness and the freedom of the work are so much the same in both cases that it is impossible to choose between them, we cannot but conclude that the two manuscripts are contemporary and were produced in the same scriptorium. Therefore, for our purposes, the evidence for date and place afforded by one reacts upon the other.

MS. 2292 is not a fragment as is *MS. 1141*. Besides the Preface and the Canon it contains the special masses for the year. The type of writing and the color of the headings and prayers for these masses vary according to the importance of the feasts. Thus only the great feasts of Christ, the Virgin and the chief apostles have both the title in color and the prayers, or the first lines thereof, in gold. The next most important masses have the titles in red while the collect is in green. These include the days after the Nativity such as St Stephen, St John, the Innocents, and the Epiphany. The third category has the title of the mass in red and the first line of the collect also in red. Other masses are written completely in black. The saints for whom special masses are included in the sacramentary are, for the most part, those usually to be met with in any Roman sacramentary. Four names, however, may especially engage our attention, St Caesarius of Arles, St Maurice, St Martin, and St Denis. The mass for the first is inserted after that for All Saints. The title is in red and the collect in black. St Maurice has the same kind of rubrication. St Martin is distinguished by the use of red for the first line of the collect as well as for the title. But it is the mass for St Denis and his companions on fol. 79v which presents the chief peculiarity of our manuscript (Fig. 5). The title for this mass was never put in, two blank rulings being reserved for it. Now, the first line of the collect is written in red uncials and clearly the title, were it to have been in red also, would have been executed at the same time with the ink ready to hand. Evidently the rubricator was to have filled in the blank space with one of the colors we have seen reserved for saints or feasts of exceptional importance, but for some reason the title was never inserted. Edmund Bishop, noticing the exceptional character of this mass among the others, remarks cautiously: "that [the mass] of St Denis may (just possibly) be of

some interest in reference to the origin of the MS.”¹ It is evident that the abbey which produced our sacramentary had more than a general interest in St Denis.²

MS. 2292 did not long stay in the abbey where it was made. On fol. 6v is an inscription³ which states that John, the Bishop of Arezzo, gave this sacramentary to the monastery of Nonantola (near Modena, Italy). John governed the church of Arezzo during the last quarter of the ninth century. We have, then, to account for the possession by this Italian prelate of a manuscript admitted by all to be the product of a North-French scriptorium and a fine specimen of the “School of Corbie.” In this connection it should be remembered that this same John of Arezzo was sent as papal legate by John VIII to the court of Charles the Bald in 876. The embassy, of which he was one of the chief members, was received by the king in the abbey of St Denis, Paris, where Charles was residing during the celebration of Easter.⁴ Charles had become the abbot of St Denis in 867 and since that time it had become his custom to spend
 X Easter in the monastery.⁵ There can be no doubt of his relation to this abbey. Only the year before the visit of John, in a diploma granted during the Easter celebration in the abbey and establishing certain commemorations for himself and family, he twice proudly
 X names himself as abbot.⁶

We must call to mind that, at the same time that Charles the Bald was abbot of St Denis, he was also the chief patron of the illuminators and scribes of the so-called School of Corbie. Three of the finest examples of this school were made specially for him. His psalter (*Bibl. Nat. lat. 1152*), his prayer book (*Schatzkammer*, Munich), and his Gospels (*Codex Aureus*, Staatsbibliothek, Munich), all have inscriptions which make clear the king's patronage.⁷

¹ Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), p. 70.

² [The presence of the names of Sts Maurice and Martin perhaps indicates that this book descends from one of Tours. — E. K. R.]

³ Delisle, *op. cit.*, p. 128, and *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits* (Paris, 1874), II, 388.

⁴ *Les Annales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Vaast* (ed. l'Abbé C. Dehaisnes, Paris, 1871), p. 243.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164, *et seq.*

X ⁶ M. A. Giry, “La Donation de Rueil à l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis,” *Mélanges Julien Havet* (Paris, 1895), pp. 686, 711, 712.

X ⁷ H. Leclercq, “Charles le Chauve (Manuscrits de),” *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, III, 843 ff.

Summing up the points of evidence which bear on *MS. 2292*: (1) it is a member of the group of manuscripts called the School of Corbie whose special patron was Charles the Bald; (2) Charles was the abbot of St Denis from 867 till his death in 877; (3) the rubrication of the mass for St Denis in the sacramentary shows a special veneration for that saint on the part of the illuminators; (4) the manuscript was once the property of John of Arezzo who, as papal legate, was received by Charles in this abbey in 876. We can conclude, therefore, that our sacramentary was very likely presented to the messenger of the pope by King Charles and that it was written and illuminated in the monastery of St Denis sometime before 876. The return of John to Italy with his treasure might explain why the title for the mass of St Denis was never filled in.

The evidence afforded by the Sacramentary of Nonantola can be applied forthwith to its brother *MS. 1141*, which contains the coronation picture. It, too, must be a product of the abbey of St Denis and date before 876. But we do not have to depend upon this borrowed evidence alone to settle the provenience of the coronation sacramentary. One of the full-page miniatures in the manuscript itself gives a decisive point for this attribution. At the beginning of the Canon of the mass (fol. 6v) is a magnificent illumination in which the initial "T" serves as the cross in a representation of the Crucifixion (Fig. 6). The chief peculiarity of this scene is the attempt on the part of the artist to emphasize the eclipse of the sun which is supposed to have taken place at the time of the death of Christ. Lowering clouds descend to obscure the discs containing the busts of the personifications of the sun and the moon. The bust of the moon, a veiled female, instead of facing towards the Saviour in the usual manner, is hurrying to the right and out of the scene. According to St Dionysius the Areopagite himself, that is to say St Denis (for the Carolingians had identified the two men), the peculiar nature of this eclipse, which he claims to have observed while in Egypt, was ultimately responsible for his conversion to Christianity. In his description of this phenomenon we read that the moon coming up from the east obscured the face of the sun for the three hours during which Christ hung upon the cross and then, instead of pass-

X ing on to the west, turned back upon its course and returned to the east. The reversed position of the bust of the moon in our miniature is the artist's attempt to show the reversed movement of the moon, the miraculous feature of the eclipse. The information about this eclipse at the Crucifixion is contained in a letter supposedly written by Dionysius to Polycarp of Smyrna and was first made intelligible to the West in 858 by the translation into Latin made by John the Scot at the request of Charles the Bald.¹ For the purpose, the Irish scholar used the famous Greek manuscript of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite which had been deposited in the monastery of St Denis by Charles's father, Louis the Pious.² The most likely artists to have used the scene of the Crucifixion to show the exact nature of the eclipse which was the cause of the conversion of St Denis would have been those in the monastery of St Denis in Paris. On this subject and on other points which show that the so-called School of Corbie was really centred in this abbey, I have written elsewhere (X *Art Studies*, I, 67 ff.). There I have tried to show also that the beginning of this style of manuscript illumination must date after 867 when Charles the Bald became abbot. Consequently, from the evidence of its twin, *MS. 2292*, of the peculiar eclipse in the miniature of the Crucifixion, and of the beginning of its style of ornamentation, it becomes apparent that *MS. 1141* must have been written and illuminated in the monastery of St Denis between the years 867 and 876.

We are now ready to attempt the identification of the coronation-scene depicted in our sacramentary the date and provenience of which stand determined. Since there is no doubt that Charles the Bald was the chief patron of the school of illumination to which the volume belongs and since the richness of its ornamentation makes it the most brilliant specimen of this school³ we can be quite sure that this manuscript was made by his order. The coronation-picture can be identified, then, with some such ceremony in the life of this prince

¹ *Patrologia Latina*, CXXII, 1180. Cf. Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911), I, 325 ff.

² H. Omont, "Manuscrit des Oeuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Débonnaire en 827," *Revue des Études Grecques*, XVII (1904), 230 ff.

³ Janitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 102.



FIG. 1

MS LAT. 1141 BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS. FOLIO 2 VERSO

70 yml
Alcohol



FIG. 2

MS LAT. 1141 BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS. FOLIO 3 RECTO

TO THE
LIBRARY

et omnium circum adstantium quorum tibi fides
 cognita est et nota deuotio pro quibus tibi offerimus
 uel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis
 pro se suisque omnibus pro redemptione anima-
 rum suarum pro spes salutis et incolo mitas suae
 tibi reddunt uota sua aeterno do uiuo et uero.

Communicantes et memoriam uenerantes
 in primis gloriosae semper uirginis mariae
 genitricis dei et domini nostri iesu christi sed et beatorum
 apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum.

petri

auli

andreae

iacobi

iohannis

thomae

iacobi

philippi

artholomei

matthei

simonis

thaddaei

ini

leti

lementis

istis

corneli

propriani

iuliani

hirsogoni

iohannis

tpauli

osmae

adamiani

FIG. 3

MS LAT. 1141 BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS. FOLIO 7 VERSO

TO THE
ADMINISTRATIVE



FIG. 4

MS LAT. 2292 BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS. FOLIO 8 RECTO

TO THE
LIBRARY

Daq̄s dñe fidelibus populis scōrum tuorum sēmpueneratione
lactari. eorū perpetua supplicatione muniri. p

DE QUI BEATUM DYONISIUM MARTYREM TUUM
uir tute constantiae in passioneroborasti. qui que
illi ad predicandam gentibus gloriam tuam rusticum
& cleutherium sociare dignatus es. tribue nobis q̄s ex eorum
imitatione pro amore tuo prosperamundi despicere. et nulla
eius aduersa formidare. p SUPER OB.

Hostia dñe q̄s quam in scōrum tuorum dyonisi rustico & cleut
herii natalitiis recensentes offerimus. & uincula n̄re prau
tatis absoluat. et tuae nobis misericordie dona conciliet. p PF

Quāct̄s. Qui scōrum mart̄rum tuorū piacer tamina
ad copiosam pducis uictoriam. atque perpetuum eis
largiris triumphum. ut ecclesie tue sēmp sint in exemplum.
p̄stanobis ut peccatorū intercessionem quorum festac̄ celebra
mus. pietatis tue munera capiamus. p AD CO

Quāmp̄s dñs ut qui celestia alimenta percepimus. intercedenti
bus sc̄is tuis dyonisi rustico & cleutherio. p̄he contra omnia
aduersa muniamur. p PRIOR. ID. OCT. ID. E. XIII
DIE. M. OCT. NATALE SC̄I CALISTI PAPE

Dī qui nos conspicias ex n̄ra infirmitate deficere. ad amorem
tuum nos misericorditer p̄ scōrum tuorum exempla
restaure. p SUPER OBLATA

Misericordia dñe pro sit oblatio. quaenosecuretabus n̄ris

Fig. 5

TO VINU
ABSORBIAO

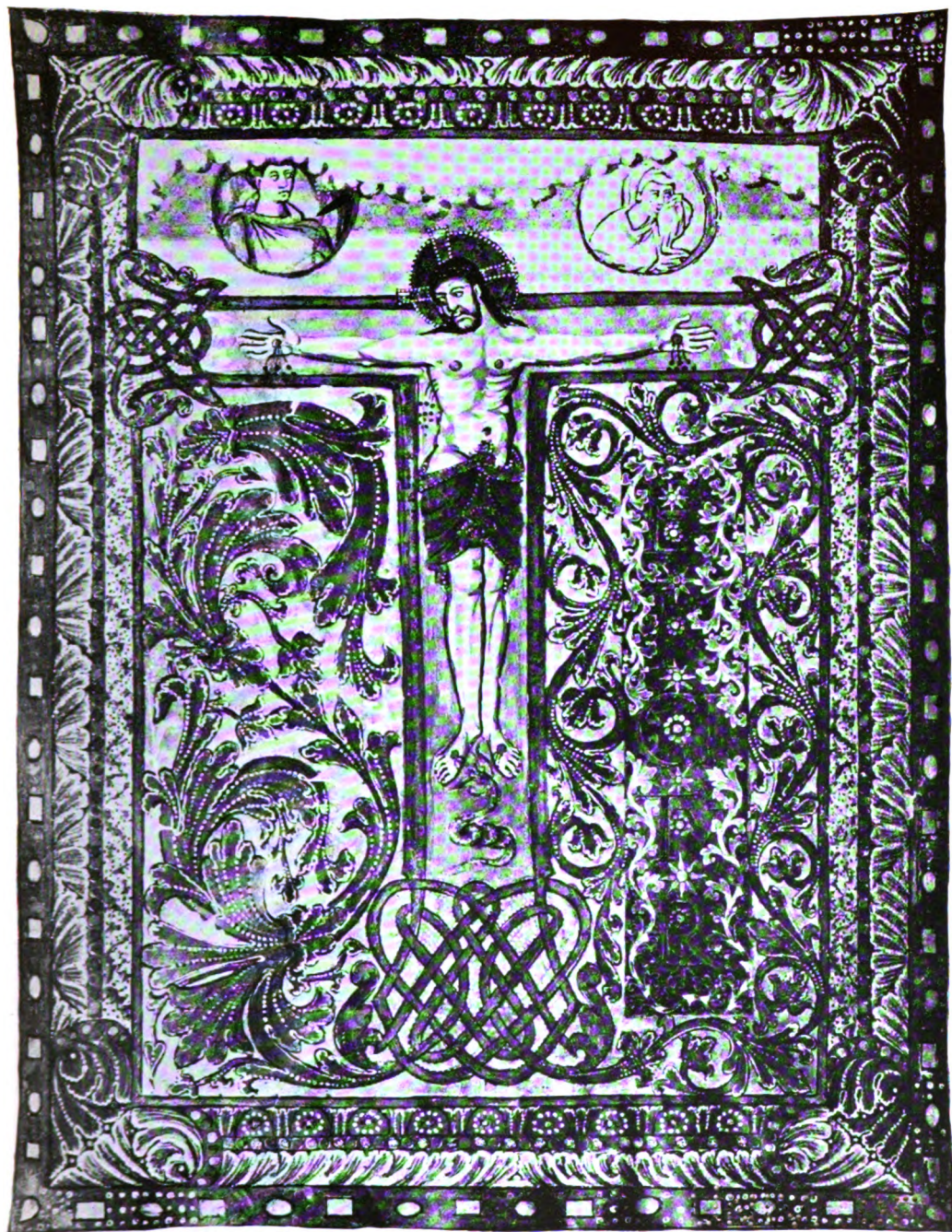


FIG. 6

MS LAT. 1141 BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS. FOLIO 6 VERSO

CALIFORNIA

TO YNU
ALSOOTUAO

between the years 867 and 876. History, during this period, records two coronation-ceremonies in which Charles figures: (1) the imperial coronation in Rome in 875, and (2) his coronation in Metz as king of Lorraine in 869.¹ The first of these can hardly have been the inspiration for our miniature. The presence in the picture of the two ecclesiastics of equal rank is not compatible with a ceremony in which a pope and an emperor are the chief actors. Furthermore, if we look at the picture we notice that all three persons wear the nimbus (Fig. 1), that is, they are saints. There are no saints who could have been thought of as even remotely connected with the ceremony in Rome in 875 except, just possibly, St Peter and St Paul, who decidedly are not represented here. In any case the youthful man with the nimbus cannot represent Charles the Bald, who in 875 was no longer young and who had never taken the liberty, even in the most splendid manuscripts made by his order, to assume the nimbus.² ✕

We come, then, to the other possibility, that the coronation here portrayed refers to the ceremony at Metz in 869. Before investigating this subject it is better to see just what points the artist emphasizes in his miniature (Fig. 1). First the Hand of God suggests that the young prince is the elect of God. The archbishops are obviously approving the coronation by their gestures. The most important point is the wearing of the nimbus by the three participants in the depicted ceremony. This can only mean they were dead and thought of as sanctified persons at the time of the painting. Were there any circumstances connected with the coronation at Metz which might have determined this peculiar iconography?

The death of Lothaire II, King of Lorraine, on August 8, 869, left the kingdom as a prize to whichever of his two uncles could first seize and hold it. One of them, Louis the German, was gravely stricken with illness at the time, while his sons were busy with the

¹ E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des Ostfränkischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1887), II, 397-398 and 280-284.

² Cf. his portraits in his Psalter (Boinet, *La Miniature Carolingienne* (Paris, 1913), pl. CXIV), in his Gospels (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CXV), in his Bible (Boinet, pl. CXXI), and in his Prayer Book (Von Schlosser, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XIII (1892), 23, Fig. 38.

Slavic wars; so, for the moment, the field was clear for the other uncle, Charles the Bald. Encouraged by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who saw his authority as metropolitan enlarged if Lorraine were united with Neustria, Charles reached Metz, the capital of Lorraine, on September 5th.¹ The city was of special importance to the king. His father, Louis the Pious, was buried within its walls.² X His race was descended from St Arnulf, bishop of the city. Again, in the very Cathedral of St Stephen, his father had been crowned in 835 after the humiliating struggle caused by Louis's determination that the young Charles should not lack a heritage.³ In a special sense the city was the cradle of the Carolingian house.

The coronation of Charles the Bald on September 9, 869, in the same Cathedral of St Stephen, lacked nothing in the way of reference to these associations. It moved in the atmosphere of precedent and the past. We are fortunate in having a rather full account of the proceedings. One of the eyewitnesses and chief actors, Hincmar of Rheims, Charles's most trusted adviser, has left in the part he wrote of the *Annales Bertiniani* a description so complete that it includes even the speeches of the three chief participants, Adventius, Bishop of Metz, King Charles and Hincmar himself.⁴ Adventius opened the ceremony with a speech addressed to the bishops of Lorraine and to the people. Charles is to be acclaimed as their lord since "we believe him a prince elected and given to us by God." The king himself, then, spoke a few words ending by demanding that the bishops show him loyalty "such as your predecessors faithfully, rightfully and with reason showed to my predecessors." The concluding harangue was made by Hincmar of Rheims. First, lest it should seem incongruous to anyone that he, the metropolitan of the province of Rheims, should concern himself in the affairs of the province of Trier in which Metz is situated, he explains the close and sisterly relations between these two provinces. The bishops of Lorraine, not having at the moment a metropolitan bishop since the Archbishopric of Trier was vacant, have commanded him in brotherly charity to exercise his small abilities in their affairs. But

¹ E. Dümmler, *op. cit.*, II, 282.

² *Ibid.*, I, 137.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 109.

⁴ *Les Annales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Vaast* (ed. l'Abbé C. Dehaisnes), pp. 191-197.

the burden of Hincmar's speech is the recitation of the genealogical reasons for Charles's coronation. These are carried back as far as possible. The father of Charles, Louis the Pious, through his descent from St Arnulf of Metz, was of the race of Clovis, the king of the Franks converted to Christianity by St Remi of Rheims and unctioned with oil sent from Heaven. Louis himself was first crowned at Rheims by Pope Stephen, and, after his humiliation by his son Lothaire and his rehabilitation before the tomb of the special martyr Denis in Paris, he was restored to his kingly and imperial dignity by a new coronation "in this house before this altar of the Protomartyr Stephen whose name interpreted is sounded '*coronatus*.'" × After the conclusion of this speech, Hincmar's demand for the coronation of Charles was met with the affirmative acclaim of the bishops. The *Te Deum* was sung and each of the bishops present separately blessed the king. Finally together they imposed the crown.¹ × Such was the ceremony of coronation for Charles as King of Lorraine. It is apparent that Hincmar of Rheims and Adventius of Metz together with the king were the chief participants.

The iconography of the miniature in *MS. 1141* was determined, it seems to me, by the ideas which stand out in the ceremony at Metz. The royal house in the person of Clovis had been chosen by God and unctioned by oil sent from Heaven for the purpose. St Remi, Archbishop of Rheims, the ancient precursor of Hincmar, performed the ceremony. The precursor of Adventius, St Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, was at the same time the descendant by blood of Clovis and the founder of the Carolingian line, called in consequence the House of St Arnulf. The father of Charles the Bald, Louis the Pious, having paid his vows to St Denis, his special patron, had been crowned in the same Cathedral of St Stephen which now had been the scene of a similar ceremony for the son. In our picture the diadem imposed by the Hand of God refers to the divine election of the Carolingian House. The prince and the two approving archbishops, all three wearing the nimbus, are the sainted predecessors of Charles, Hincmar and Adventius. The two ecclesiastics are represented as archbishops with the pallium since two metropolitan provinces,

¹ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (ed. G. H. Pertz, Hanover, 1835), *Leges*, I, 512-515.

Rheims and Trier, were concerned in the coronation-ceremony as Hincmar pointed out in his speech. I have no doubt that the three figures in the miniature represent particular personages, but the absence of the inscription beneath the scene makes the attempt at further identification a mere balancing of possibilities. Perhaps the more ornate archbishop is St Remi; the other may be St Arnulf, honored with the pallium as representing the metropolitan of Trier. The prince is most likely Clovis, representing the start of the royal line and given the nimbus by the veneration of his descendant, Charles the Bald, who may have helped determine the iconography used by his school of miniaturists in the abbey of St Denis. In any case, it is not particularly valuable at this time to pursue these identifications since it is clear that the central idea of the picture, portraying the divine election of the Carolingian line and the sainted predecessors of the king and the bishops, is in complete accord with the circumstances attending the ceremony at Metz in 869.

On the page (fol. 3r) which faces the coronation-picture (fol. 2v) is another full-page miniature (Fig. 2) representing St Gregory the Great and two little clerks to whom he is dictating the sacred chant which the Holy Ghost in the form of a white dove whispers in his ear. Underneath the scene is the same gold-edged purple panel that we noticed under the preceding miniature. Like the other, this panel is left absolutely blank. The inclusion of a miniature of St Gregory at the beginning of the Roman sacramentary which he is supposed to have composed is natural enough. But the blank panels beneath both this scene and the preceding suggest that the explanatory verses which were to start under the coronation-picture were to be concluded under the picture of St Gregory and thus to connect the subjects of the two miniatures in thought. This idea of carrying the inscription overleaf and referring to the preceding miniature would not have been unique at this time. In another of the manuscripts of Charles the Bald, the *Codex Aureus* of St Emmeram, the miniature representing Charles enthroned and that of the Adoration of the Lamb are linked together in this fashion.¹ Therefore we can

¹ G. Leidinger, "Ein verlorenes Evangelarium mit Buchmalereien aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen," *Monatshefte für Bücherfreunde und Graphiksammler*, I (1925), 132.

argue for a similar arrangement in the case of our sacramentary. If the coronation miniature represents the ceremony at Metz, the connection between it and the miniature of St Gregory is clear, since Metz was the greatest centre in northern Europe for Gregorian chant and had retained that preëminence since St Chrodegang prescribed the "*Romana cantilena*" for his clerics in the eighth century.¹ The inscription under the two miniatures probably was intended to refer to Metz, the home of Gregorian chant, as well as to the city of the coronation.

MS.1141 is usually referred to as a "fragment" of a sacramentary, but this is not exactly correct. The verso of the last of its ten folios is blank. The inscriptions on folios 2v and 3r were, as we have seen, never filled in. We may better conclude, then, that the manuscript is an *unfinished* sacramentary whose execution was, for some reason, suddenly stopped. History again steps in to help us to an explanation. Charles was crowned king of Lorraine on September 9, 869. Shortly afterwards his brother, Louis the German, sound in body once more, so successfully took the field against him to dispute the succession that Charles was forced to make terms. By the Treaty of Meerssen, concluded between them on August 8, 870, exactly one year after the death of Lothaire, Charles lost forever the city of Metz and half his kingdom of Lorraine.² So the reason for continuing the work on the coronation-sacramentary had evaporated. By the summer of 870 evidently only the first ten folios had been finished, but these were by nature the most important. The blank panels under the miniatures which referred to the proud ceremony at Metz could wait for their inscription until the day that Charles recovered the coronation-city. That day never came although Charles never relinquished hope. As late as 875 he still dated his acts as successor of Lothaire in 869.³ Consequently we may think that the king, until his death in 877, expectantly kept the ten splendid folios in his library awaiting the time when the rest of the manuscript might be added and the inscriptions inserted without mockery.

¹ P. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary* (tr. from the 3rd French ed., London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912), pp. 64-65.

² E. Dümmler, *op. cit.*, II, 297-298.

³ M. A. Giry, *op. cit.*, p. 712.

The origin of this sumptuous unfinished sacramentary has been determined by the coincidence of several kinds of evidence. The style of the ornamentation places it in a group of manuscripts which were made in the monastery of St Denis, Paris, between the years 867 and 877. The iconography of the miniature of the Crucifixion confirms this provenience. Then, since the school of illumination at St Denis was under the special patronage of the abbot, Charles the Bald, the subject matter of the first two full-page miniatures is seen to refer to the coronation of Charles as king of Lorraine at Metz in 869. The unfinished state of the ten folios points to the loss of that kingdom in 870. Without too much temerity we can conclude that *MS. 1141* of the *fonds latin* in the Bibliothèque Nationale was written and illuminated in the monastery of St Denis by the order of Charles the Bald to commemorate his coronation at Metz and must therefore date in the year 869–870.¹

¹ The subsequent history of *MS. 1141* does not aid us in our consideration of its origin. Bastard, who first reproduced pages of the manuscript (Comte Auguste de Bastard, *Peintures et ornements des manuscrits*, Paris, 1840–47, Pls. 196–198) states that it was preserved in the treasury of the church of Metz until the end of the seventeenth century. But no later writer knows where Bastard got this information (cf. Delisle, *op. cit. supra*, p. 147). The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a figured copy of the manuscript (*lat. 9447*) which dates in the seventeenth century and at the beginning of which can be read: “Copié sur la copie ancienne tirée du Pontifical de Jumège qu’avoit M. Balesdens et que l’on estime d’environ cinq cens ans; ainsy peu ancien.” From the collection of Ballesdens the manuscript became No. 1844 in the library of Colbert from whence it came into the Bibliothèque Nationale.

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THE HOME OF THE EASTER PLAY

KARL YOUNG

ONE would have supposed that by this time the origin and early development of the Easter play (*Visitatio Sepulchri*) had been so adequately described that further disclosures could serve only to clarify details in the record. Certainly the more notable students of this early play have for a long time agreed in at least one generalization: that it arose within the liturgy of certain churches of Western Europe in the course of the tenth century.¹ To this belief, however, Dr Joseph Klapper, of Breslau, has recently issued a vigorous challenge,² asserting that the *Visitatio Sepulchri* originated, not in France or Germany or Switzerland, and not so late as the tenth century, but in Jerusalem, and several centuries earlier.

I

In approaching this new view of the matter let us first recall the outlines of the account now generally accepted. The current belief is that the Easter play originated about the year 900, when, under the influence of a general movement toward liturgical embellishment, a cleric, presumably a monk, at St Gall or elsewhere in the West, composed, as an introduction to the Introit of the Mass of Easter (*Resurrexi et adhuc*), a dramatic trope, of which the following is the simplest extant version:³

¹ One need refer only to the materials assembled by E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1901), II, 1-36. For later bibliography, see statements by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX (1914), 1-5; and see N. C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, VII, No. 2), Urbana, 1921, pp. 46-49. The two following articles do not, I think, require special attention here: A. Salzer, "Die Anfänge des modernen Dramas: Die Osterfeiern," in *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens*, XXXII (1911), 330-333; J. Schwietering, "Über den liturgischen Ursprung des mittelalterlichen geistlichen Spiels," in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LXII (1925), 1-20.

² "Der Ursprung der lateinischen Osterfeiern," in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, L (1923), 46-58.

³ See K. Young, "The Origin of the Easter Play," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX (1914), 1-58, especially 1-13.

Interrogatio: *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, <o> Christicolae?*

Responsio: *Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o Caelicolae?*

(Interrogantes): *Non est hic; surrexit sicut praedixerat.*

*Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro. (Resurrexi.)*¹

This simple liturgical excrescence obviously provides a brief dialogue for the Marys and Angels at the door of the empty Tomb. Of this Introit trope we possess some forty examples, which show a certain variety in that, to the three utterances before us, others are sometimes prefixed or added.² But the essence of the trope is contained in the example given above. With the possible exception of one late version, of the fifteenth century,³ none of these compositions, while connected with the Easter Introit, became a true play. That is to say, none of them, so far as we know, was presented through actual *impersonation* of the Marys or Angels.

In the course of the tenth century the dramatic trope *Quem quaeritis* found lodgement in another part of the liturgy: after the third responsory of Easter Matins, immediately before the *Te Deum*. This became the normal location of the dialogue throughout the Middle Ages, as we know from many scores of extant texts.⁴ In this position it acquired a specific *mise-en-scène* in the Easter Sepulchre, a structure which had been provided originally for other observances,⁵ but which was peculiarly appropriate for the dialogue before us. Most important of all, however, is the transforming of the *dialogue* into *true drama*. This was accomplished by the simple provision that those who delivered the utterances should *impersonate* the characters concerned. The resulting play is conveniently termed the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, and is usually regarded as our first modern drama.

It happens that the *Visitatio Sepulchri* was usually longer than the dramatic trope given above, since it often included, for example, ad-

¹ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 484, *Troparium Sangallense saec. x*, p. 111. Concerning this text see Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 9.

² I undertake to print and expound all the texts of this trope in my study, "The Origin the Easter Play," (*cit. supra*).

³ See "The Origin of the Easter Play," (*cit. supra*), pp. 47-49.

⁴ The most convenient collection, containing some two hundred examples, is that of Carl Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Munich, 1887.

⁵ See K. Young, *The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre* (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 10), Madison, 1920; N. C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy* (*cit. supra*).

ditional utterances for the Angels or the Marys.¹ To the scene between the Angels and Marys (Stage I), moreover, was often added a scene in which appear the Apostles, Peter and John (Stage II);² and in a considerable number of versions is found a dialogue between Christ and Mary Magdalen (Stage III).³ But in all these stages of development the brief dialogue of *Quem quaeritis* may be considered the centre of the play.

II

As I have already intimated, in his important new study Dr Klapper sets this accepted demonstration completely aside. For the origin of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* he looks not to a Western monastic Introit trope of about the year 900, later lodged at the end of Matins for freer dramatic development, but to the ceremonials used in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, where, as he thinks, the *Visitatio Sepulchri* was invented between the years 500 and 750, and whence returning Crusaders eventually carried it to their homes in the Western countries of Europe.

The text upon which Dr Klapper bases most of his argument is the following, from a manuscript of the fourteenth century at Breslau: [✓]

In die sancto Pasce ad Matutinas non dicitur *Domine, labia mea*, nec *Deus in adiutorium meum*; sed primo incipiatur Inuitatorium: *Alleluia, surrexit Dominus*. Psalmus: *Venite*. Ympnus non dicitur. Antiphona: *Ego sum qui sum*. Psalmus: *Beatus uir*. Antiphona: *Postulaui patrem*. Psalmus: *Quare fre(muerunt)*.⁴ Antiphona: *Ego dormiui*. Psalmus: *Domine, quid*

¹ See Lange, pp. 22-79.

² See *ibid.*, pp. 79-136.

³ See *ibid.*, pp. 136-165.

⁴ Breslau, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. I. Qu. 175, *Ordinarium secundum usum Hierosolymitanum saec. xiv*, fol. 45^v, col. 1-46^r, col. 1. The manuscript is described by A. Schönfelder, "Die Prozessionen der Lateiner in Jerusalem zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge," in *Historisches Jahrbuch* (Gorres-Gesellschaft), XXXII (1911), 578-597, and by Klapper, *op. cit. supra*, pp. 47-50. As Schönfelder has indicated (p. 579), the volume shows signs of adaptation for use outside Jerusalem. It was written in the fourteenth century for the Knights of the Red Star at Prague, and later belonged to the Knights of the Double Red Cross at Neisse, near Breslau. Both Schönfelder (p. 579) and Klapper (pp. 52, 53) infer, reasonably enough (see below), that the present manuscript was copied from an original of the twelfth century (1157-1187). Like the usual *Ordinarium*, it does not provide musical notation. I reprint the text from photographs of the manuscript, with no important variations from the texts of Schönfelder (pp. 588, 589) and Klapper (p. 52).

⁵ I do not know why Klapper considers it necessary to emend *fre(muerunt)* to *faciem*. See Ps. ii, which is quite regular in this place in the liturgy of the West.

multi (plicati). Antiphona duplicentur. Versiculus: *Resurrexit Dominus, alleluia*. Lectores (fol. 45^r, col. 2) et Cantores cappis sericeis ¹ induantur. Lectiones tres de Omelia Euangelii: *Maria Magdalena*. Responsorium: *Angelus Domini*.² Versus: *Angelus Domini*. Responsorium: *Angelus Domini*.³ Versus: *Ecce precedet*. Responsorium: *Dum transisset*. Versus: *Et valde Gloria Patri*. Reiteratur *Dum transisset*.

(*Visitatio Sepulchri*)

⁴ Quod dum cantatur, preparantur tres Clerici iuvenes retro altare in modum mulierum iuxta consuetudinem antiquam. Finito responso, procedant inde contra Sepulcrum deferentes singuli uas aureum uel argenteum cum aliquo ungento, candelabris et turibulis preeuntibus, cantando ter:

O Deus! Quis reuoluet?

Cumque ad portam Sepulcri venerint, duo alii Clerici iuxta portam Sepulcri, albis vestiti et habentes amictus super capita et candelas in manibus, cantando respondeant sic:

Quem queritis?

Mulieres:

Ihesum nazare (num). (fol. 46^r, col. 1.)

Tunc illi duo:

Non est hic, quem queritis.

Interim Mulieres introeant in Sepulcrum, ibique facta Oratione breui, exeant inde. Et uenientes in medium chori alta uoce nunciabunt ⁵ cantando:

Alleluia, resurrexit.

Sed Visitationem hanc modo ⁶ non facimus propter astancium multitudinem.⁶

Quibus finitis incipiat Patriarcha: *Te Deum laudamus*.

Versus: *In resurrectione tua, Christe, alleluia*.⁷

It will be observed that Easter Matins, completely outlined here, contains a normal version of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in the usual liturgical position between the third responsory and the *Te Deum*, and that the text provides explicitly for impersonation (*in modum mulierum*, etc.). The manuscript, which was written in the fourteenth century for the Knights of the Red Cross at Prague, is an *Ordinarium* or *Directorium*, prescribing the ceremonial for the principal liturgical

¹ sericeis] sericis (Klapper).

² Klapper omits this passage.

³ The text of Schönfelder begins here.

⁴ nunciabunt] nuncciabunt (MS., Schönfelder, Klapper).

⁵ modo] repeated in the MS., but repetition erased.

⁶ The text of Schönfelder ends here.

⁷ The rubric *Ad Laudes* follows immediately.

occasions of the year in the ecclesiastical edifices surrounding the Holy Sepulchre.¹ Particularly notable in it are the processional ceremonials for the great days of Christmas and of Holy Week. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* is here intended for performance at the Holy Sepulchre itself, within the church called the Anastasis.²

Centering his attention upon the *Visitatio*, Dr Klapper infers that the original from which the present text is derived was of the twelfth century.³ This inference may be supported by evidence not cited by him, for a virtually identical text had been previously published from a manuscript at Barletta, of the thirteenth century, which preserves the ceremonial used at the Holy Sepulchre in the twelfth.⁴ Moreover I offer the following similar version of the *Visitatio*, hitherto unpublished, I think, from a Vatican manuscript written for use at the Holy Sepulchre in the year 1160:⁵

IN DIE SANCTO PASCHE AD MATUTINUM

Inuitatorium a quatuor Canonicis antiquioribus in cappis sericis albis cantatur: *Alleluia, surrexit Dominus uere, alleluia*. Psalmus: *Venite*. Hymnus non dicitur. Antiphona: *Ego sum qui sum*. Psalmus: *Beatus uir*. Antiphona: *Postulaui patrem meum*. Psalmus: *Quare fre (muerunt)*. Antiphona: *Ego dormiui*. Psalmus: *Domine, quid*. Versus: *Resurrexit Dominus*.⁶ Lec-

¹ For a description of the content of the manuscript, see the reference to Schönfelder, note 4, p. 73 above.

² Concerning the ecclesiastical fabric surrounding the Holy Sepulchre see the material assembled by Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, etc. (cit. supra), pp. 9-12. A particularly convenient guide for the Holy Places is found in F. Cabrol, *Les Églises de Jérusalem: la Discipline et la Liturgie au quatrième Siècle*, Paris, 1895.

³ See Schönfelder, p. 579; Klapper, p. 53.

⁴ See C. Kohler, "Un Rituel et un Bréviaire du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem," in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VIII (1900-01), 383-500. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* is printed on p. 423. The manuscript is preserved (apparently without shelf-number) in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Barletta, Italy. Although I shall refer below to this text of the *Visitatio*, I can see no important reason for reprinting it here. I have not seen the manuscript.

⁵ Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Barberini lat. 659, *Ordinarium ad usum Hierosolymitanum anni 1160*, fol. 75^v-76^r. The manuscript is described by B. Zimmerman in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* (ed. F. Cabrol, Paris, 1910), II, ii, 2167. The volume is based upon the use of Central France, with adaptations to the ecclesiastical topography of Jerusalem. It does not provide music. In the ceremonials of Holy Week and Easter, the Vatican and Breslau manuscripts essentially agree. I wish to thank Mrs Tenney Frank for her gracious courtesy in helping me to obtain photographs of the Vatican manuscript.

⁶ This word is followed by *Sis*, which I am unable to interpret. Professor E. K. Rand suggests that it may be a scribal misunderstanding of *All* (Alleluia).

tiones tres de Euangelio secundum Marchum: *Maria Magdalene*. Lectores et Cantores cappis palleis induuntur. Responsorium: *Angelus Domini descendit*. Versus: *Angelus Domini*. Responsorium: *Angelus Domini locutus*. Versus: *Ecce precedet*. Responsorium: *Dum transisset Sabbatum*. Versus: *Et valde mane, cum Gloria reiteretur*.

(VISITATIO SEPULCHRI)

Quod dum cantatur, sint parati tres Clerici iuuenes in modum mulierum retro altare, iuxta consuetudinem antiquorum. Quod non facimus modo propter astancium peregrinorum multitudinem. Interim finito scilicet responsorio, procedunt inde preeuntibus¹ candelabris et turibulis, deferentes in manibus unusquisque uas aureum uel argenteum intus habens aliquod unguentum, cantando ter Antiphonam:

O Deus! Quis reuoluet (nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti)?

Cumque ad portam Sepulchri Gloriosi appropinquauerunt, duo alii Clerici ante portam uel iuxta predicti Sepulchri tenentes cereos in manibus, habentes amictus super capita, respondentes cantabunt:

Quem queritis (in sepulchro, o Christicole)?

Respondebunt Mulieres:

Ihesum nazarenum (crucifixum, o Celicole).

Respondebunt tunc illi duo:

Non est hic; surrexit (sicut predixerat. Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit).

Ille canentibus ingredientur Sepulchrum Mulieres, ibique facta breui Oratione regredientur, atque in medio choro stantes alta uoce cantando nunciabunt:

Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus.

Quo finito, Patriar-(fol. 76^r)-cha incipiat: *Te Deum laudamus*.

Versus: *In resurrectione tua, Christe.*²

Obviously this text of the twelfth century closely resembles that of the fourteenth century used by Dr Klapper; and, as we shall see, the earlier text will aid us in interpreting the later.

Let us proceed, then, to the specific arguments which Dr Klapper bases upon the Breslau text of the fourteenth century, observing that he is undertaking to demonstrate, first, that the details of the Breslau text identify it as representing the oldest version of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, and secondly, that this original version arose in Jerusalem centuries before the Crusades, and reached the West only as an importation from the Orient.

¹ preeuntibus] pereuntibus (MS.).

² Followed immediately by the rubric *In Laudibus*.

III

In contending that the Breslau text presents the original version, Dr Klapper draws attention first to the opening sentence, *O Deus! Quis revolvat?* — particularly to the words *O Deus*.¹ Although he is aware of the fact that these two words are not present in the oldest extant texts of the *Visitatio*,² he insists that they must have been present in the original form of the play. In support of this position he offers only the surmise that so “peculiar” a formula could not have been a later addition: “Diese anrufung kann nicht erst in ihrer eigenartigkeit spätere zutat sein”³ — not, obviously, an argument of the weightiest sort.

The broader facts of the matter are substantially these. The introductory sentence *Quis revolvat nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti?* (or the variant *Quis revolvat nobis ab ostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum?*), though never part of the Introit trope *Quem quaeritis*, is found in a large number of the extant *Visitationes*, of all stages (I, II, and III), and of all periods.⁴ The prefatory exclamation *O Deus!*, however, is rare. Outside the four texts obviously connected, directly or indirectly, with Jerusalem,⁵ it is found in only some seven published versions of the *Visitatio*, all of them somewhat elaborated examples of Stage I, and all of them from France.⁶ If the formula *O Deus* was an integral part of the original *Visitatio*, as Klapper contends, one wonders not only at its absence from the oldest extant versions of the play, but also at its rarity among the hundreds of *Visitationes* preserved. From the evidence

¹ See Klapper, pp. 46, 47.

² See, for example, the text from the *Concordia Regularis* of St. Ethelwold, in Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 309. The oldest manuscript dates from about 1020-1030 and preserves the ceremonials of the latter half of the preceding century.

³ Klapper, p. 47.

⁴ See Lange, pp. 29, 34-37, 45-47, 51-55, 81-160.

⁵ I refer to the texts in the Breslau, Barletta, and Vatican (Barberini Lat. 369) manuscripts dealt with above, and to the text published by Professor N. C. Brooks, in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII (1909-10), 467.

⁶ See Lange, Nos. 56, 57, 60, and 61 (pp. 36, 37, 39, 40); N. C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ* (cit. supra), pp. 108, 109; and N. C. Brooks, in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII (1909-10), 471-473. I know of only two unpublished texts that might be classified here.

available at present I venture to infer that the interrogation *Quis revolvat*, with or without the prefatory *O Deus*, was not part of the original *Visitatio*. The earliest text of the play in which I have observed *Quis revolvat* shows the following inept use of it:

Presbyteri vice Mulierum: *Et dicebant ad invicem, Quis revolvat nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti?*¹

The undramatic inclusion here of a narrative passage (*Et dicebant ad invicem*) may disclose the naïve form in which this utterance was first added to the simpler *Visitatio*, from the Vulgate² or from the liturgy.³ It appears, in any case, that the four inappropriate narrative words were soon dropped;⁴ and in the few French texts that I have mentioned their place is occupied by the words *O Deus*.

Dr Klapper's second reason for regarding the Breslau version as the original concerns the second utterance of the two clerics who represent the Angels: *Non est hic, quem queritis*.⁵ Among the numerous extant *Visitationes* this utterance takes two different forms:

- A. *Non est hic; surrexit sicut prædixerat. Ite nuntiate quia surrexit.*
- B. *Non est hic quem quaeritis; sed cito euntes nuntiate discipulis eius et Petro quia surrexit Iesus.*

In the earliest and simplest versions of the play (Stage I), the usual form is the first (A);⁶ in the later and more highly developed versions (Stages II and III) the prevailing form is the second (B).⁷ Yet Dr Klapper holds that the second form (B), the one found in the Breslau text, is the earlier and the original.⁸ By way of support-

¹ Lange, No. 39, p. 29, *Troparium Augiense (Reichenau) saec. x, xi*, fol. 45^r.

² Marc., XVI, 3.

³ See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXVIII, 770.

⁴ Lange prints one of the very few texts in which these words are retained (No. 109, pp. 81, 82).

⁵ Klapper, p. 47.

⁶ See Lange, p. 78.

⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 132.

⁸ One need not take very seriously, I think, Dr Klapper's inference (p. 53) that the brief utterances provided for the personages in the Breslau *Visitatio* are not *incipits*, but the complete original sentences. He observes that these utterances are not preceded by rubrics such as *antiphona*, *versus*, and *Psalmus*, as are the liturgical pieces in the manuscript as a whole. Hence he reasons that, since these rubrics are always followed by mere *incipits*, the absence of such rubrics before the speeches in the *Visitatio* indicates that they are complete. But it should be remembered that the speeches in the *Visitatio* before us are not, in general, liturgical forms at all, but free, extra-liturgical inventions; hence they scarcely deserve, or need, such rubrics as *antiphona*, *versus*, and *Psalmus*. As a matter of fact, the first utterance (*Quis revolvat*) is often found in an Easter antiphon (see note 37, above); and in the Vatican text of the *Visitatio*, which I have printed above, this opening speech is called *antiphonal*.

ing this opinion he considers the relations of the two forms to their possible sources in the liturgy and in the Vulgate, citing first the following passage from an antiphon of Easter Vespers:

Iesum, quem quaeritis, non est hic, sed surrexit.¹

As possible sources in the Vulgate he brings forward the following:

Non est hic, surrexit enim, sicut dixit . . . et
cito euntes, dicite discipulis eius, quia surrexit.²
Surrexit, non est hic . . . sed ite, dicite discipulis
eius et Petro.³

In an indirect connection with the present discussion ⁴ he cites also the following passage from the Vulgate:

Quid quaeritis viventem cum mortuis? Non est hic, sed surrexit; ⁵

and the following variant of it:

Quem queritis Iesum nazarenum cum mortuis, non est hic sed surrexit.⁶

In this variant, however, Klapper surmises ⁷ that the Vulgate itself may be influenced by some Palestinian text which he conjectures as having affected also both the Vespers antiphon quoted above and, through it, the relevant passage in the Breslau *Visitatio*. He ignores the possibility, by no means negligible, I think, that this variant, or a similar one, affected the passage in the *Visitatio* quite directly.

But returning to Klapper's main contention, we find that from the data before us he draws two conclusions concerning the dramatic utterance under consideration: first, that the second form (B) resembles the liturgy more closely than it does the Vulgate, and that the first form (A) is textually nearer to the Vulgate than to the liturgy; and secondly, that, being more nearly like the liturgical text than is the first form (A), the second form (B) must be the earlier.⁸

In so far as it depends upon verbal resemblances, Klapper's argument at this point, though tenuous, need not be strenuously challenged. If we omit the "variant" from consideration, we may readily

¹ See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 769, 770.

² Matt., XXVIII, 6, 7.

³ Marc., XVI, 6, 7.

⁴ Klapper, pp. 54, 55.

⁵ Luc., XXIV, 5, 6.

⁶ *Novum Testamentum* (ed. J. Wordsworth and H. J. White, Oxford, 1893), Part I, Fasc. 3, p. 476.

⁷ Klapper, p. 55.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

enough admit that form B is both nearer to the liturgy than is form A, and nearer to the liturgy than to the Vulgate. But I am entirely unable to accept the assumption upon which Klapper proceeds to his final conclusion — the assumption, namely, that a closer resemblance to the liturgy denotes priority in date. I know of no established principle upon which, in a case such as that before us, a dramatic text that closely resembles the liturgy must be considered earlier than one that closely resembles the Vulgate.¹

Fortunately, however, our decision in this matter need not rest upon generalities, for we have at hand definite evidence that appears to invalidate Klapper's argument fundamentally. I have printed above, from a Vatican manuscript,² a text of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which is some two centuries older than the Breslau text used by Klapper. In the earlier text the passage under consideration is not *Non est hic, quem quaeritis*, as in the Breslau text, but *Non est hic, surrexit*; and the latter in the reading also of the version from Barletta.³ Our earliest and most substantial evidence, then, seems to indicate that form A was the prevailing one in the *Visitatio* at Jerusalem. Hence, since Klapper would have us believe that form A is the later one, his present argument for the priority of the *Visitatio* at Jerusalem loses its validity.

IV

Having considered Dr Klapper's attempt to show that the *Visitatio* of Jerusalem represents the earliest form of the play, let us proceed to his reasons for inferring that the *Visitatio* was not carried to Jerusalem by the Crusaders, but, on the contrary, must have been introduced into the West by them, or by earlier pilgrims, upon their return from the Holy City.

Dr Klapper observes,⁴ in the first place, that in the Breslau manuscript the *Visitatio* is spoken of as a *consuetudo antiqua (iuxta*

¹ The possible sources of the *Quem quaeritis* trope are considered somewhat more widely in my study, "The Origin of the Easter Play," (*cit. supra*), pp. 6-12.

² Barberini Lat. 659. See above, p. 75.

³ See above, p. 75, note 4, and *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VIII (1900-01), 423.

⁴ See Klapper, pp. 52, 53, 55, 56.

consuetudinem antiquam) which was no longer in use at the time when the original of this manuscript was written: *Sed Visitacionem hanc modo non facimus propter astancium multitudinem*.¹ Since he infers, reasonably enough, that this original was composed in the twelfth century,² he interprets these expressions as meaning that the *Visitatio* must have been in use at the Holy Sepulchre long before the coming of the Crusaders in 1099, and that upon their arrival they rather promptly stigmatized it as *consuetudo antiqua* and discontinued it.³

I should venture, however, to interpret the facts quite differently. We know that among the clergy who accompanied the first Crusaders the French predominated, and that they brought with them their French liturgical observances. Inevitably they adapted these observances to the topography and sanctity of the Holy Places in Jerusalem; but the essentials of their liturgy were French.⁴ Although we have not at hand the identical *ordinaria* that the followers and associates of Godfrey of Bouillon carried to the Holy Places, there is every reason for assuming that they contained the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, which by that date was widely distributed over France and Western Europe. At present our earliest secure evidence that the *Visitatio* was characterized as *consuetudo antiqua*, and ceased to be performed, is of about the year 1160, the date of the Vatican manuscript used above.⁵ By that date the expression *consuetudo antiqua* would surely be appropriate enough for an observance established at Jerusalem more than half a century earlier. Even if the Crusaders thought it wise to discontinue performing the *Visitatio* immediately upon their arrival (1099–1100), they might well have characterized as *antiqua* a practice established in the West since the tenth century. That the reason for “lately” (*modo*) discontinuing the *Visitatio*, —

¹ See the text above, p. 74.

² The Vatican manuscript (*Barberini Lat. 659*), of the year 1160, actually contains the same expressions concerning the discontinuance of the *Visitatio*: . . . *iuxta consuetudinem antiquorum. Quod non facimus modo propter astancium peregrinorum multitudinem*.

³ See Klapper, pp. 53, 55, 56.

⁴ See B. Zimmerman, *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel* (Bibliothèque Liturgique, XIII), Paris, 1910, p. x; *idem*, “Rite du Saint-Sépulchre,” in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* (ed. F. Cabrol, Paris, 1910), II, ii, 2167.

⁵ See above, p. 75, note 5.

either about 1160 or about 1099, — was the thronging of pilgrims, need cause no surprise, and has no special bearing upon the date of the original *Visitatio*. We may merely accept gratefully the vivifying phrase *propter astantium peregrinorum multitudinem*,¹ which enables us to visualize the jostling crowds that had streamed into the none too ample Anastasis and had surrounded the rock of the Holy Sepulchre in a turbulent desire to see a Christian mystery dramatized.

In arguing further for Jerusalem as the original home of the *Visitatio*, Dr Klapper asserts² that if the play had been brought by the Crusaders from the West, it would have been found at Jerusalem, not in the simple form preserved in the Breslau manuscript, but in one of the longer and more highly developed versions current in the West during the period of the Crusades. To this assertion one must reply that when the longer forms had been developed in Western Europe the simpler forms apparently continued in use also. This we infer from the fact that manuscripts of the later centuries present the shorter versions without intimation that they were in disuse. Forms even simpler than that in the Breslau manuscript are present, for example, in a Utrecht *Liber Responsalis* of the twelfth century,³ a Sens *Ordinarium* of the thirteenth century,⁴ a Senlis Breviary of the fourteenth century,⁵ and a Navarre Processional of the fifteenth century.⁶ Obviously, then, the Crusaders who came to Jerusalem during the twelfth century could have brought with them either a simple or a more highly developed version of the *Visitatio*, in accordance with their choice or their local Western custom.

Another reason advanced by Dr Klapper for his belief that the *Visitatio* originated at Jerusalem is the vivid nature of the ceremonies which centered in the Holy Sepulchre during the early Christian centuries.⁷ For examples he very appropriately resorts to the famous *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, in which a visitor from Gaul in the latter part of the fourth century records her remarkable observa-

¹ I quote this time from the Vatican manuscript.

² See Klapper, p. 56.

³ See Lange, No. 19, p. 23.

⁴ See *ibid.*, No. 29, p. 25.

⁵ See *ibid.*, No. 35, pp. 27, 28.

⁶ See *ibid.*, No. 17, p. 22. The number of the manuscript is not 1223, as Lange gives it, but 1123.

⁷ See Klapper, pp. 56, 57.

tions upon the liturgical observances in Jerusalem; ¹ and he quotes the passage describing the liturgy performed at the Tomb each Sunday morning.² The bishop enters the brilliantly lighted grotto of the Sepulchre, while the crowds surging in the Anastasis press toward him. A priest, a deacon, and a cleric read each a psalm followed by a prayer. Then commemorations are said, and perfumes are burned within the Sepulchre, scenting the whole surrounding basilica. Finally the bishop, advancing to the door of the recess, reads the Gospel narrative of the Resurrection, so poignantly arousing the emotions of his auditors that they cannot restrain their moans and laments at the thought of the sufferings endured for them in that place.

Quod cum coeperit legi, tantus rugitus et mugitus fit omnium hominum et tantae lacrimae, ut quamvis durissimus possit moueri in lacrimis Domini pro nobis tanta sustinuisse.

The ceremonial on Easter Sunday is virtually the same.³

Certainly no one will deny that such a scene is potently impressive, and that it provides in *mise-en-scène* and religious intention every necessary inspiration toward dramatic invention; but the ceremonial before us is not a play, for it lacks both impersonation and dialogue. The pertinent question, then, is simply this: Did the ceremonial at the Holy Sepulchre ever develop a play such as the *Visitatio* before the time of the Crusades? Apparently Dr Klapper thinks it did.⁴ He surmises that in some indirect way the observance that Aetheria describes must have resulted eventually in a sort of dramatic procession analogous to that of Palm Sunday; and here his speculation on this matter ends. The vagueness is pardonable, for evidence is lacking. If anything like a *Visitatio Sepulchri* had developed at the Holy Sepulchre between the fourth century and the

¹ Concerning the actual name of this pilgrim (Silvia, Aetheria, Egeria, Eucheria), see A. Wilmart, in *Revue Bénédictine*, XXV (1908), 458-467; and J. F. Mountford, in *Classical Quarterly*, XVII (1923), 40, 41. For a convenient exposition of the *Peregrinatio* see F. Cabrol, *Les Églises de Jérusalem* (cit. supra).

² For the text see P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Saeculi IV-VIII* (Vienna, 1888), pp. 73, 74. See also Cabrol, *Les Églises*, etc. (cit. supra), p. 52.

³ See Geyer, pp. 90, 91. As a matter of fact, Aetheria's description of this ceremonial on Easter Day is much less detailed than that for the ordinary Sunday, outlined above.

⁴ See Klapper, p. 57.

year 1099, we should expect to find some mention of it in a liturgical book, in the report of some pilgrim, or in some other record. Since I can find no such reference,¹ and since on this point Dr Klapper appears to offer only speculation, I must leave his present contention in its own obscurity.

The next argument that we are required to examine centres in the formula *O Deus*, with which the Breslau *Visitatio* begins. We have already considered Dr Klapper's attempt to show that *O Deus* must have been included in the original version of the *Visitatio*.² We are now asked to believe that this formula must have been a contribution from Jerusalem, for the reason that, whereas the liturgical formulæ of the West provide no *O Deus*, but only *Deus*, the Trisagion used at the *Adoratio Crucis* in Jerusalem includes the words *O Theos*.³ It appears that the author of the Breslau *Visitatio* is not credited with the power of inventing *O Deus*, or of ascending independently from *Deus* to *O Deus*! Assuming, then, if we must, that the words *O Deus* need a liturgical source, we may find that source easily enough in the West. The *Adoratio Crucis*, which arose in Jerusalem in the third or fourth century, was adopted, with its Trisagion, into the Roman ceremonial of Good Friday in the seventh or eighth century.⁴ Thus the expression *O Theos* was conveniently at hand in Western Europe some two or three centuries before the date of the earliest extant version of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. And it should be remembered also that the *Gloria in excelsis*, as sung in Greek in the ninth and tenth centuries in France, contained the expression *Kyrie o Theos*.⁵

¹ For negative evidence, see F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 521-523. Conybeare's document is a record of the assemblies in the Holy Places of Jerusalem as they occurred in the fifth century. For negative evidence in pilgrims' reports of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries see Geyer, pp. 145-149, 171, 203, 227-232, 303-305; and T. Tobler and A. Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* (Geneva, 1879), I, 263, 264, 314, 315.

² See above, p. 77 ff.

³ See Klapper, pp. 57, 58.

⁴ On the matter of the introduction of the *Adoratio Crucis* into the West see A. Baumstark, "Der Orient und die Gesänge der *Adoratio Crucis*," in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, II (1922), 2, 3, 6; V. Thalhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik* (Freiburg, 1912), I, 633; F. Cabrol, *Livre de la Prière antique* (Paris, 1913), pp. 253, 254; *idem*, *Les Origines liturgiques* (Paris, 1906), p. 182; *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, IV, 536-537; VI, 643.

⁵ See H. Netzer, *L'Introduction de la Messe romaine en France* (Paris, 1910), p. 215; *Archaeologia*, XLVI (1881), 392, 393.

Finally, the *Visitatio* is held to be of Oriental origin for the reason that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who takes a part in virtually all the processions prescribed in the Breslau *Ordinarium*, has no rôle in the play under consideration.¹ This *Ordinarium* as a whole is conceded to be a Western product;² and since the Patriarch has a part in the processions generally, the fact that he acts no rôle in the play before us is taken as an indication that the *Visitatio* is not Western but Oriental in origin. To this reasoning I must reply that in intoning the *Te Deum* at the end of the *Visitatio*,³ the Patriarch has precisely the contact with the performance that we should anticipate. Unlike the other processions in the Breslau book, the *Visitatio* is a *play*, dependent for its effect upon *impersonation*. It is not to be expected that the Patriarch would costume himself and act the part of one of the Marys or of one of the Angels. A glance at the innumerable versions of the *Visitatio* discloses the fact that the actors in these plays are not prelates, but *clerici*, *cantores*, *canonici*, *presbyteri*, *diaconi*, *fratres*, and the like. The bishop or abbot, if he is present, normally performs precisely the function assigned to the Patriarch by the Breslau *Ordinarium*: he intones the *Te Deum*.⁴

V

From the examination now completed I infer that the proposal of an Oriental origin for the Easter play cannot be accepted. If my own reasoning should here and there seem captious, I hope that this unfortunate effect is due, in some measure, to the tenuousness and tortuousness of parts of the argument under review. But however inadequate I must regard Dr Klapper's study as a demonstration in literary history, I value it highly for having brought into prominence the question of dramatic origins at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

I hold, then, that the current view as to the origin of the Easter play is correct, and that the *Visitatio Sepulchri* developed in Western Europe after the manner that I have briefly indicated above.⁵ The

¹ See Klapper, p. 55.

² See *ibid.*, pp. 50, 55.

³ See the Breslau text above, p. 74.

⁴ See, for example, Lange, pp. 25, 28, 31, 37, 63, 67, 101, 108, 124.

⁵ See Section I.

✓ Crusaders carried their Western liturgical practices with them to Jerusalem, and promptly established them in the Holy Places;¹ and there is every reason for supposing that these practices included the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. We may safely infer that the Vatican manuscript of the year 1160, used above, represents fairly the body of liturgical ceremonial which the French clerics brought to Jerusalem. This book bears clear evidence of its ultimate origin in France,² and, as I have shown above,³ the *Visitatio* in it, like the one in the Breslau manuscript, is characteristically French.

¹ See above, note 58.

² See Zimmerman, in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, II, ii, 2167, (*cit. supra*).

³ See p. 84.

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THE POEMS ASCRIBED TO FREDERICK II AND "REX FREDERICUS"

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THIS is the first of three articles dealing with the poems in extant MSS ascribed to the Emperor Frederick II and his sons. In the present article the four poems ascribed to the Emperor and "Rex Fredericus" are for the first time brought together in a critical edition. The second article will offer a critical edition of the poems ascribed to King Enzo. The third article will deal with the question of the authorship of the poems in both groups.

The MSS in which the poems are preserved, and the symbols by which those MSS will be designated, are as follows:

V: Vaticano 3793

P: Palatino 418

LR: Laurenziano Rediano 9

Ch: Chigiano L, viii, 305

Ma: Magliabechiano VII, 7, 1208

V²: Vaticano 3214

UB: University of Bologna Library, MS 1289

The method of text-construction followed in the present edition is that designated as No. 3 by Tallgren in the Introduction to his edition of Rinaldo d'Aquino¹ and which he defines as follows: "Texte critique de la tradition manuscrite archaïsante: langue détoscanisée autant que le permettent les mss." After having examined with much care the five or six possible ways in which the edition of a text for the Frederician poets may be approached, he chooses the above-mentioned method for his edition, as being the one which permits an editor, *working within the manuscript tradition*, to reduce conjecture to a minimum and present a text which, at the same time, conserves much of the Meridional coloring of the original language of the poets of the Frederician Group, which was a prominent trait of the poems in their original form.

¹ O. Tallgren, "Les Poésies de Rinaldo d'Aquino," *Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsingfors*, VI (1917), 174-303.

To elaborate somewhat the terms of Tallgren's definition cited above, we have sought to conserve all Meridionalisms and bona fide Sicilianisms, archaisms and Latinisms, guaranteed by at least one of the MSS, even though that MS should not be one of the three earliest (*P*, *LR*, *V*). In orthography, we have followed what seems to be the relatively consistent practice of the scribes of the two oldest MSS, *P* and *LR*. In the case of Poems I and III, which occur only in *V*, we have necessarily adhered to what seemed to be the most conservative practice of the copyists within the limits of the manuscript tradition of those poems.

In the matter of accents, modern usage has been disregarded. The grave accent has been used exclusively in the diacritic function, to distinguish between such homonyms as *ò* (< *L. habeo*) and *o* (< *L. aut*), *sò* (< *L. sapio*) and *so* (< *L. sum* or *sunt*), etc. It is not used in such words as *piu*, *gia*, etc. The acute accent has been used only once, and then to denote abnormal stress in the word *vatène* (Poem III, line 1). The diaeresis has been used in a few cases where it seemed desirable to indicate the syllabic value of a vowel.

The divergent practice of the scribes of the various MSS as to word- and line-division has been unified on the basis of modern usage; the basis for capitalization is that of modern Italian prose. The apostrophe is used to indicate enclisis as well as elision. Internal rime is shown by the short dash (Poems I and II). Otherwise, the punctuation is conservatively modern, tending toward explicitness rather than the contrary.

In each case all variants from the readings of the MS selected as the basic MS are completely accounted for by a general statement in the notes as to the orthographic practice of the scribes of the various MSS, and by the entry at the foot of each page of text of all variants not merely orthographic.

I

- i. De la mia distanza,
c'ò penata ad avere
mi fa sbaldire, — poi chi n'ò rasgione,
che m'à data fermanza

- com' io possa compiere 5
 lo meo volire – senza ongne casgione.
 A la stagione – ch'io l'avro 'n possanza,
 senza fallanza – volgian le persone
 per chui cagione – facciamo membranza!
- ii. A tut' ora membrando 10
 de lo dolze diletto
 ched io aspetto – so alegro e gaudente.
 Vaio tanto tardando
 che paura mi metto
 ed ò sospetto – de la mala giente, 15
 che per neiente – vanno disturbando
 e rampongnando – chi ama lealmente;
 ond' io sovente – vado sospirando.
- All MS readings here given are those of V, the only MS in which the poem occurs. 1. di-
 manza] dissianza 6. lo meo volire] not in MS. 7. l'avrò 'n] l'avro 8. volgian]
 volgiano 9. facciamo] faccamo 10. membrando] rimembrando 12. so] sonne
 17. lealmente] leale mente 18. sospirando] sosospirando.*
- iii. Sospiro e stò 'n ranchura;
 ch'io so sì disioso 20
 e pauroso, – mi face penare.
 Ma tando m'asichura
 lo suo viso amoroso
 e lo gioioso – riso e lo sguardare
 e lo parlare – di quella criatura 25
 che per paura – mi facie penare
 e dimorare, – tant' è fine e pura.
- iv. Tanto è ssagia e cortese,
 no credo che pensasse
 nè distornasse – cio che m'à 'mpromiso. 30
 Da la ria gente aprese;
 da lor nom si stornasse!
 che mi tornasse – a danno, chi gli ò ofeso.

90 *Poems Ascribed to Frederick II and "Rex Fredericus"*

E ben mi à miso – in pene e fatt' offise.
 Poi che mi mise – in foco, cio m'è avviso; 35
 chè lo bel viso – lo cor m'adivise.

19. stò 'n] sto 20. so] sono 21. face] fate 22. tando] tanto 30. cio] di
 cio m'è 'mpromiso] mi jmpromise 32. lor] lora 34-35. in pene e fatt' offise. Poi che
 mi mise] *not in MS* 36. bel] bello cor] core.

v. Diviso m'à lo core
 e lo corppo à 'm ballia
 e in umilia, – e tienmi incatenato.
 La fiore d'ongne fiore 40
 prego per cortesia
 che piu nom sia – suo detto fallato,
 nè disturbato – per inizadore,
 nè suo valore – nom sia menovato
 nè rabassato – per altro amadore. 45

39. *MS* etienemi jmmilia fortte jncatenato 42. suo] lo suo.

II

i. Poi ke tti piace, Amore,
 ke eo degia trovare,
 faronde mia possança
 k'io vegna a compimento.
 Dat' agio lo meo core 5
 in voi, madonna, amare,
 e tucta mia sperança
 in vostro piacimento;
 e nom mi partiragio
 da voi, donna valente, 10
 k'eo v'amo dolcemente
 e piace a voi k'eo agia intendimento.
 Valimento – mi date, donna fina,
 kè llo meo core adesso a voi s'inkina.

1. tti] *V* a voi *P*, *V*² ti 2. ke eo] *V* ch'io *Ch* ch'eo *V*² k'eo 3. faronde] *V*, *Ch*, *V*²
 faronne 5. Dat' agio] *Ch* Dato aggio *V*² daraggio 6. voi, madonna] *Ch* vo madonn
 8. piacimento] *V* piagimento 9. e nom] *V* ch'io non; *P* *E* no 12. piace] *V*² piaccia
 k'eo agia] *V* ch'agia 14. llo] *V*, *P*, *Ch* lo a] *lacking in V*.

ii. S' i' inkino, ragione agio 15

di sì amoroso bene;
ka spero e vò sperando
k' ancora deio avere
allegro meo coragio
e tucta la mia spene: 20
fui dato in voi amando
ed in vostro volere.

E veio li senbianti
di voi, kiarita spera,
ka 'specto gioia intera 25
ed ò fidança ne lo meo servire,
a piacere – di voi, ke ssiete fiore
sor l'altre donne, e avete piu valore.

15. S' i'] V Sio Ch, V² Si v 17. ka] V ch'io spero] V² spectro e vo] V in voi 18. ancora] V² ancor deio] V credo 19. meo] V il mio 20. la mia] Ch mia 21. fui] V co V² fu dato] V data 22. ed in] P, Ch e in V² et in volere] V piacere 23. E veio] V Che vegio Ch, V² E veggio 24. voi] V² vo 25. 'specto] V spero V² spetta 26. ne lo] lacking in P, Ch, V² 27. a piacere-di] V edipiaciere a 28. sor] V sovra avete] lacking in P.

iii. Valor sor l'altre avete
e tucta caunosença; 30

null' omo non poria
vostro pregio contare:
di tanto bella sete,
secondo mia credença,
nonn è donna ke ssia 35
alt' a sì bella pare;

nè c'agia insegnamento
di voi, donna sovrana.
La vostra ciera humana
mi dà conforto, e facemi allegrare: 40
allegrare – mi posso, donna mia;
piu conto mi ne tegno tucta via.

29. Valor sor] V Valore sovra 30. null'] V chanull non] lacking in V 33. di] V che Ch Deo tanto] V² tanta bella] V² belta 36. V chagia tante belleze 37. c'agia] V tanto V² ke gia 38. di] V inver 40. conforto] V comfortamento facemi] Ch, V² fammi 41. allegrare] V eseo presgiare mi] V vi mia] V fina 42. mi] Ch me ne] lacking

92 *Poems Ascribed to Frederick II and "Rex Fredericus"*

in *V* tucta via] *Ch* vita mia lacking in *V*¹. In *V* there follow two additional stanzas of doubtful authenticity: A tutora vegio esento . edonne grarasgione . chamore miconsente . voi gentile criatura . giamai nonno abento . vostra bella fazone . cotanta valimente . pervo sono fresco ongnora Alsole riguardo lovostro bello viso . chema damore priso . etengnolmi ingrande bonaventura . pero atutura . chi albuono sengnore crede . pero sono dato alavostre merzede. — *MEr*ze pietosa agiate . dimeve gentile cosa . chetuto ilmio disio . eciertto bene faccate . alente piu cherosa . checio chio piu colio . evoi vedere sovente . lavostre dolze vista . achui sono ubicato . core ecorppo donato . allora chio vividi primamente . mantenente fui jvostro podere . che altra donna mai nonvolglio avere.

III

- i. "Dolze meo drudo e vaténe;
meo sire, a Dio t'acomando,
chè ti diparti da mene
ed io tapina rimanno.
Lassa! la vita m'è noia,
dolze la morte a vedere,
ch'io nom penssai mai guerire
menbrandome fuor di gioia.

5

- ii. Membrandome che ten vai,
lo cor mi mena gran guerra;
di cio che piu dislai
il mi tol lontana terra!
Or se ne va lo mio amore
ch'io sovra gli altri l'amava;
biasmo la dolze Toscana,
che mi diparte lo core."

10

15

All MS readings here given are those of V, the only MS in which the poem occurs. 8. fuor di gioia] fuori dinoia 12. tol] tolle 15. biasmo] biasomomi de

- iii. "Dolcie mia donna, lo gire
nonn è per mia volontate,
chè mi convene ubidire
quelli che m'à 'm potestate.
Or ti conforta s'io vaio
e gia nom ti dismagare,
ca per null' altra, d'amare,
amor, te nom falseragio.

20

- iv. Lo vostro amore mi tene 25
 ed àmi in sua sengnoria,
 ca lealmente m'avene
 d'amar voi senza falsia.
 Di me vi sia rimembranza,
 non mi pigliate 'n obria; 30
 c'avete in vostra balia
 tutta la mia disianza.

23. null' altra] nulla l'altra 24. falseragio] falseragio 25. mi] che mi 27.
 lealmente] lealmente 30. pigliate] agiate 32. tutta] tuta

- v. Dolze mia donna, 'l commiato
 domando senza tenore;
 che vi sia raccomandato 35
 che con voi riman mio core:
 cotal' è la 'namoranza
 degli amorosi piaceri
 che non mi posso partire
 da voi, donna, il leanza." 40

33. T] lo 36. riman mio] rimane lo mio

IV

- i. Oi llasso, nom pensai
 sì forte mi paresse
 lo dipartire di madonna mia.
 Poi ch'io m'alontanai,
 ben paria ch'io morisse, 5
 menbrando di sua dolze compangnia.
 E già mai tanta pena non durai
 senon quanto a la nave adimorai;
 ed or mi credo morir certamente
 sed a llei no ritorno prestamente. 10
- ii. Tutto quanto eo via
 sì forte mi dispiace

94 *Poems Ascribed to Frederick II and "Rex Fredericus"*

che non mi lassa im posa i' nesun loco;
 sì mi stringe disia
 che no posso aver pace, 15
 e fami reo parere riso e gioco.
 Menbrandomi suo' dolze 'nsengnamente,
 tucti diporti m' escono di mente;
 e non mi vanto ch'io disdocto sia,
 senon là ov' è la dolze donna mia. 20

1. lasso] *LR* lasso 4. Poi] *V* da poi *LR* a poi alontanai] *V, LR* alontai 9. morir] *V, LR* morire 10. sed a llei] *V* sedallei *LR* se dallei 13. nesun] *V* nesu 14. stringe] *V, LR* distringe 17. suo] *LR* luo

iii. O Deo, como fui matto
 quando mi dipartivi
 là ov' era stato in tanta dengnitate!
 E s'io caro l'acatto,
 e scioglio come neve, 25
 pensando c'altri l'aia 'm potestate.
 Ed e' mi pare mille anni la dia
 ched io ritorni a voi, madonna mia;
 lo reo pensiero sì forte m'atassa
 che rider nè giucare non mi lassa. 30

iv. Kanzonetta gioiosa,
 va là, fior di Soria,
 a quella c'à im presgione lo mio core;
 di' a la piu amorosa
 ca per sua cortesia 35
 si rimembri del sùlo servidore,
 quelli che per suo amore va penando,
 mentre non faccia tutto il suo comando;
 e priegalami per la sua bontate
 ch'ella mi degia tener lealtate. 40

22. dipartivi] *V* dipartive 25. scioglio] *V* scolgio *LR* scolgio 26. potestate] *LR* podestate 29. forte] *LR* forto 30. rider] *V, LR* ridere giucare] *LR* giocare 31. Stanza iv is lacking in *LR* 32. va là, fior] *MS* valafiore 33. im presgione lo mio core] *MS* lo mio core im presgione 38. faccia] *MS* faccio 40. tener] *MS* tenere

NOTES ¹

POEM I: DE LA MIA DISIANZA

MS: V 51 (Imperadore Federigo).

Editions: Valeriani I, 66; Bartoli, *Crestomazia*, 102; Ulrich, 51; Ragnar Öller, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, XVII (1915), 166-188.

Metrical Scheme: 9 lines, 6 + 3; 50 + 33. ABbC, ABbC; cAaCcA.
775 775 5 5 5

5 stanzas; *collegata*.

General note. This is the only one of the poems ascribed to Frederick and his sons which has previously been published in a critical edition — that of Öller. Öller's edition contains exhaustive literary and linguistic notes.

1. The form *disianza*, with single *s*, is restored from the incipit in the table of contents, in the scribe's hand.
2. *penata* for *penato*, through elision and assimilation, or simple scribal error.
3. *chi* is a Meridional form for *che*.
4. *che* is to be taken as a demonstrative relative, equivalent to *quella che*.
6. The emendation *lo meo volire* is the suggestion of Casini, in the *Annotazioni*.
10. The *tut'* of *tut' ora* represents the unfortunate custom of the copyist of V of spelling all forms of *tutto* with a single *t*.
12. The reduction of *sonne* to *sono* and the introduction of the Meridional form *so* are necessary to restore the metre. In the MS, after the word *alegro*, the scribe has written and then crossed out the letters *edill*.
17. No hiatus after *chi*.
19. The *n* of the preposition, which is plainly required by the sense, was doubtless first assimilated to the *r* of *ranchura*, then lost by simplification of the double consonant. This is a common phenomenon in Frederician verse.
22. *tando* is a Meridional form meaning "then." Cf. A. Gaspari, *Die Sicilianische Dichterschule des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1878, p. 194.

¹ Arabic numerals following the letters which designate MSS indicate the number of the poem in the MS. Proper names in parentheses after MS references indicate the ascription of the poem in the MS in question. For explanation of the references to editions or other works which are given in abbreviated form, and for explanation of the symbols used in metrical analysis, see E. F. Langley, "The Extant Repertory of the Early Sicilian Poets," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXVIII (1913), 454-520.

96 *Poems Ascribed to Frederick II and "Rex Fredericus"*

28. It will be noted that stanza iv is furnished by the MS in a very corrupt version. The emendation of ll. 34-35 is that proposed by Casini. For an explanation of the difficulties of the passage, see Öller, 184-187.
33. *chi* = *che*; cf. note to l. 3.
39. Gaspary (*Dichterschule*, 192) proposed to read this *vers estropié* as follows: *Forte mi lia-e tienmi incatenato*. Cesareo (1894 ed., p. 192), suggested a reading: *Tienmi in vilia-forte incatenato*. We have incorporated in our text a third version worked out by Öller, after a suggestion by Tallgren.
42. The suppression of the article in *lo suo*, instead of accepting synalepha between the two parts of the verse, is justified by the fact that possessive forms with and without the article were about equally numerous in the language of this period.
43. *inizadore* has here the meaning "one who interferes."

POEM II: POI KE TTI PIACE, AMORE

MSS: *V* 177 (Anonymous; five stanzas); *P* 50 (Rex Fredericus; three stanzas); *Ch* 228, *Ma* 25, *V*² 8, *UB* 43b (Lo 'mperadore Federigho; three stanzas).

Basic MS: *P*. The choice of *P* as the basic MS for the construction of the text of this poem rests on the following facts: (1) *P* is the older of the two main MSS in question. (2) It presents a text superior on the whole to that of *V*. (3) The orthography of *P* is the most consistently archaic of any of the main sources, as evidenced by such forms as the following, culled from its readings: *degia*, *agia*; *faronde*; *vegno*, *tegna*; *agio*, *partuagio*; *ke lo meo*, *tucta via*; *deio*, *veio*; *compimento*, *senbianti*; *ke eo* (in hiatus); *ka*; *omo*; *sete*.

Editions: Giunti, 116; Valeriani I, 54; Nannucci, 20; E. J. Delécluze, *Dante Alighieri, ou la Poésie amoureuse*, 264; Monaci, 72; D'Ancona e Bacci I, 53; Eugenia Levi, *Lirica italiana antica*, 217; Carducci, *Antica lirica italiana*, 23; Targioni-Tozzetti, *Antologia della poesia italiana*, 14th ed., p. 61.

Metrical Scheme: 14 lines, 8 + 6; 56 + 54. ABCD, ABCD;
 EFFDdGG. 3 stanzas; *collegate*. 7777 7777
 777 4

Orthographical Note: MS *V* has *cie* for *ce*, *anza* for *ança*, *sgi* for *gi*, *ngn* for *gn*, *tuta* for *tutta* or *tucta*.

General note. Professor Wilkins has pointed out that in its metrical arrangement, especially the 4-line foot of the *fronte*, this poem shows some resemblance to a type of German *Lied*.¹

¹ "The Derivation of the Canzone," *Modern Philology*, XII (1915), 152.

1. *tti*: The doubling of initial consonants, especially after monosyllables, is an important phenomenon of the Meridional dialects; cf. *llo* (l. 14), *ssiete* (l. 27), etc.
2. The forms *eo* and *io* alternate in the MSS; *eo* is a Meridional form, cf. *meo* (fem. *mia*). It will be noted that *ke eo* count as two syllables.
3. The enclitic *nde*, from C Lat. *inde*; Mid. Ital. *ne*.
7. *tucta* is one of the Latinisms prevalent in Early-Italian verse.
12. Hiatus in *eo agia*. "*intendimento* = *intendenza* nel significato di *amore, oggetto amato*" (Nannucci).
18. *deio* is the Meridional form which alternates in the MSS with the standard forms *deggio* and (O Ital.) *degio*.
22. The possessive form without the article alternates with the form which includes the article; cf. l. 20.
25. A good case of apheresis, in connection with the Meridional particle *ka*.
26. The common omission in *P*, *Ch*, and *V*² of the particles *ne lo* throws light on the classification of the MSS in connection with the version of this poem, the three MSS mentioned above being of the same family.
- 27-28. Cf. G. Faidit (Mahn, *Gedichte*, 488): *Quar vos etz flors e miralhs de valor - D'autras domnas*.
29. As Tallgren says, "*V* a la manie de l'hypermètre par voyelles finales ajoutées"; this line in *V* reads thus: *Valore sovraltre avete* (9 sylls.).
36. The scribe of *V*, not understanding this line, changed it to what amounts to a gloss of its meaning: *chagia tante belleze*.
38. *di voi* = *come voi* (D'Ancona e Bacci).
42. There is what seems to me a certain snobbish finality about this line, which is one of the reasons which have weighed in my decision to reject the two additional stanzas given in *V*. Other reasons for such rejection are: (1) The additional stanzas are given only in *V*, whose readings for this poem are not in general so dependable as those of *P*. (2) The version of these stanzas is very corrupt and difficult to decipher (Monaci: *assai guasta*). (3) The poem as constituted of three stanzas gives the impression of a well-rounded entity. (4) All former editors agree in publishing only the first three stanzas. (5) The *collegamento* of the stanzas obtains between all the stanzas excepting only 3 and 4.

POEM III: DOLZE MEO DRUDO E VATÉNE

MS: *V* 48 (Re Federigo).

Editions: Monaci, 72; Torraca, *Manuale della letteratura italiana*, I (6th ed.), 30; Savj-Lopez and Bartoli, *Altitalienische Chrestomathie*, 156; Carducci, *Antica lirica italiana*, 8.

98 *Poems Ascribed to Frederick II and "Rex Fredericus"*

Metrical Scheme: 8-line stanza of octosyllabics, 4 + 4; 32 + 32. AB, AB; CDDC 5 stanzas.

General note. This leave-taking poem, the only one of that specific type in the whole body of Frederician verse, is written in the form of a dialogue between lady and lover; the first two stanzas are spoken by the lady to her departing lover, whose reply is contained in the remaining three stanzas. The first two stanzas are, I think, noticeably more popular in tone than the rest, as if the poet had tried to write in a somewhat fresher manner, but had unconsciously reverted to a more courtly style as the poem progressed. Or as G. A. Cesareo (*La Poesia siciliana sotto gli Svevi*, Seconda edizione accresciuta, Palermo, 1924, p. 395) says: "Re Federigo . . . volle comporre una vera canzone drammatica popolaresca sul tema del commiato; ma non riuscì interamente a preservarla dalle gale cortigiane." For the metrical form of the poem, we are indebted to Bilancioni and Casini, who were the first to work out a complete version of the poem on the basis of an 8-syllable line. In *V*, opposite the heading, appears, in a later hand, the following note: *Prima hic Dante nomina Frederigo Cesare*.

1. Some editors have conceived of the first line as a question; I prefer to understand it as a statement, implying resignation of a sort.
2. The reading of the MS is not entirely clear here, the *d* of *acomando* being doubtful; in any case, the B rime is probably a Meridional rime, *t'acomanno: rimanno*.
7. *penssai*: such a spelling is peculiar to *V*.
8. *gioia*: palpable emendation for scribal lapse in repeating *noia*.
11. *di*: "with regard to."
15. "È forte a sospettare che la lezione del testo vaticano sia qui alterata, imperocchè *Toscana* non rimi con *amava*, nè risponda alla *lontana terra* accennata nel verso, che di poco antecede" (Bilancioni). "Quanto alla *lontana terra*, ben poteva una donna di Puglia o di Sicilia chiamar così la Toscana, che le allontanava l'amante" (Casini). Since cases of assonance are extremely rare in rime poems in Early Italian, it may be the case that the text has suffered some alteration or emendation here; since the poem exists in a single MS, it is impossible to settle that question.
- 17-20. These lines are significant, and will be considered later, in connection with the problem of the attribution of the poem. Unless conceived purely as a fiction, this quatrain could not have been written by the Emperor, but might well have been written by Frederick of Antioch on the occasion of his going into Tuscany as his father's vicar, in 1246 or thereabouts.
24. *falseragio*: surely a scribal variation for the Meridional form *falseraio*, required by the rime.

- 25-28. Note the feudal tone and terminology of this quatrain. One would expect less of sincerity in a reference of this kind; for the feudal system, which was the background of the Provençal poets and whose terminology it was natural for them to use, did not obtain in the Kingdom.
30. *pigliate*: emendation proposed to replace the MS *agiate* and to restore the line metrically (Casini).
34. *tenore*: the change to *temore* proposed by some is unnecessary. Re Giovanni: "*Rendan le lor castella senza tinore*" (Torraca).
36. MS: *checonvoi rimane lo mio core*. An interesting example of *V*'s hypermetric readings.
40. *il leanza* = *in lealtà*, a feudal formula for swearing.

POEM IV: OI LASSO, NOM PENSAI

MSS: *V* 49 (Rugierone di Palermo); *LR* 118 (Rex Federico; 3 stanzas).

Basic MS: The two MS versions are very close together. The second half of *LR*, in which this poem occurs, was written by the same hand as MS *V* (Tallgren calls it "1"), probably somewhat earlier. Since the spelling of *LR* is more consistent and more archaic, we shall consider *LR* as the basic MS, at least in the matter of orthography.

Editions: Allacci, 512; Valeriani, I, 121; Nannucci, 53; Ulrich, 56; Monaci, 74; Carducci, *Antica lirica italiana*, 9; Butler, 63; Targioni-Tozzetti, *Antologia della poesia italiana*, 14th ed., 74.

Orthographical Note: MS *V* spells *fortte*, *ciertta*, etc.

Metrical Scheme: 10 lines, 6 + 4; 50 + 44. ABC, ABC; DDEE.

77 77

In stanza i, E = A. 4 stanzas (*Commiato* = stanza lacking in *LR*). *Commiato*.

General note. I have been unable to locate, nor does Nannucci indicate a possible Provençal original for the poem referred to by Gaspary (*Dichterschule*, 91): "Interessanter wäre die Canzone Rugerone's von Palermo: 'Oi lasso, non pensai,' wenn sich nicht etwa einmal auch von dieser herstellt, dass sie ein provenzalisches Original hat."

2. *paresse* is doubtless the Tuscanized form of a Meridional *parisse*, which would rime perfectly with the *morisse* of l. 5.
13. The value of the double consonant in *lassa* is doubtful; *V* spells *lascia*.
17. The original rime of ll. 17 and 18 was probably one in *-enti*, the normal Meridional termination in both words.
24. *si* is intensive, "surely, indeed."
29. *atassare*: *far rimaner diaccio*, "to chill" (Cesareo, 1924 ed., p. 282).
31. Stanza iv is lacking in *LR*.

100 *Poems Ascribed to Frederick II and "Rex Fredericus"*

32. This line has been read in various ways by editors of the poem (Monaci: *va' la fior di Soria*; Nannucci: *Va' alla fior di Soria*; Butler: *va là, fuor di Soria*). Nannucci has the following rather unconvincing note: "La donna, dalla quale il poeta si duole d'esser lontano, come appare da questo verso, era partita con la Crociata per la Soria." Butler notes: "The poem is obviously addressed to a lady at home, and not to any 'flower of Syria.' The alteration of one letter which I have made restores the right sense." Gaspary (*Dichterschule*, 91): "Borgognoni meint allerdings, Soria sei hier für die Bezeichnung der Landschaft von Sora in Unteritalien zu halten; denn es sei nicht denkbar, dass der Dichter sich in eine Sarazenin verliebt und ihr sicilianische Gedichte ins Morgenland gesendet habe; diese Einwände jedoch schwinden wenn man nur an die wunderbare Geschichte Jaufre Rudel's denkt; die Gräfin von Tripolis war doch auch keine Sarazenin, und Rugerone konnte einen Kreuzzug mitgemacht und die Liebe zur Blume Syriens mit nach Hause gebracht haben." The editor has in the present text proposed a reading which differs from any of these but which is more nearly a literal rendering of the MS and which he thinks is therefore worthy of consideration.
33. The inversion in this line in the MS is doubtless due to carelessness on the part of the scribe.
34. *faccia*: the emendation by changing a single letter seems to be natural, and one necessary to restore the meaning.
39. *priegalami*: the diphthongized form is probably due to a Tuscan copyist. Where there are two or more MS versions, it is almost always possible to find one or more undiphthongized forms.

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NOTES

PUBLIC READINGS OF NEW WORKS IN MEDIAEVAL UNIVERSITIES

AN interesting practice in the mediaeval universities, which appears to have hitherto been little known or noted in modern accounts of them, is that of public recital by the author before the entire academic body, both faculty and students, of a newly composed work. During the past year I have run across three — or rather, five — instances of this custom, all from the thirteenth century, and it would seem to have been a not uncommon observance.

Buoncompagni da Signa, the somewhat bumptious author of numerous works on rhetoric, letter-writing, legal papers, and Ciceronian subjects,¹ in 1215 A.D. recited his *Rhetorica antiqua* (Old-Fashioned Rhetoric) "in the presence of all the professors of canon and civil law, and other doctors, and a numerous multitude of scholars," at Bologna, where it was forthwith "approved and crowned with laurel."² In 1226 the same work was read at Padua before the doctors and students, the papal legate, and the bishop and chancellor of Milan. In 1235 the *Rethorica novissima* (Rhetoric Up-to-Date) was similarly read at Bologna. Buoncompagni says in the preface: "So I finished this rhetoric at Bologna, where, in the presence of the venerable father, Henry, bishop of Bologna, master Tancred, archdeacon and chancellor, the chapter and clergy of Bologna, and in the presence of the doctors and scholars in residence at Bologna, it was found worthy of the glorious honor of being solemnly recited in the cathedral. But while it has thus been

¹ In addition to the two rhetorics presently to be mentioned, he wrote treatises with the following titles: *Quinque salutationum tabulae*; *Tractatus dictionum*; *Notulae aureae*; *Oliva* (concerned with privileges and confirmations); *Cedrus* (or, *notitia generalium statutorum*); *Myrrha* (instructions how to draw up wills); *Breviloquium*; *Isagoge* (or, *epistulae introductorie*); *Boncompagnus* (referred to in the preface of the *Rethorica novissima*: "In the book which I called by my name, Boncompagnus, and in epistolary style made my chief heir"); *Palma* (ed. Carlo Sutter, 1894); *Rota Veneris* (or, *How to Write Love Letters*: extracts were printed by E. Monaci in *Atti d. Reale Accad. dei Lincei*, Ser. IV, *Rendiconti*, V (1889), 68-77; *Liber amicitiae* (in which he distinguishes twenty-six kinds of friends; ed. Sarina Nathan, Rome, 1909); *De malo senectutis et senii* (ed. F. Novati, *Atti d. Reale Accad. dei Lincei*, Ser. V, *Rendiconti*, Classe di scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche, I (1892), 49-67.

² "... recitatus, approbatus, et coronatus lauro Bononiae . . . a.d. 1215, sept. kal. apr. coram universitate professorum iuris canonici et civilis et aliorum doctorum et scholarum multitudo numerosa": quoted by G. Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in Italia*. Vol. I. *Il medio evo*. Parte ii. *Storia interna della scuola medioevale italiana nel medio evo* (Milan, 1914), pp. 260, 261, from *MS. H. 13* of Archivio Capitolane di S. Pietro.

solemnly approved, of still greater authority will be its present use, which will display the favor proper to the work."¹

Very similar wording is employed by Master Lawrence of Aquileia concerning his work on the *Ars dictamen*, dedicated to Philip the Fair, king of France, completed at Paris during the pontificate of Boniface VIII,² and approved by the masters and scholars of the University of Paris. He says: "And granted that in the presence of the masters and scholars in residence at Paris the present compilation has merited to be decorated with the glory of solemn recitation and has been solemnly approved, yet greater (will be the glory) of present utility which will show perpetual favor to the work."³

Our third example of a public reading of a new work is the most interesting, since the book read was a history, a subject which we do not think of as having been taught in the mediaeval universities. The first chair of history in a university is said to have been that occupied at Milan towards the close of the fifteenth century by Giulio Emilio Ferrari. However that may be, in 1262 Rolandinus of Padua read through his History of the Trevisan Mark in the presence of various doctors and magistrates, whose names he lists individually, and of the undergraduate body of the University of Padua.⁴ Rolandinus lived from 1200 to 1276. His father had already gathered materials towards a history of the Trevisan Mark and turned them over to his son when he was twenty-three years of age. Rolandinus carried the story down to 1260. When he had finished the recital of his work, the regents, "skilled doctors in philosophy and natural science," and "professors, useful and vigilant in grammar and rhetoric, who had been especially gathered for this purpose, applauded, approved, and solemnly authenticated the said book or Chronicle by their magisterial authority." Rolandinus was himself a doctor of grammar and rhetoric, according to an epitaph given by Scardeone.⁵ His preface was printed by Mittarelli in 1779⁶

¹ I have translated the passage from the Latin text as printed by Aug. Gaudenzi, *Bibliotheca iuridica medii aevi*, Bologna, 1888-1901. Concerning Buoncompagni da Signi one may consult further Carlo Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften des magister Buoncompagnus. Ein Beitrag z. ital. Culturgeschichte im 13. Jhrt.*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1894.

² Therefore it may possibly have been completed in one of the first years of the fourteenth rather than during the thirteenth century. The work is contained in a well-preserved manuscript of the fifteenth century in the Laurentian Library at Florence, *Gaddi reliq.* 129, fol. 103 *et seq.*

³ "Et licet in praesentia magistrorum et scholarium Parisius commorantium praesens compilatio solemnisi recitationis meruerit gloria decorari et solemniter fuerit adprobata, maior tamen existentis utilitatis quae operi favorem perpetuum exhibebit."

⁴ "... praesenti etiam societate baccalaureorum et scholarium liberalium artium de studio paduano."

⁵ Bernardinus Scardeonius, *De antiquitate urbis Patavii, et claris civibus Patavinis* (Venice: Valgrisi, 1558), and later editions.

⁶ *Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum* (Venice, 1779), cols. 1023, 1024.

in connection with a description of a fourteenth-century manuscript¹ of his history, formerly in the library of the monastery of S. Michele, Murano, near Venice. The Chronicle was printed at Venice in 1636, and again in Muratori's *Scriptores*, vol. VII.

It seems evident that the public readings which we have noted were special occasions and not ordinary lecture courses. It would even seem that the whole work was read through at one sitting, which must have been a rather prolonged one. Possibly portions of the work were taken for granted. In the days before printing perhaps no more satisfactory form of publication could have been devised than this of solemn, ceremonial recital in the presence of dignitaries and the general academic community, whose loyal support of its individuals' efforts is a good example of mediaeval community-spirit and solidarity. The crowning of authors with laurel long before the time of Petrarch, and the association of history with grammar and rhetoric in the mid-thirteenth century, suggest that many things predicated of the Italian Renaissance date well back into the preceding mediaeval centuries.

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A NOTE ON A NOTE TO A NOTE

[IN a note originally written to explain to the Managing Editor an apparent bibliographical inconsistency, Professor Thorndike has effected a happy reconciliation between mediaeval natural history, the New Learning of the Italian Renaissance, and the modern science of bibliography. Delighted by this note to the two last references in footnote 1 of *Public Readings of New Works in Mediaeval Universities* (p. 101, above), the Managing Editor prevailed upon the author to consent to publication.]

The variant forms used in the citation of publications of the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei* printed above in footnote 1, p. 101, perhaps calls for a brief explanatory note. The old Academy of the Lynxes, so named because the scientists forming it hoped to emulate the fabulous powers of vision ascribed to the lynx by their penetrating observation of nature, was founded at Rome in 1603, but became extinct in 1651. In 1801 it was revived by the *Accademia fisico-matematica* which thereupon changed its designation to *Accademia de Nuovi Lincei*. By 1804 the feeling of novelty had sufficiently worn off for the lynxes to drop the adjective "new" (*Nuovi*) from the title, and in 1840 this second academy of the lynxes ceased to exist. But in 1847 Pope Pius IX again revived it, this time with a still different name, *Accademia pontificia dei Nuovi Lincei*. In 1870 the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*

¹ Codex 176.

came into being, and is the one whose publications are cited above. The papal society continued, however, refusing to be entirely supplanted. As for the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, in 1875 it branched into two sections: *Classe di scienze fisiche, matematiche e naturali* and *Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*. But while these two sections issued separate *Memorie* in the *Atti* of the joint society, their *Rendiconti* were issued in one publication previous to 1892. But then, beginning with the Fifth Series, we have two different *Rendiconti* published by the two above-named sections of the academy. All which goes to show that, though a leopard cannot change his spots, a lynx can change his name as well as see through solid objects, and that, though not as long-lived as the phoenix, he rises again from his ashes more frequently.

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GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS ON INDO-GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

IN the year 1188, the archdeacon and royal chaplain, Giraldus Cambrensis, returned from England to his native Wales at the command of Henry II to preach the Third Crusade and, in company with Archbishop Baldwin, spent over a month in touring the country. The events of the journey and the observations which the archdeacon made at the time were published a few years later in companion volumes, the *Itinerarium Kambriae* and the *Descriptio Kambriae*.¹ The two books give much interesting information about the topography of Wales, the customs and the temper of the people; and in one passage in each book Giraldus turns aside to comment on their language and its relation to other languages with which he is familiar. The first passage (*Itinerarium Kambriae*, i, 8, *ed. cit.*, pp. 75-78) tells of a priest named Eliodorus, who, at the age of twelve, took refuge from his schoolmaster's rod in a hollow on the bank of a river, and so made the acquaintance of two elves, who conducted him to their twilight country beneath the earth; he spent a considerable time with them, returning at intervals to the upper world to visit his mother, but finally he incurred their displeasure by trying to steal the golden ball of the elf-king's son, and so lost the way of return. However, he retained the memory of their language, and was still able in his old age to quote certain phrases of it to the Bishop of St David's. Giraldus reproduces two of these phrases, noting the similarity of certain words of this 'other-world' language both to Greek and to Welsh, and then goes on to make some interesting philological comments:

Erant autem verba, sicut ab episcopo praedicto mihi sunt saepe proposita, Graeco idiomati valde conformia. Cum enim aquam requirebant, dicebant *Ydor*

¹ *Giraldi Cambrensis Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio Kambriae*, ed. J. F. Dimock, London, 1868 (Rolls Ser., XXI, vi).

ydorum; quod Latine sonat, aquam offer. *Ydor* enim aqua eorum lingua, sicut et Graeca dicebatur: unde et vasa aquatica *Ydriae* dicuntur: et *Duur* lingua Britannica similiter aqua dicitur. Item salem requirentes dicebant *Halgein ydorum*, id est, salem affer, *Hal* vero Graece sal dicitur, et *haleyn* Britannice. Lingua namque Britannica, propter diutinam quam Britones, qui tunc Troiani, et postea Britones a Bruto eorum duce sunt vocati, post Troiae excidium moram in Graeciae fecerant, in multis Graeco idiomati conformis invenitur.¹

Hic autem mihi notabile videtur, quod in uno verbo tot linguas convenire non invenio, sicut in isto. *Hal* enim Graece, *Halein* Britannice, *Halein* similiter Hibernice [sic!]: *Halgein*, *g* interposita, lingua praedicta. Item *sal* Latine, — quia, ut ait Priscianus, in quibusdam dictionibus pro aspiratione ponitur *s*; ut *Hal* Graece, *sal* Latine; *hemi*, *semi*; *hepta*, *septem*, — *Sel* Gallice, mutatione *a* vocalis in *e*, a Latino; additione *t* literae, *sali* Anglice, *sout* Teutonice. Habetis ergo septem linguas, vel octo, in hac una dictione plurimum concordantes (*ed. cit.*, pp. 77-78).

At this point we should note the following passage in the *Descriptio Kambriae* (i, 15) in which Giraldus comments upon the difference in temperament between Romans, Franks, and Welsh on the one hand, and English, Saxons, and Germans on the other, and ascribes this difference to the fact that the last three peoples came from a chill northern region, whereas the first group all trace their ancestry back to the sunny Troad. The Welsh, he says, after a long stay in Greece, made their way to the west of Europe, still keeping the vocabulary of their ancestors and preserving better than the other nations the purity of the original language; hence the agreement of a large number of Welsh words with Greek or Latin words:

Tres etenim populi, Romani Enea duce, Franci Antenore, Britones Bruto, post Troianum excidium,

“Reliquiae Danaum atque immitis Achillis,”

ab Asia in Europam varias ad partes profugerunt. Tribus igitur his nationibus hinc animositas, hinc nobilitas, et tanta generositatis antiquitas; hinc perspicacis ingenii subtilitas, et loquendi securitas.

Inter has autem gentes, quae Troiani reliquiae sunt excidii, soli Britones, quia multis forte post eversionem patriae annorum curriculis in Grecia detenti, tardius in occiduos hos Europae fines advecti sunt, et primaeva gentis suae vocabula, et originalis linguae proprietatem abundantius retinuerunt. . . .

Notandum etiam, quod verba linguae Britannicae omnia fere vel Graeco conveniunt vel Latino. Graeci *Ydor* aquam vocant, Britones *Duur*; salem *Hal*, Britones *Halein*; *Mis*, *Tis*, pro ego et tu, Britones autem *Mi*, *Ti*; *Onoma*, *Enou*; *Penta*, *Deca*, *Pimp*, *Dec*. Item Latini frenum dicunt, et tripodem, gladium et lorica; Britones *froin*, *trebeth*, *cladhif*, et *lhuric*: unico unig, cane can, belua beleu (*ed. cit.*, pp. 193-194).

Giraldus's theory as to the reason for this resemblance — the sojourn of the Trojans in Greece — need not detain us, bound up as it is with the story of the descent of the Britons from the Trojan Brutus, which persisted

¹ In this paragraph we may have a remnant of a dream where the learning which the schoolmaster was trying to put into young Eliodorus's head got mixed up with fairy lore that he had heard at home.

so strangely and so long. His etymologies, or rather his observations on what are, or what seem to him to be, related words are, however, of interest. He could scarcely be expected to recognize *froin*, *trebeth*, and *lhuric* as borrowings from Latin at the time of the Roman supremacy in Britain, but he deserves much credit for identifying at all *frēnum* with *froin* (New-W. *frwyn*), *tripedem* with *trebeth* (New-W. *trybedd*), and *lōrica* with *lhuric* (New-W. *llurig*).¹ At first sight, one is tempted to group *unig* with the Latin loans *froin*, *trebeth*, and *lhuric*, but Sir Morris Jones does not seem to regard it as such. Unfortunately the radical vowel *u* does not help us greatly in determining this point since Latin *u* appears as a rule as *u* in loan words into Welsh (e. g. Lat. *purus*, Welsh *pur*) and the Welsh development of Idg. *oi* is also *u* (e. g. **oinos* > Welsh *un*, 'one'); the suffix *-ic* (New-W. *-ig*), too, is common to Latin and Welsh, but *unig* is almost surely a native formation from the numeral *un*, itself certainly native.²

In bringing together *gladius* and *cleidhib* (New-W. *cleddyf*) Giraldus is treading on dangerous ground as the precise relation between these words is still debatable. (Irish *claideb* appears to be a loan from Welsh.) Modern opinion tends, however, to support the theory that there is a connection here.³ Welsh *beleu* 'marten' (var. *bele*, pl. *belawon*, *balawon*) is not, as Giraldus thought, related to Lat. *bellua* (*belua*) 'beast' but rather to Lat. *feles* 'cat';⁴ but this is an error into which he would have almost certainly fallen. On *duur* and *ῥῶπ*, too, he has been led astray by a dialectal form: *duur* (New-W. *dŵr*) 'water' is a by-form of *dwfr*, Irish *dobar*, and Continental Gaulish **dubron* preserved in the river-names *Vernodubrum* (the Verdoube) and *Dubra* (the Tauber).⁵ Giraldus's etymology reminds us rather of the ἀλώπηξ, *loper*, *oper*, *pex*, *fex*, *fox* sort of thing! When Giraldus would associate W. *can* (New-W. *cann*) 'white' with Lat. *canis* 'dog,' we

¹ L. Mühlhausen, 'Die lateinischen, romanischen, germanischen Lehnwörter des cymrischen' in *Festschrift Ernst Windisch* (Leipzig, 1914), Nos. 105, 127, and 217 (pp. 283-309). Giraldus's spelling *froin* is suspicious and suggests rather the modern *ffroen* 'nostril' than *frwyn* (New-W. *frwyn*) 'bridle'; but his Welsh orthography is not the best, and such an inaccuracy or irregularity may be attributed well enough to a lack of real knowledge of the language on which he is reporting. *Trybedd* is taken by Mühlhausen — and probably correctly — as coming from the adj. *tripedem* rather than from the subst. *tripodem* as Giraldus gives it.

² Cf. J. Morris Jones, *A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 98, 96, and 257.

³ A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (2nd ed., Heidelberg, 1910), under *gladius* (see also *clādes*).

⁴ Walde, *op. cit.*, under *feles*.

⁵ H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik d. Keltischen Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1913), I, 35-36; for river-names see especially G. Dottin, *La Langue Gauloise* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1920), pp. 88-89. On the affiliations of *ῥῶπ*, see Walde, *op. cit.* under *unda*, and W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch d. griech. Sprache* (2nd ed., Göttingen, 1905), s. v.

have something still more curious. The Welsh word for 'dog' is *ci*, pl. *cŷn* (Irish *cú*, *cóin*), cognate of the Latin *canis*; W. *can* 'white,' on the other hand, is a cognate of Lat. *candeo*.¹ What Giraldus seems to have done, is to confuse *canis* 'dog' with *cānus* 'white'; but how this happened in his particular case might be difficult to explain. But in noting the similarity of *halein* (New-W. *halen*) 'salt' and *ɛls* with the cognates in Latin, French, English, and "Teutonic" (Dutch); *enou* (New-W. *enw*) 'name' and *δνομα*; *unig*, 'sole' 'only' with *unicus*; the pronouns of the first and second persons; and the numerals, he is on absolutely firm ground and is anticipating the discoveries of nineteenth-century philologists.²

Giraldus's achievements are all the more remarkable when we consider them against the background of twelfth-century knowledge. Living in an age when members of the inferior clergy read *Dominus his opus habet* as *Dominus hisopus* (hyssop) *habet*, or *in diebus illis* as *in die busillis* (Busillis being supposedly a king or other important personage), and even an abbot was guilty of such slips as *Non est tuum vir*; *Ubi sunt tuas vaccas?*³ Giraldus was able to write a correct and pleasing Latin style, and to adorn his pages was with a large number of quotations from Latin authors. With French he equally at home, so that, rather oddly, on his visit to Wales his stirring sermons were delivered to the people in French and Latin rather than in his mother-tongue.⁴ In his student days at Paris, and later at the court of Henry II, he must have met men of many other nationalities, and their widely varying speech furnished him with abundant material for comparative study. His ear was keenly sensitive to resemblances and differences in sound — he notes, for instance, that the language of North Wales is purer than that of the South,⁵ and that the speech of Cornwall and Brittany is in his day still sufficiently like Welsh so that it can in the main be understood by Welshmen⁶ — and he is quick to catch up such words as the Middle-

¹ Walde, *op. cit.*, under *candeo* (cf. *cānus* and *canis*).

² E. A. Freeman, in his *History of the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1876), V, 579, calls him "the father of comparative philology." In a note on one of the lectures on *Comparative Politics* (London, 1873, pp. 486-488) Freeman discusses both the passages quoted above (with the erroneous statement that both are from the *Itinerarium Cambriae*), and says that *Teutonic* "must refer to some form of Low Dutch." On this last cf. p. 108, n. 1, below.

³ *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, D. ii, 35-36 (Rolls Ser., XXI, ii, 341-348).

⁴ *De Rebus Gestis*, ii, 18 (Rolls Ser., XXI, i, 75, 76) and *Itinerarium Cambriae*, i, 11 (Rolls Ser., XXI, vi, 83).

⁵ Giraldus must refer here to the differences which exist (and existed) between the northern and southern dialects. These differences were, so far as we know, slight both in respect to vocabulary and treatment of the sounds (see Morris Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 6); still, a northern speaker in Vendotia or Powys may have commented adversely to him on the speech of the Southerners of Demetia and Gwent!

⁶ *Descriptio Cambriae*, i, 6 (Rolls Ser., XXI, vi, 177).

Dutch *sout*¹ and the French *sel* and to group them with the languages that he already knows. In giving *halein* as the Irish equivalent of Welsh *halein* his memory has played him false; Irish, like Latin, retains in general the Indo-European initial *s-* before a vowel and, for the Welsh *halein*, had and still has *salann* 'salt.'²

His equipment in Greek was probably extremely meager. "The scanty references to Greek literature [in his works]," says a modern biographer, "seem to have been filtered through a Latin translation;"³ and his knowledge of individual Greek words may have come to him by a similar round-about route. Yet he uses these few Greek words to demonstrate a striking similarity between Greek and Welsh. This similarity is particularly interesting to the philologist of to-day because the two languages seem to have followed the same line of development from Indo-Germanic, at least in so far as both change an original initial *s-* before a vowel to the aspirate (*ἄλς*, *halein*), and both shift the difficult velar sounds to *p* (*πέντε*, *pimp*).⁴

One wonders if it was not Priscian who first opened the Welshman's eyes to this similarity. Giraldus's statement that the Latin *s* takes the place of the Greek aspirate is frankly quoted from Priscian; indeed all his examples are found in the two passages of that writer's *Institutiones Grammaticae*⁵ that discuss the matter:

i, 42. saepe pro aspiratione ponitur [s] in his dictionibus, quas a Graecis sumpsimus, ut 'semis,' 'sex,' 'septem,' 'se,' 'sal': nam ἡμισυ, ἕξ, ἑπτά, ἔ, ἄλς apud illos aspirationem habent in principio.

xiii, 25. et in aliis enim dictionibus quibusdam solent Aeolis sequentes vel in digamma vel in s convertere aspirationem: ἡμισυ 'semis,' ἕξ 'sex,' ἑπτά, 'septem.'

It is noteworthy that the word *ἄλς*, which Giraldus takes as the starting-point of his observations, occurs in the first of these passages, and that several other Greek words which Giraldus lists are to be found in Priscian: 'δνομα' (ii, 22), 'πεντεκαίδεκα . . . *decem et quinque*' (xviii, 172).

Mis and *tis*, which Giraldus gives as the Greek equivalents of *ego* and *tu*, have so far refused to disclose their origin to editors. Freeman conjectures that Giraldus may have picked up the New-Greek plurals *μεῖς* 'we'

¹ Freeman's conjecture that *Teutonice* referred to "some form of Low Dutch" (p. 107, n. 2, above) is correct. *Sout*, cited by Giraldus, is a Middle-Dutch form of the modern *zout* 'salt'; cf. Franck's *Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (2nd ed., 's-Gravenhage, 1912), under *zout*.

² On the treatment in Celtic of Idg. initial *s-* before a vowel, see Morris Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134, and Pedersen, *op. cit.*, I, 70-72.

³ Henry Owen, *Gerald the Welshman* (London, 1904), p. 4.

⁴ On the Idg. labio-velars in Celtic, see Morris Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 127, and Pedersen, *op. cit.*, I, 126.

⁵ Ed. H. Keil—M. Hertz, *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig, 1859), Vols. II, III.

and *σεῖς* 'ye' from an Italian sailor;¹ but this explanation, while barely satisfactory for *mis*, fails utterly to provide for *tis*.² It may be a significant coincidence that *mis* and *tis* are correctly cited in the thirteenth book of Priscian's grammar—not, to be sure, as forms of the Greek pronoun, but as the Latin equivalents of *ἐμοῦς* and *σοῦς*. After pointing out that the Greek genitive in *-ous* corresponds to the Latin in *-is* in words like *Δημοσθένους*, *Demosthenis*; *Ἑρμογένους*, *Hermogenis*, Priscian continues (xiii, 4): *sic ergo ἐμοῦ, σοῦ, οὐ, 'mei, tui, sui, 'ἐμοῦς δὲ 'σοῦς οἷς' 'mis, tis, sis*.³ Might not Giraldus's recollection of the passage have been slightly confused, so that he remembered the archaic and unfamiliar Latin genitives *mis* and *tis* as Greek?

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¹ *Comparative Politics*, pp. 487–488.

² Even for *μῆς* = *mis* we should have to assume that Giraldus had confused plural with singular. According to Freeman's theory Giraldus's *tis* would suppose a Middle-Greek **τεῖς*; but the older dialectal *τ*-forms of the 2nd sg. pronoun (cf. C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*, § 118 and § 120, Boston, 1910) do not appear to have come down into mediaeval or modern times. *Σεῖς* ('*σεῖς*'), the only faintly similar form of a pronoun of the 2nd person, is of course a plural form, of which the sg. (*σὺ, ἑσύ*) is quite different (cf. A. Thumb, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular* (transl. S. Angus, Edinburgh, 1912), § 135, p. 85.

³ On *mis*, *tis*, and *sis*, see Ferd. Sommer, *Handbuch d. lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre* (2nd ed., Heidelberg: Winter, 1914), pp. 409, 410, where it is pointed out that *sis*, quoted by Priscian as = *οἷς*, is apparently a ghost-word, not elsewhere recorded. An OLat. 3rd sg., *sis* would, in any event, have nothing to do with the New-Greek 2nd plu. *σεῖς*.

REVIEWS

A HANDFUL OF HELPS TO THE STUDY OF MEDIAEVAL LATIN

- H. P. V. NUNN, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin* (Cambridge: University Press, 1922). Pp. xiii, 162. 6/-.
STEPHEN GASELEE, *An Anthology of Medieval Latin* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1925). Pp. xii, 139. 7/6 (= G).
OTTO STANGE and PAUL DITTRICH, *Vox Latina III: Ausgewählte Proben lateinischen Schrifttums von 800 n. Chr. bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924). Pp. vi, 146. M. 3.30 (= V).
CHARLES H. BEESON, *A Primer of Medieval Latin. An Anthology of Prose and Verse* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1925). Pp. 389. \$2.00 (= B).
CHARLES UPSON CLARK and JOSIAH BETHEA GAME, *Medieval and Late Latin Selections* (Chicago: Mentzer, Bush and Co., 1925). Pp. iv, 242. \$1.60 (= C; reviewed below by Professor Beeson).
KARL POMEROY HARRINGTON, *Mediaeval Latin* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1925). Pp. xxix, 698. \$2.80 (= H; reviewed from page proofs).

SOME of us have been maintaining for years that we are living in a new Middle Age; here is eloquent testimony to a new sympathy on our part for the elder mediaeval period. Only ten years ago, in teaching Medieval Latin at Yale, I had to send abroad months in advance for scattered texts for my classes; there was no good anthology available. And now, suddenly, behold six collections, each with its special advantage; and what is most remarkable, with very little conflict or overlapping. One notes the *Confession of Goliath* and the *Escape of Walter and Hildegund*, to be sure, in four; but each has numerous important *unica*: Nunn has Adamnan and Thomas à Kempis; Gaselee, Gildas and Duns Scotus; Clark and Game, Brendan and Tungdal; Stange and Dittrich, Ruodlieb and Paracelsus; and Beeson and Harrington each has a host of special attractions.

These books vary greatly, however, in the point of view, the period covered, the number and length of extracts, and the *clientèle* at which the author has aimed. Nunn is a Patristic Greek scholar, whose interest lies primarily in Church writers; Gaselee, an English librarian of wide culture and reading; Stange and Dittrich, Dresden scholars, whose purview covers literature and theology, as well as history; Beeson, one of Traube's most brilliant pupils, a trained medievalist and, in this company, like a professional among amateurs; Clark, who taught Latin paleography at Yale for many years, and Game, a skilled trainer of teachers; and Harrington, talented editor of Latin lyric poets, approaching the subject from the classicist's standpoint. Only Nunn and Beeson confine themselves strictly to the medieval period; Gaselee even brings us down to a Swiss abbot's letter of 1916; Stange and Dittrich to Leo XIII; Harrington to Milton; and Clark

and Game to Peter Martyr of Anghiera, friend of Ferdinand and Isabella. It is hard to compare accurately the amount of text quoted; taking Nunn, the briefest, as unity, $G = 2$, $C = 2\frac{1}{2}$, $V = 4\frac{3}{4}$, $B = 7\frac{1}{2}$ and $H = 11\frac{3}{4}$. Clark and Game is the most elementary, being even available for high school seniors; it is the only one with a full vocabulary. Nunn, Stange and Ditt-rich, Beeson, and Harrington provide footnotes to supplement any large Latin lexicon; Beeson gives besides a brief vocabulary of common me-dieval words; Gaselee treats lexicography with a high disdain. My ex-perience taught me that, at Yale at any rate, a large proportion of my students (especially graduate students) had successfully met the traditional requirement for being gentlemen — they had forgotten Latin — and needed about the same vocabulary help as the ordinary student of Virgil; and Game and I find by tests with college students that Liudprand, e. g., seems harder even than Tacitus.

And now for a brief sketch of each book. Nunn's is primarily a gram-mar of Church Latin, with an appendix of 40 closely printed pages of ex-tracts. This grammar, of Medieval Latin syntax, has copious illustrations from the Vulgate, but it is not abreast of recent research and publication; Löfstedt's monumental commentary on Aetheria, e. g., published ten years earlier, has not been utilized. Perhaps the most striking feature of this Latin is, of course, the replacement of the accusative-infinitive construction in indirect discourse by a *quod* (*quia*, *quoniam*) clause; this goes back to Plautus (*As.* 52, *Mil.* 893); Petronius is fond of it; yet Nunn still quotes Madvig respectfully against the authenticity of the first Plautus passage. The *quia* clause (from which comes the Italian *che*, Sp. *que*) is also used by Petronius (46, 4). But till a scientific grammar of Medieval Latin is writ-ten, this brief compendium will be of great value to the beginner. Among the extracts are Jerome's Ciceronian dream, Bede on the arrival of St Augustine of Kent, and Thomas Aquinas on the fruits of the Incarnation.

Gaselee's is a charming piece of bookmaking, beautifully printed, and quite the thing for an open fire and a well-drawing pipe. It is the fruit of wide reading, and gives many useful bibliographical hints; a number of amusing anecdotes and stories testify to a keen sense of humor; and several of the selections, especially in poetry, come from almost inaccessible sources. We even have, as frontispiece, Giulio Romano's lovely Joanna of Aragon, who is described in the extract from Nifo, *De pulchro et amore*. Altogether a delightful book.

Stange and Ditt-rich's volume is the first part to appear of a Latin an-thology in three parts; the editors are connected with the Dresden Gym-nasium zum heiligen Kreuz, and express a debt of gratitude to Manitius. It comes nearest to being a connected *Literaturgeschichte*; numerous para-graphs, often characterizing authors not represented, provide a fairly com-

prehensive view of the progress of Latin literature from Minucius Felix to Leo XIII. These extracts are largely connected with the medieval German Empire, but touch the whole field, from Tertullian of Carthage to Francis Bacon of Verulam. Each section — Merovingian Literature, e. g., or The Reformation — has a good summary; and there are brief sketches (but without adequate bibliography) of each author cited. Many passages have wide interest, like Symmachus's eloquent plea for the worship of Victory, Salvian's indictment of the Christians, Rosamund's vengeance on Alboin, the Strasburg Oaths, the reconciliation between Walter and Hagen, some of Poggio's *Facetiae*, Loyola on true love and Calvin on the Sacraments. It is a handy and well-printed book.

Beeson's *Primer* owes its origin to the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, whose indefatigable secretary, Professor George R. Coffman, contributes a brief foreword. In the choice of the selections Beeson was guided in part by suggestions from this Committee and from scholars outside of the Committee as well; so the anthology reflects a broad literary and historical interest. Beeson has used great skill in condensing, particularly in his valuable Introduction, where Medieval Latin vocabulary, syntax, and versification are handled in a most practical way. The selections have been standardized in spelling, and have brief introductions and occasional notes — hardly enough, I fear, for the ordinary student, often rusty in Latin and without access to a large dictionary or reference library. As in Harrington, there is a small vocabulary, and the footnotes cover words not in Lewis's *Elementary Latin Dictionary*. Too high praise cannot be given the choice of selections. Whether the student's interests lie in the medieval drama, the short story, the lyric, historical writing, he will find examples long enough to be enlightening, competently chosen and admirably edited. One sees everywhere the hand of a master. Beeson conceived his task as that of providing an introduction to further study; but any student who works carefully through these selections will have already gained a good idea of the wealth of medieval literature and the peculiarities of the medieval mind. Publisher and editor have turned out a convenient and well-printed handbook.

Harrington's *Mediaeval Latin* is the most monumental and comprehensive of the six. It is astonishing to list the authors not found in the others — Eugippius, Avitus, Fredegar, Theodulf, Adam of Bremen, Thomas of Monmouth, to mention only a few — or the different passages, like Gregory of Tours's masterly description of Clovis's disposal of Sigbert and his kingdom; incidentally be it said that Gregory's most charming story — the *Two Lovers* — is in none of these collections. The material is tabulated as drawn from European History; the First Crusade; Travel and Anecdote; Epic, Pastoral and Lyric Poetry; Hymns; Fables; Satire; Drama; Mira-

cle Literature; Novel; Story Cycles; Epistle; Dialogue; Oratory; Philosophy; Carolingian Renaissance; Italian Renaissance. The Introduction contains a brief grammar, and the well-written sketch of each author adds a welcome list of editions. The book is further lavishly illustrated, and forms a broad introduction to European culture, from Roman to modern times.

Ten or fifteen years ago I used to be nonplussed how to answer friends who asked: what books shall I order for my classes for the lectures (or the course) in Medieval Latin which I am to give next year? All I could do was to recommend a number of scattered texts hard to obtain. Now advice is easy. With these six, one has the material for an exhaustive course in medieval literature; any one will be a welcome addition to a college course in Classical Latin. What we need now, as Beeson says, is a series of well-edited texts, supplementing Heraeus's *Sammlung vulgärlateinischer Texte* and Hilka's *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte* (Winter, Heidelberg). I had arranged, in 1917, to devote the seminar of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome each year to such a text, beginning with those of special interest to Rome and Italy; and I feel that the announcement of such a seminar in one of our large universities would make it a fruitful center for genuinely cultural studies. Then our students can browse freely in those lush meadows which hitherto have been the exclusive preserve of a Felix Dahn or an Anatole France.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK and JOSIAH BETHEA GAME, *Medieval and Late Latin Selections* (Chicago: Mentzer, Bush & Co., 1925). Pp. iv, 242. \$1.60.

Professor Clark may be considered one of our earliest mediaevalists. Ten years ago he read Mediaeval-Latin texts with his classes at Yale as literature worth reading for itself. The few courses in that field that were given in those days were given by historians and instructors in the modern languages, unless they could inveigle some accommodating colleague in Latin, with an elastic conscience, to venture into what many of his fellow classicists regarded as the slums of literature.

Professor Clark has gone even further. He has had the courage to edit with Professor Game a textbook of mediaeval selections for the use of second year high-school students. The authors will undoubtedly receive a blessing from many a student, who will learn there for the first time that the *dico quod* construction, with which he had experimented in his composition lessons, with disastrous results, is a perfectly logical construction, though it is doubtful whether he will ever be allowed to think that it is a respectable one.

The new book contains an admirable series of selections that range from Jerome, Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great and Bede to Erasmus

and Peter Martyr. There are fables from Odo of Sherrington and Romulus, stories from Petrus Alfonsi, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and others, tales of St Benedict, St Columban, and St Francis, extracts from Columbus's Latin letter and Peter's account of the voyages of Columbus and Cabot. Poetry is represented by extracts from the *Waltharius* and the *Carmina Burana*, including the *Confession of Goliath*. The selections have been arranged in the order of difficulty, ending properly enough with Liudprand. The notes, which are full and to the point, reveal the hand of a skilled teacher. A complete vocabulary enables the student to dispense with the use of a lexicon; the English derivatives in the definitions are printed in small capitals.

The book should give the student a clearer appreciation of mediaeval literature and a comprehension of the continuity of all the European literatures. Incidentally it may be added that one of the best features of the book is the announcement in the Preface of a forthcoming work by Professor Clark on Mediaeval Latin Literature. The need of such a book has been long felt, and it is a matter for congratulation that the task has now fallen into such expert hands.

CHARLES H. BEESON.

PAUL TH. HOFFMANN, *Der mittelalterliche Mensch, gesehen aus Welt und Umwelt Notkers des Deutschen*. F. A. Perthes: Gotha, 1922. Pp. 356.

THE keynote of this book by a young literary historian, influenced by Gundolf and Bertram, is an earnest desire to understand both the high achievements and the unavoidable shortcomings of the mediaeval view of life.

It sets out with the thesis that what gave the Middle Ages greatness was the striving for the impossible: the attempt to escape the body, to flee from the finite, to live exclusively in the infinite and the spiritual. But it also acknowledges from the start that what gives the Middle Ages its principal human charm is the naïve compromise with the flesh and the world which this daring spiritualism after all was forced to make.

This double quality of mediaeval life is vividly brought out in a great variety of states of mind, institutions, and personalities: in the exaltation of suffering and the joy of martyrdom; in the interpretation of all natural phenomena as symbolic of some spiritual truth; in monasticism, with its glorification of sexless existence and at the same time its cultivation of a sublimated sensuousness; in church rites and ceremonies standing for abnegation of self and surrender to the unseen, yet abounding in spectacular sumptuousness; in the wonderful humanity of St Benedict and his *regula*, combining humility, reverence, absorption in the beyond with a serene, joyful, and robust every-day activity.

From these considerations of a more general character the book proceeds to a special study of the monastery of St Gall. Five chapters are de-

voted to giving a many-sided view of its chief characteristics: its geographical key-position on one of the great highways between the Mediterranean and the North Sea; its ethnical peculiarity as a meeting ground of Irish, Italian, and German popular tradition; its architecture, sculpture, ivory work, and miniature painting; its connection with the rulers of the Empire and the ducal dynasty of Suabia; its long array of remarkable personalities — either abbots or monks — from St Gallus down to such men as abbots Gozbert and Solomon III or the monks Tuotilo, the four Ekkehards, Notker Balbulus and Notker Labeo, after his death called Teutonicus.

The climax of the whole is reached in the chapters on Notker Teutonicus. In him the author seeks to show the converging of all the chief intellectual and emotional tendencies of the early Middle Ages, analyzed in the previous chapters. And in his translations from the Psalms, Aristotle, Boethius, Marcius Capella, he traces in detail the process of transformation of Oriental and Graeco-Roman ideas into German thought and feeling of the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh.

The book is not without blemishes. Its style is full of mannerisms. Its thought has a certain visionary, if not hysterical, vagueness which is perhaps due, in part at least, to the upheaval of intellectual conditions in Germany brought on by the World War. But it is a book of decided suggestiveness and a welcome sign, among many, of a turning away in German literary research from the merely analytical method to a new synthetic approach.

KUNO FRANCKE.

Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office, Volume VI, 1347-1356 (pp. vii, 620); Volume VII, 1356-1368 (pp. iv, 577); Volume VIII, 1369-1377 (pp. iv, 547). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1921, 1923, 1924.

THE FINE ROLLS, of which the above are the latest Calendars, form one of the three series of enrolments of writs under the great seal kept by the English Chancery during the later Middle Ages. The title is somewhat deceptive, for, while the rolls contain records of payments for writs and the *Grossi Fines*, the greater part of the entries consist of enrolments of Letters Patent and Letters Close dealing with matters of more general interest. In the Calendars the entries relating to payments for writs are omitted. For students of mediaeval administrative history the rolls are a primary source of information. They contain also a certain amount of material of value to those who are interested in social and economic backgrounds.

During the fourteenth century the Chancery gradually relegated to the Fine Rolls a large number of writs that had to do with matters relating to the financial interests of the crown, especially the writs of appointment of officials who, though not always tax-collectors, had duties that brought money into the Exchequer. By the time of the Calendars now under con-

sideration, the enrolment of the writs of appointment of sheriffs, escheators, keepers of castles and of temporalities, collectors of customs, collectors of fifteenths and tenths, keepers of towns and other officials with similar duties, were made on the Fine Rolls. Supplementary instructions to the sheriffs, escheators and other officials are found in large numbers on the same rolls. For any study of administrative problems this series is, therefore, of fundamental importance.

The student who is not primarily interested in administration will find also quite a number of enlightening bits of information. Of the services to be rendered to the king for land there are many quaint examples, not the least curious being that of a man who held a stew by Stafford, "by the service of holding the king's curry-comb once at his first mounting of his palfrey whenever he comes to Stafford" (VI, 239). There are a number of references to different kinds of ships and their cargoes, one of which cargoes rivals a peddler's cart in its miscellaneous contents (VI, 437-438). The methods used by those persons who carried gold and silver out of the realm contrary to the king's orders are well illustrated (VII, 27). John Nore, who must have regretted the rumor, is said to have found a treasure-trove in the form of a pot hidden in the earth "with money in old sterlings to no small amount" (VII, 293). In the roll for 1349 there are strangely few direct references to the Black Death, though there are, in the writs directed to escheators, long lists of tenants recently deceased. Even the historian of manorial institutions will find at times accounts of stock on a manor and descriptions of the duties of farmers that may be of use to him (VII, 363-370).

The work of calendaring is up to the usual high standard of Public Record Office publications, and the indexing is very well done.

JAMES F. WILLARD,
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La Philosophie au Moyen Age. By Étienne Gilson (Collection Payot), Paris: Payot, 1922. Vol. I, pp. 160; Vol. II, pp. 159.

Saint Thomas D'Aquin. By Étienne Gilson (Les Moralistes Chrétiens), Paris: Gabalda, 1925. Pp. 380.

UNTIL quite recently it was the accepted thing to look upon mediaeval philosophy as an appendix to theological speculation, or at best as containing nothing of significance for modern thought. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century thinkers were in the main responsible for this widespread attitude. Possessing no critical historical sense and driven by a spirit of sheer opposition to theories which they looked down upon, they painted in the darkest possible colors the history of mediaeval thought. No serious student now can afford to accept as conclusive the judgment of Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, and others upon Scholasticism without exposing himself

to the charge of being ignorant of the work of men like Gilson, de Wulf, and Grabmann who have brought out successfully the true nature and tremendous influence of the philosophy of the Middle Ages.

Gilson's *La Philosophie au Moyen Age* was written expressly to demonstrate that, contrary to popular belief, no chasm exists between ancient and modern philosophy. A first-hand study of Scholasticism proves not only that it possessed a remarkable richness and vitality of its own, but that in the thought of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are found the roots of every modern philosophy. That we cannot afford, therefore, to ignore the Middle Ages, is the conclusion of Professor Gilson's study. "Modern thought cannot ignore its own middle age; to do so is to ignore itself. It is not enough to say that the thirteenth century is close to us. The thirteenth century is in us, and we cannot get rid of it by denying it any more than a man can deliberately detach himself from his past by merely forgetting that he has a past (II, 155)."

La Philosophie au Moyen Age is written with all the lucidity and sprightliness which the French customarily bring to the most abstruse subjects. In this work a deep knowledge of the difficult currents of mediaeval thought is joined to a scholarly appreciation of the importance of individuals and systems in the history of philosophical thinking. The man who knows nothing of mediaeval philosophy will be delighted with this volume. The student will find it a remarkable summary of what he already knows, done with a freshness and wholesomeness which will send him back to his beloved thinkers with a renewed and even higher sense of their value for civilization.

The section devoted to the School of Chartres is particularly well done. Abelard assumes therein his rightful place as a precursor of the more systematic thinkers of the thirteenth century. The legends which have grown up about this remarkable man are successfully demolished, and he is presented not as a caricature of a philosopher but as the convinced and able Platonist he really was. The influence of the Arabian and Jewish philosophers on Western thought is estimated justly, and the rôle which the University of Paris played in the elaboration of mediaeval philosophy is constantly brought before our minds. No single institution has ever exerted such tremendous intellectual power as Paris, the Alma Mater of every great philosopher, scientist, and literary man of those times.

The history of the philosophy of the fourteenth century cannot but bring many a surprise to those who are unacquainted with the prodigious activity displayed by the thinkers of that age. It was a century of criticism, often of a very devastating kind. It opened up the way, by the writings of Ockam, Nicolas of Autrecourt, Peter d'Ailly, and others, to the destruction of the science of Aristotle, and placed solidly the foundations of modern astronomy and physics. Buridan, Albert of Saxony, and Nicholas Oresmus

were some of the men who translated philosophical Ockamism into scientific terms and began an era of experimentalism which in our own day is manifesting its true possibilities.

Gilson is a specialist in Thomism. Few writers to-day possess a better sense of the fundamental significance of the philosophy of the Angelic Doctor. His most recent book, *Saint Thomas D'Aquin*, is devoted exclusively to the ethical teachings of this thinker. In ethics as in metaphysics St Thomas was an innovator. So novel in fact was his system that it shocked even the advanced thinkers of the thirteenth century. Augustinianism in theology and Platonism in philosophy had dominated for so long the intellectual life of mankind that a theology presented in terms of Aristotelianism seemed to many but an adventure in heresy. St Thomas proved, however, that a satisfying synthesis of Christian ethics and humanistic philosophy could be made, and it did not take long for his system to be accepted, first by the faculty of the University of Paris, and then by every university in Europe.

The ethics of St Thomas is presented in a series of texts drawn from his principal writings, the translation having been newly done by Professor Gilson. The order follows that of the *Summa Theologica*. The critical comments are brief, and illustrative of the texts rather than the ideas of the compiler. With this work in existence there can no longer remain any excuse for contemporary philosophers pleading ignorance of what the greatest philosopher of the Middle Ages thought about the problems of morality.

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Essays in Mediaeval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout. Edited by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke. Pp. ix, 432. Manchester: printed for the subscribers, 1925.

THIS handsome volume was offered to Professor Tout last October on the occasion of his seventieth birthday and his retirement from the chair of history in the University of Manchester, which he held for half a lifetime. It does fitting honor to one of the most vigorous historical forces of our time, a great teacher, a powerful stimulator of research in original records, creator of a school of administrative history which has been compared to the constitutional history of Stubbs and the legal history of Maitland. Of the twenty-nine contributors the majority are naturally English, including eleven former pupils, but there are five Frenchmen, two Americans, a Belgian, and a German — that admirable scholar and loyal friend, the late Felix Liebermann, whose paper on Nennius is probably the last product of his pen. Most of the contributions deal, as they should, with administrative, financial, judicial, and parliamentary history, chiefly English but not ignoring those French relations which Mr Tout has persistently empha-

sized; and the results in these fields, too numerous to list in detail, alone would make the volume indispensable to investigators. Municipal history is touched by James Tait and the new Regius Professor, H. W. C. Davis. Religious history is represented by Miss Deanesley's study of the early *familia* at Christchurch, R. L. Poole's fresh treatment of the earliest English cardinals, and A. G. Little's masterly examination of the Franciscan provincial chapters. Pirenne has something to say of the internal waterways of Flanders in the Middle Ages. The literary themes, Latin and vernacular, treated are: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, patronage under Henry II, Barbour's *Bruce*, and Hugh de Novocastro, the last being from the master hand of Ch.-V. Langlois. The final number is a list of Professor Tout's writings, compiled by Mrs. Tout and filling eighteen pages.

CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Harvard University.

Bulletin Du Cange : Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi. Consociatarum academiarum auspiciis conditum; digesserunt J. H. Baxter, C. H. Beeson, H. Goelzer, editor, L. Nicolau D'Olwer, P. Thomas, V. Ussani. Paris: Edouard Champion, 1924-25.

THIS publication is the official organ of the societies coöperating in the preparation of the new *Dictionary of Medieval Latin*. It was established over two years ago by the *Comité central* under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale, which had originated and organized plans by which learned societies of several nations joined their forces for the revision of *Du Cange*.

The collaborators in the undertaking include representatives from America, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, England, France, Holland, Italy, Roumania, Scandinavia, Spain, and Servia. Some of these are working in groups, some are isolated workers. The purpose of the new journal is to unify and systematize their work, to promote research on problems connected with the *Dictionary*, to encourage the redaction of texts necessary to the enterprise, and to serve as a clearing house of information generally. The international character of the journal is emphasized by allowing articles to appear in English, French, German, Italian, and Latin.

Up to date, four issues have appeared, at intervals of three months. Each number has four parts. Part I contains the principal articles, of which the titles in each number follow: No. 1 — Ch. V. Langlois: "Historique sommaire de l'entreprise"; W. M. Lindsay: "Note on the use of glossaries for the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin*"; V. Ussani: "Lezioni varie e scoli di classici in servizio del Dizionario medievale." No. 2 — W. H. Prior: "Notes on the weights and measures of Medieval England" (I); Biagio Brugi: "La 'Groma Pompeiana' e il testo dei 'Gromatici veteres'." No. 3 — W. H. Prior: "Notes on the weights and measures of Medieval England" (II); P. S. Leicht: "Il termine 'communitas' in una littera di

Gregorio II"; A. Silvagni: "Se la silloge epigrafica signoriliana posse attribuirsi a Cola di Rienzo" (plate); No. 4—G. Mazzini: "Il Codice Vaticano latino 3313 della grammatica di Prisciano"; C. Plummer: "Glossary of Du Cange. Addenda et corrigenda" (1st article).

Part II contains briefer articles of a miscellaneous character, e.g.: "The Virgil glosses of the Abolita Glossary and the Glossae Virgilianae" by Robert Weir (No. 2); "An emendation to Gunzo" by J. H. Baxter (No. 2); "The Paris 'Placidus'" by J. W. Mountford (No. 1); "The Tours and Vendôme Manuscripts of the *Liber Glossarum*" by J. W. Mountford (No. 3); "Un Manuscrit Inutilisé du *Liber Monstrorum*" by A. Thomas (No. 4); "De 'Sacramentario Leoniano' denuo edendo" by V. de Zanche (No. 4).

Part III is devoted to reviews of recent publications in the field of Medieval Latin: No. 1—"Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores," by A. Silvagni; "La storia di 'Parochia' e 'Plebs,'" by A. Schiaffini; "'Lacto' nella Volgata," by A. Vaccari; "I testi Trentini dei secoli VI-X," by G. Gerola; No. 2—"Die Perfektformen auf -ere und -erunt. Ein Beitrag zur Technik der spätlateinischen Kunstprosa," by Harald Hagendahl; "La scrittura latina nell' età romana," by Luigi Schiaparelli; "Raccolta di documenti latini," (Id.); Eginhard, *Vie de Charlemagne* (edited and translated) by L. Halphen; *Glossae Medicinales* (ed.) by J. L. Heiberg. No. 3—"L'escuela poetica di Ripoll en els segles X-XIII" by Lluís Nicolau D'Olwer; "Note Paleografiche. Sulla data e provenienze del cod. LXXXIX della Bibliotheca Capitolare di Verona," by Luigi Schiaparelli; 'Diploma di Berengario II e Adalberto per il marchese Aleramo (958-961), 25 marzo' (Id.); "Il Codice Ambrosiano del *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*," by L. Gramatica and G. Galbiati. No. 4—*S. Aureli Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Epistolae* recensuit . . . Al. Goldbacher, Pars V, Praefatio Editoris et Indices; "A Study of the Vocabulary and Rhetoric of the Letters of St. Augustine—A Dissertation," by Sister Wilfred Parsons, A.M. (The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies, Vol. III).

Part IV, the *Chronique*, furnishes information about current activities in each nation affiliated with the enterprise. Here appear complete reports of the proceedings of the *Comité central* in Paris, briefer accounts of the different national committee meetings, lists of texts being studied in various centers for the use of the *Dictionary*, bibliographical material being collected, and similar projects being pursued by national or local groups and individual workers.

No. 1 also contains technical instructions regarding the preparation of material for the *Dictionary* for the use of immediate collaborators.

SISTER A. MARGARET,
College of St Catharine.

MAURICE DE WULF, *Histoire de la Philosophie médiévale*. 5th French ed. Vol. I, pp. viii, 396; Vol. II, pp. 326. Louvain: Institut de Philosophie, and Paris: Alcan, 1925.

SPECULUM takes pleasure in announcing a new edition of this classic from the pen of Maurice De Wulf, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Louvain and at Harvard University. The *Histoire de la Philosophie médiévale* now appears entirely recast and brought up to date in the light of the numerous publications of recent years. Whole chapters are new, e. g., those on Latin Neo-Platonism of the thirteenth century, Ockamist philosophy, and the social philosophy of the fourteenth century. As the author points out in the preface, he is studying the philosophic movements in their surroundings and in their relations of interdependence with the other factors of civilization. This study is intended to shed new light on the systems of thought, whose temporal connections have not hitherto been thoroughly understood.

Dr Ernest Messenger has undertaken the English translation of this work, of which the first volume has just been issued by Longmans, Green, London.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

I

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

1. All communications intended for publication should be presented with as much consideration for style as the nature of the subject will permit.
2. Articles in foreign languages will usually be accepted, but it is hoped that the authors of such articles will, if expedient, permit an approved English translation to be substituted.
3. Scholarly articles are often encumbered with superfluous apparatus in the way of extensive footnotes and quotations from modern authorities. It is hoped that contributors will try so far as possible to express such information in their own words, with only the usual note of reference. Where the writer wishes to give a brief bibliography, a longer note may be desirable.
4. Quotation from primary sources (original texts) is of course often essential, but even here brevity, in so far as this is compatible with clearness, should be sought.

II

TYPOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RULES

In the interest of uniformity, clearness, and economy, the editorial board has adopted the following typographical and bibliographical conventions. Since these will be applied to all MSS published, contributors are requested to coöperate by following these rules when preparing their MSS. *Special cases will receive special consideration*, but it is hoped that contributors will be sparing in their departures from the regular editorial practice.

1. All MSS must be typewritten, and double-spaced, on only one side of standard-size ($8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11''$) paper. Ample margins should be left on all sides. MSS exceeding four or five pages should not be folded or rolled.
2. Except for such recognized Anglicisms as *shew* for *show* and *-our* for *-or*, the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* will be taken as the orthographic authority.
3. Italic will be used for words and phrases not in the language in which the article is written, including quotations not exceeding five

or six typewritten lines, which appear in the body of the text (see § 6 below); also for the titles of books and poems, ancient or modern, of periodical publications, and for the title of manuscripts. Such words, phrases, passages, or titles, unless italic script itself be used, should be underscored.

4. Titles of articles *in* periodical publications will be in roman and quoted. See § 14 below.

5. The following words, phrases, and abbreviations should be italicized:

ad loc., *cap.*, *circa* (*ca.*), *et al.*, *ibid.*, *infra*, *loc. cit.*, *op. cit.*, *passim*,
saec. (*s.*), *scilicet* (*scil.* or *sc.*), *sub voce* (*s. v.*), *versus* (*vs.*), *vide*
(*v.*), *viz.*,

but not:

col., cf., etc., e.g., ff. (following), fol. (folio), i.e., and p.

6. In the body of the text, quotations in any language of over five or six typewritten lines will be printed without quotation marks in small roman as separate paragraphs (see § 3 above). In footnotes, also printed in small roman, quotations will be treated in the same manner. In typewritten MSS, small roman may be indicated either by single-spacing or by a vertical line at the side of the quoted passage.

7. Wherever special type is necessary, a marginal note of instruction should be added. **Full-face** should be indicated by a wavy line under the word or words.

8. It will be of great convenience to the editors if footnotes are placed immediately below the line which carries the reference number, and are set off from the text by a line drawn above and below the note.

9. Reference numbers used for footnotes will be printed continuously *on the page*, but not continuously throughout an article.

10. In the citation of references the amount of bibliographical detail will be left to the discretion of the contributor, but — taking into consideration the desired omissions — the order of the items should be presented in the form and order given below. As a rule, item 5 should not be included in citing books over twenty years old. Contributors are urged, however, to give full bibliographical data when referring to out-of-the-way or very rare books, since such information is often of the greatest help to libraries and to individuals who may wish to order these titles.

The order of bibliographical items should be as follows: (1) author's name, preceded by his initials and followed by a comma; (2)

title (italicized if of a book or periodical, in roman and quoted if of an article); (3) where necessary, the edition, followed by a comma; (4) place of publication, followed by a colon; (5) name of publisher and date of publication; (6) reference to volume (large Roman numerals without preceding "Vol." or "V.") and page (or column). Items 3 to 5 should be placed in parentheses. For example:

H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (3rd ed., New York: MacMillan, 1919), II, 221.

C. Plummer, "Glossary of DuCange. — Addenda et Corrigenda," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, I (1925), 225.

11. Where the reference includes the number of the volume, as in the illustrations given in § 10, the abbreviation "p." or "col." will be omitted; otherwise the page (or column) number should be preceded by "p." or "col." Folios of MSS should be designated by 'fol.' and described 'r' and 'v' (not 'a' and 'b'). Both "recto" ("r") and "verso" ("v") should be specified. For example:

C. H. Beeson, *A Primer of Medieval Latin* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1925), p. 45.

W.-H. Maigne d'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Paris: Garnier, 1890), col. 1678.

MS. Cotton Vitiel. A. XV, fol. 172v.

12. The names of ancient authors appearing in the body of the text should not be abbreviated, though in footnotes abbreviations may be used: for Greek, according to Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* (rev. ed., Oxford, 1925), pp. xiii-xxxvi; for Latin, according to Harper's *Latin Dictionary* (ed. Lewis and Short), pp. vii-xi. For example:

Oros., iii, 12, 6.

13. In citing from the works of mediaeval and ancient authors, use small roman numerals for 'books,' Arabic numerals for the smaller divisions (chapter, section, etc.). Commas, not periods, should separate these items. For example:

Bede, *Historia Eccl.*, ii, 2.

14. In citing from periodical publications, both volume and year should be given, the year (in parentheses) following the volume number. For example:

R. R. Welschen, "Le Concept de Personne selon Saint Thomas," *Revue Thomiste*, XXII (1914), 129 ff.

"Ueberlieferung und Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien," *Abh. d. kgl. Gesells. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., N. F., XVII (1921), Nr. 2.

15. Upon first reference, titles should be given amply; in succeeding references any conventional or easily intelligible abbreviation may be employed.

16. Ordinarily such abbreviations as *loc. cit.*, *op. cit.* should not be used to refer farther back than the preceding page. Since the

problem, however, is merely to avoid ambiguity, no hard and fast rule need be laid down.

17. All references should be verified in the completed MS. before it is submitted for publication.

18. Mediaeval nomenclature is far from uniform. Where a conventional English form of a name exists, this should be used: thus, *Vincent of Beauvais*, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, not *Vincentius Bellovacensis*, *Vincent de Beauvais*, or *Galfridus Monmutensis*. If no recognized English form exists, it will be preferable in most cases to use the form of the name employed to-day in the language of the writer concerned; thus, *Chrétien de Troyes*, not *Chrestien de Troyes* or *Christian of Troyes*; *Gautier de Châtillon*, not *Gualterus de Castellione* or *Walter of Châtillon*. In many cases the "standard" form is, by common consent and practice, Latin; thus, *Andreas Capellanus*, not *Andrew the Chaplain*. There will of course be many doubtful cases, e. g., *Alanus de (ab) Insulis* vs. *Alain de l'Ile (de Lille)*.

The principle here stated is also applicable in most cases to the titles of mediaeval works.

Except where a well-established Anglicized form exists, place-names should follow the usage of the country in which the place now lies.

19. In preparing the above typographical and bibliographical rules, the editors have been under great obligation to *A Manual for Writers* by J. M. Manly and J. A. Powell (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press).

III

AUTHOR'S CORRECTIONS

The funds of SPECULUM do not admit of an expenditure of over fifteen per cent (15 %) of the cost of composition for alterations in articles once set up in galley-proof. In order that contributors may be spared the expense of exceeding this allowance, they are urged to prepare their MSS as nearly as possible in conformity with the above rules.

IV

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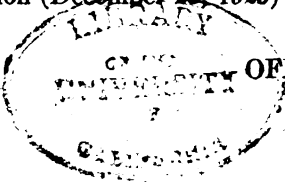


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SPECULUM

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

- THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S
HISTORIA ACTON GRISCOM 129
- THE LITERARY BACKGROUND OF THE *CHANTEFABLE*
JOHN R. REINHARD 157
- SOME ASPECTS OF MEDIAEVAL LATIN STYLE. . MARBURY BLADEN OGLE 170
- AN INDEX OF ABBREVIATIONS IN MISS ALMA BLOUNT'S UNPUB-
LISHED *ONOMASTICON ARTHURIANUM* 190

NOTES

- EXPOSITION DU MOYEN AGE LOUIS JOHN PAETOW 217
- THE ARABIC BIBLE IN SPAIN HENRY S. GEHMAN 219
- A FURTHER NOTE ON A NOTE CHARLES H. HASKINS 221
- CHAUCER IN ERROR E. K. RAND 222
- THE *COMPILATION OF ST ALBANS* AND THE OLD-FRENCH
PROSE ALEXANDER ROMANCE F. P. MAGOUN, JR. 225
- REVIEWS 233

Hermann Beenken, *Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland, 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (A. Kingsley Porter); William Walker Rockwell, *Liber Miraculorum Ninivenisium Sancti Cornelii Papae* (Gordon Hall Gerould); Marc Bloch, *La Vie d'outre-tombe du Roi Salomon* (Gordon Hall Gerould); Reginald Lane Poole, *Chronicles and Annals: a Brief Outline of their Origin and Growth* (Charles H. Haskins); *Byzantion* (R. P. Blake)

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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SPECULUM

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THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S *HISTORIA*: NEW MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE

By ACTON GRISCOM

THE great difficulty in investigating many problems connected with the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth is, as all scholars know, the lack of an adequate critical edition. San-Marte's text (Halle, 1854) is but a reproduction of Giles's text (London, 1844); and, though Giles placed on his title-page "*Novem Codd. MSSis Collatis*" and wrote in the Introduction that "a large number of manuscripts have been either wholly or in part collated for this edition,"¹ nevertheless he seems to have failed to use the manuscripts he names. Instead, he reproduced, with only a few changes in the spelling of proper names and in the tenses of verbs, the printed text of Jerome Commelin of Heidelberg, who published his *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores* in 1587. Certainly, where, in important test-passages, he differs from the very manuscripts he cites, Giles agrees verbatim with Commelin. Indeed, in the list of nine "manuscripts" given in a note on page 240 of his edition, Giles places as the first of these nine "manuscripts" this very *printed* edition of Commelin, as well as another *printed* text of the *Prophecies of Merlin*, published by Michel and Wright. Only one complete manuscript is referred to by Giles in this list, and this he admits to be of the fourteenth century. Of the other manuscripts, he says that he collated only through the first six or eight Books; but the text unfortunately belies his words. As a result, the text which has been

¹ *Galfredi Monemutensis Historia Britonum* (London, 1844), p. x.

accepted for over seventy years as the 'standard,' and which San-Marte reproduced as trustworthy, really depends upon a sixteenth-century printer. One may even push the matter one step farther back, because Commelin in turn based his edition upon the text of Ascensius, printed in Paris in 1508;¹ and one glance at Ascensius's edition will convince the student that neither editor nor printer was equipped to reproduce manuscripts in the modern scholarly sense.

In working out certain problems connected with the sources of Geoffrey, I have made a collation and a critical text of three manuscripts. These three are: (1) University Library, Cambridge, *MS. No. 1706* [old No. *Ii.1.14*], *saec. xii.*; (2) Staatsbibliothek, Bern, *Codex 568*, fol. 18-79, *saec. xii.*; and (3) a manuscript known once as *MS. Porkington 17*, now in the private library of Lord Harlech, Brogyntyn, Oswestry, Shropshire, *saec. xiii.*, which has not heretofore been described though its existence has been more than once recorded. Lord Harlech was so exceedingly generous and kind as to lend his manuscript to me for examination and collation, sending it across the Atlantic through the courtesy of Mr J. Pierpont Morgan, who personally assumed responsibility for it and deposited it in his library in New York. It would be difficult to parallel such an instance of consideration for scholars and the cause of scholarship, and there are many besides the present writer who would wish to express their grateful recognition of so signal an act of generosity.

Many interesting results, which I hope later to publish in detail, have grown out of this work. I here present one, which is of special interest to scholars and which can be clearly set forth within the limits of a single article.

One manuscript, and only one, of the *Historia*, has heretofore been known to have a double dedication in the introductory Prologue — all other manuscripts being supposed to agree with the printed texts in having but a single dedication to Robert of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I and well-known patron of arts and letters. In 1857, Sir Frederick Madden, while perusing an old cata-

¹ I.e., Jodocus Badius Ascensius, *Britannie utriusque regum et principum origo et gesta insignia ab Galfrido Monemutensi*. . . Paris, 1508 (also 1517); cf. Ph. Renouard, *Bibliographie* . . . de Josse Badius Ascensius (Paris, 1908), II, 461, 462.

logue of manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek at Bern,¹ discovered this one manuscript with a double dedication, viz., to King Stephen and Robert of Gloucester, and at that time he wrote: "One would have supposed that so remarkable a fact as is here pointed out, namely, the dedication of Geoffrey's famous work to *King Stephen*,—whereas in all the other extant copies [*nota bene!*], it is addressed to *Robert, Earl of Gloucester*, natural son of Henry I.,—would have attracted immediate attention to the manuscript." ² Madden, however, obviously had neither examined the Oxford and Cambridge manuscripts, so very near at hand, nor those in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Vatican. In fact, the splendid collection of thirty-seven manuscripts of the *Historia* in the British Museum, so readily available, all of which contain merely the usual single dedication to Robert, seems to have diverted the attention of scholars from the thirty-two in the several libraries in Cambridge (nine of the twelfth century), the twenty-six similarly scattered at Oxford (five of the twelfth century), the twenty-eight in the Bibliothèque Nationale (four of the twelfth century), and the eight in the Vatican Library (two of the twelfth century), not to mention at least the eight twelfth-century manuscripts in various public libraries in France, and others in England not in the above collections.

It has not, then, hitherto been noticed by scholars that at least seven manuscripts exist, three in Cambridge, two in Oxford, with one in Paris, and another in Rome, having a double dedication, not to King Stephen and Robert, but to Robert of Gloucester and Waleran, Earl of Mellent. It is astonishing that these manuscripts, four of them of the twelfth and three of the thirteenth century, with this important double dedication, should have been overlooked, not only during a dozen generations of scholarship, but for so many years in the more recent past, when scholars have constantly been forced back to Geoffrey's *Historia* in the course of their researches. It is more extraordinary when one considers also that these manuscripts are in libraries accessible to all. These seven manuscripts are:

¹ J. R. Sinner, *Catalogus Codicum Mss. Bibliothecae Bernensis* (Bern, 1760–1770), II, 242; the MS. in question is No. 568 (pp. 241, 242). See below for facsimiles of fol. 18r, 18v.

² *Archaeological Journal*, XV (1858), 299.

(1) University Library, Cambridge, No. 1706 [*Ii.1.14*], *saec. xii*; (2) the same, No. 1801 [*Ii. iv. 4*], *saec. xii*; (3) Trinity College, Cambridge, No. 1125, *saec. xiii*; (4) Bodleian No. 514, *saec. xiii*; (5) *Bodl. Add. A. 61*, *saec. xiii*; (6) Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin*, No. 6040, *saec. xii*; and (7) Vatican *Latin No. 2005*, end of the twelfth century. The Oxford and Cambridge manuscripts have been described in the official printed catalogues, but the double dedication has been overlooked, though in the case of the Trinity College MS., M. R. James noted with his usual care the new ending of the longer dedicatory paragraph, the significance of which, however, escaped him — as also others who have read this catalogue. The writer has not been able thus far to check for these double dedications all the manuscripts later than the twelfth century; so there may be other copies still to record. However, those known to be of the twelfth century, and all of whatever date in Oxford, Cambridge, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Vatican, in Florence, Dublin, Brussels, Leyden, Rouen, and in the famous Phillipps Collection at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, as well as some others, have been reëxamined with this special point in view.¹

In all, the writer has listed a total of one hundred and eighty-three practically complete manuscripts, with others in more or less fragmentary condition, though it is highly probable that there are more to be discovered in private libraries. Of these, forty-six are indisputably of the twelfth century, distributed among twenty-two libraries in six different countries, and a dozen more of the early thirteenth. Hardy's list² of one hundred and seventy-three, besides being incomplete, has many unconscious duplications, and, as his descriptive detail was frequently taken from very early catalogues or printed summaries, many of his entries need radical revision, and his dating of the age of manuscripts is often mistaken by two centuries. It is obvious, therefore, that a new list is necessary, and it is hoped to publish this with the texts.

¹ The writer is deeply indebted to Stanley V. LaDow, M.A., for investigating the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale for him, and to T. Fitzroy Fenwick for sending detailed descriptions of his three manuscripts at Cheltenham; also to Dr Joseph Martini for scholarly and copious transcripts made from the manuscripts in Florence.

² T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Rolls Series, XXVI (1862), i, 341 ff.

The significant portions of this new double dedication will now be given in translation with the original Latin text and a complete translation on pages 148 and following below.

After a preliminary statement about the old British book which he obtained from Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, and translated into Latin, Geoffrey continues:

Unto this little work of mine, therefore, do thou, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, show favor, so that, being corrected by thy instruction and advice, it may be rated to have sprung, not from the poor little fountain of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but, seasoned by the salt of thy wit, may be said to be the work of one whom Henry, illustrious king of the English, bore, whom philosophy nurtured in the liberal arts, and whom an innate competence made superior to warriors in the art of war, — wherefore the island of Britain now, in these days, rejoices in thee with heartfelt affection as if possessed of another Henry.¹

Here the single dedication, as represented in the printed texts, ends; but in our new manuscripts an additional paragraph appears, the opening sentence of which reads as follows:

And do thou also, Waleran, Count of Mellent, thou other pillar of our realm, give thy aid, that, through the common patronage of both, when presented to the world, this work may shine forth the more resplendently.¹

What follows will be analyzed in due course.

In the Bern manuscript *No. 568* referred to above,² this second paragraph also appears, but as King Stephen's name had been substituted for that of Robert in the first paragraph, Robert appears in the second, displacing Waleran, and the above sentence, as well as all that follows, is made to apply to Robert. The incongruities resulting from these substitutions clearly indicate, as we shall see presently, that the Robert-Waleran dedication preceded the Stephen-Robert.

Since the long familiar single dedication of Geoffrey's *Historia* is direct and personal, it was evidently written before Robert of Gloucester's death, October 31, 1147. It is, however, often possible, where two or more persons are addressed at the same time, to narrow

¹ For text of the Cambridge MS., v. *infra*, p. 147, col. a, ll. 36-50.

² Page 131, fn. 1. V. *infra*, pp. 147, 148, col. a, ll. 50-55 for text.

down the actual date of the time of writing because of some known relationship or special circumstance which either brought together or separated the individuals concerned. This was the special significance of Madden's discovery of the double dedication to King Stephen and Robert, which he pointed out at that time, and which received fuller and somewhat more accurate treatment at the hands of the late Professor W. Lewis Jones.¹ Madden had argued that, once granting the genuineness of the Bern dedications, one could date the composition of the *Historia* within the period of months between the death of Henry I, whose death is implied, and the final break between King Stephen and Robert in 1138, because no writer would have dedicated a book to Stephen and Robert together after civil war had broken out between them. "The only period during which Stephen and the Earl of Gloucester were on amicable terms, even in appearance, must have been between April, 1136, when Robert came over to England and did homage to the King, and May, 1138, at which time the Earl sent to renounce the fealty he had sworn."² After 1138, Robert, supporting Matilda, was in constant enmity with King Stephen until his death in 1147, so that Geoffrey of Monmouth could not have dedicated his history to both men after 1138 without inevitably incurring the wrath of one of them. Since, in fact, the largest number of manuscripts have but the single dedication to Robert, the inference is clear that he took sides with the latter, giving up the attempt to curry favor with the king. Robert, indeed, despite his constant fighting, seems to have been throughout a patron of letters, and William of Malmesbury also dedicated his *Historia* to him.

But the existence, as was supposed, of only one known manuscript dedicated to both the king and Robert cast a shade of doubt upon its genuineness, especially when, in 1899, it was made plain by Professor Jones, who worked from a transcript, that the introduction in the Bern manuscript occupies a separate, preliminary leaf and is "in a different hand from that which immediately fol-

¹ In his study "Geoffrey of Monmouth," published in the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, London, 1900, pp. 52-95.

² Madden, *Archaeol. Journ.*, XV (1858), 310 *ad fin.*

lows, and cannot be certainly identified with any of the others . . . (probably at least five)." After weighing all the evidence, Professor Jones expressed himself as follows: "I suspect that the Bern manuscript, certainly as old a manuscript of the History as any we know, is a copy of a very early edition of the full History, and as there is no valid reason for doubting the genuineness of its dedication, it may be inferred that Geoffrey had completed his first draft of the History before 1138."¹ He had already stated without qualification — just as Madden had done — that "all the known manuscripts," except this one Bern manuscript, had a single dedication to Robert of Gloucester. Apparently he had examined no manuscript of Geoffrey's work outside the British Museum.

However, Professor Jones appears to have altered his opinion radically about two years later in a letter to Dr R. H. Fletcher. Dr Fletcher, summarizing this letter, stated that Professor Jones was "inclined to modify his views about the manuscript as expressed in his article," especially as "it includes in the prophecies the sentence beginning '*Vae tibi Neustria*,' which Ward shows to be a late interpolation."² Briefly put, this sentence from the *Prophecies of Merlin* which are introduced by Geoffrey himself into the text of his *Historia*, and which apparently he had previously published, does not appear in a quotation made from these *Prophecies* by Ordericus Vitalis about 1136, nor does it appear in seventeen manuscript copies of the *Historia* read by Ward in the British Museum. Therefore, it is a clear deduction that the original *Prophecies* did not contain this sentence. Since, however, it does appear in some twelfth-century manuscripts, "the interpolation was [according to Ward] an early one."

Now the fact is that the Bern manuscript does *not* contain this sentence, '*Vae tibi Neustria*,' and Professor Jones must have been misled by a faulty transcript since he himself did not work from the manuscript. Neither does our Cambridge manuscript contain this sentence, and, consequently, we are justified in concluding that the

¹ *Art. cit. supra*, pp. 66, 67.

² "Two Notes on the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XVI (1901), 463, 464. Cf. H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances . . . in the British Museum*, I (1883), 208 ff.

form of the *Prophecies* as they appear in these manuscripts is the earlier. The major argument for setting aside the Bern manuscript as late and interpolated therefore disappears; and the further doubt that the double dedication in this manuscript must be suspected because of its 'uniqueness' also loses weight when we realize that there are at least seven other manuscripts, five of them twelfth-century, not, it is true, with the same double dedication, but with another that is significantly related to it.

The Bern manuscript and our chosen Cambridge manuscript require at this point a word of special description. They run together in a striking parallelism in so far as the orthography of personal names and place-names, the "less polished Latinity," and other minor textual matters are concerned. The names, for instance, approximate far more nearly the Welsh originals than do the printed texts and some of the later manuscripts. Minute comparison would lead one to conclude that they belong to the same early period in the history of the text, still largely uncorrupted by later scribal 'corrections.' The Bern manuscript appears to have been hastily, and sometimes carelessly, written by five different scribes; while the double dedication, occupying, with the "*Description of Britain*," an initial and independent leaf, is certainly in a hand which nowhere else occurs in the manuscript; indeed, the first line may even be in a different hand from the subsequent portion. All the hands are contemporaneous and closely resemble those appearing in facsimiles of handwriting dating before the middle of the twelfth century. The Cambridge manuscript is in one uniform style of writing, very large, clear, and regular, which may be dated with still greater certainty before 1150. There are, perhaps, two hands closely resembling each other—though with a possibility that there is only one—written at different times; in any event, little scribal variation occurs in the spelling of personal names and place-names.

For special reasons, which will be developed later, the Cambridge manuscript is held to be probably the earlier of the two. For example, it does not contain *all* the lines of verse in the first Book, namely, Brutus's invocation of Diana and the goddess's reply (fol. 8r and 8v), which appear in the later manuscripts (including the

Bern) and in the printed texts. This is distinctly significant, in that Henry of Huntingdon, in his letter to Warinus written from Bec in Normandy in January, 1139, while apparently copying these verses, likewise fails to give the complete set. One might infer from this that Geoffrey added lines to the verses of an original edition. Furthermore, the Cambridge manuscript does not give at the conclusion the usual envoy to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, with its repetition of the statement that Geoffrey had a Welsh or British book which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, had given him, and which he had taken pains to translate into Latin. The manuscript, however, comes to a full and normal stop in the middle of the page, with the word EXPLICIT written by the same scribe in capital letters as the first word of a new line. There was plenty of space, therefore, on the page, for the additional paragraph of envoy. Out of scores of complete manuscripts where the usual concluding epilogue is given, this, and only one other manuscript,¹ comes to an end without reference to the rival historians. It is hardly probable that a scribe would have omitted so important a concluding paragraph; moreover, since Warinus demanded of Henry of Huntingdon why he had not told of the early British kings — exactly the field covered by Geoffrey, and provocative of a defensive reply from Henry — we may safely surmise that Geoffrey first published the *Historia* without any reference to other historians, and that, not until his published work was challenged, did he add in a later edition a renewed statement about his sources, claiming, as it were, a sort of patent or copyright for his discovery, and specifically warning rival historians that they must acknowledge his Welsh source for early British history.²

¹ *Phillipps MS. No. 2324*, said by T. Fitzroy Fenwick, who most kindly described his MSS for me, to be of the "twelfth century, in double columns, on vellum. With capitals in green and red." The dedication is said to be to Robert of Gloucester, a point which I am now writing to confirm.

² This whole matter must be dealt with systematically on another occasion since it would require far too extensive an examination to find a place in the present article. See, however, my preliminary study of some of the Welsh MSS involved, "The Book of Basingwerk and MS. Cotton Cleopatra B.V.," *Y Cymmrodor*, XXXV (1925), 49-116 and XXXVI (1926), 1-36, where I have attempted to show that the Welsh MSS have not been adequately examined, and that the internal evidence (colophons, etc.) in some of these tends to bear out rather than to contravene Geoffrey's claim that he was in possession of a native (Celtic) source.

To sum up, however, both the Cambridge and the Bern MSS show a marked similarity in their lack of polish, phrasing, and proximity to a Welsh original. But the Cambridge dedication differs from the Bern and gives evidence, already indicated (p. 133, *supra*), that it was composed at a still earlier date.

To establish this fact, it will be necessary to enter with some detail into the history and relations of the three men involved: King Stephen, Robert of Gloucester, and Waleran of Mellent, and this, fortunately, the unusually full chronicles of the period enable us to do.

Waleran (or Gualerannus) Earl of Mellent (or Count of Meulan, as he is also styled), was born in 1104 and died in 1166. He was twin brother of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and son of Robert de Beaumont, Count of Meulan, who was a prominent adviser and powerful supporter of Henry I until his death in 1118. Waleran and his brother succeeded their father, the former assuming the titles to the French fief of Mellent, and also to Beaumont in Normandy. Imprisoned by Henry I for five years ¹ (1124–29) on account of a rebellious outbreak in which he distinguished himself for barbarous cruelty to his own peasants, Waleran seems to have been reinstated in royal favor, for we see him immediately after his release witnessing various documents in company with the king and his following. The first of these, as published by Dr William Farrer,² may be dated between 1129 and 1131, and is of special interest in that Waleran's signature is directly preceded by that of Robert of Gloucester, implying, in the light of Geoffrey's double dedication, at least a certain companionship together in the king's service, if no more. "The purchases of land, etc., made by Eudo, abbot of St Stephen's, Caen, are confirmed by the king. The signatories are: King Henry . . . Robert earl of Gloucester, Waleran count of Meulan," with a number of important names following. Another document ³ to be dated about

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, xii, 39 (ed. A. LePrévost, IV (1852), 455 ff.). Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, vii, 35, (ed. T. Arnold), Rolls Series, LXXIV (1879), 245.

² "An Outline Itinerary of King Henry the First," *English Historical Review*, XXXIV (1919), 126.

³ No. 622, Farrer, *art. cit.*, p. 134.

1130-31, is similarly signed both by Robert and Waleran, with the same titles and names following. A third, dated Rouen, 1131, is again witnessed by both Robert and Waleran. Still a fourth document, dated July-August, 1131, a "Confirmation to the abbey of Bec," contains both signatures once more, and Waleran appears as "Waleran count of Meulan, patron of the abbey."¹ It was from Bec that Henry of Huntingdon indited his famous epistle, already referred to,² to Warinus the Briton about Geoffrey's *Historia* which he had discovered there, and one wonders if the fact that Henry made just this discovery at Bec may not have some connection with the fact that Waleran, one of Geoffrey's patrons, was also patron of this abbey? One more document contains the signature of Robert immediately preceding that of Waleran; and as Robert was a natural son of the king, thereby outranking other noblemen, it is not without significance that Waleran's signature should so frequently and regularly follow immediately after Robert's, thereby taking precedence over many other powerful retainers who signed the documents with them, and suggesting the possibility of a close relation between the two men.

Henry I died in the castle of Lions, about six leagues from Rouen, on the first of December, 1135.³ Those singled out for mention as at his bedside were Robert of Gloucester, his natural son but not his heir, and Waleran, Earl of Mellent, with the latter's hunchback brother Robert, Earl of Leicester. Owing to storms, Henry's body did not reach England until after Christmas, and he was buried at Reading, January sixth. Stephen, Henry's nephew, who was probably at Boulogne when his uncle died, crossed immediately to England, and, breaking his oath previously made to Henry, was hastily crowned on December twenty-sixth (Ordericus says the fifteenth, but other chroniclers agree on the twenty-sixth) by William de Curboil, archbishop of Canterbury, who also broke his oath to the dead king. Waleran followed Stephen to England. Stephen, whose coronation was ill received by his elder brother, Theobald, and who

¹ Document No. 648, Farrer, *art. cit.*, p. 138.

² P. 137, *supra*.

³ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.* xiii, 19.

had many and powerful enemies, the adherents of Matilda, Henry's daughter and chosen heir, needed above all things to establish his position by winning the friendship of as many powerful supporters as possible. One of his first acts, therefore, some time before Easter 1136, was to betroth his infant daughter to Waleran "*in cunabulis*,"¹ though they were never married. Immediately after Easter, Ordericus tells us, Waleran "hastened to return to Normandy," and recaptured for the king the fortress of Vaudreil from Roger de Toeni, and later, October third, made Roger a prisoner also. Now Easter fell on March twenty-second, and, as Robert of Gloucester apparently did not come to England until April to pay homage and to swear fealty to the king, the probability is that the two men did not actually meet at that time. But it is in this period, while Robert was in England and gave at least the appearance of supporting Stephen, and Waleran, betrothed to the king's daughter, was successfully campaigning in Normandy on the king's behalf, that Geoffrey might well have dedicated his *Historia* to both noblemen: to Robert, in whom "the isle of Britain now, in these days, rejoices with heartfelt affection, as if possessed of another Henry," and to Waleran, "the other pillar of the realm," who, as "the scion of that most illustrious King Charles,"² is guided "to the camp of kings, where, fearlessly outstripping thy comrades, thou, under thy father's auspices, didst learn to be at once a terror to the enemy and the defender of thine own." We shall revert to these phrases later.

William of Malmesbury explains Robert's motives and reserves in coming to England, and says that "he dissembled for a time his secret intentions. He did homage to the king, therefore, under a certain condition, namely, so long as he should preserve his rank,

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.* xiii, 22 (ed. cit., V, 58): *Tunc Stephanus rex filiam suam biennem Gualeranno comiti de Mellento in cunabulis dedit.* Waleran later married Agnes de Montfort. In Vol. IV, fol. 110 of a manuscript catalogue once belonging to Lord Calthorpe, is a charter dated 1136. "By it King Stephen gives the manor of Sutton to God and the church of St Peter of Winchester in exchange for the manor of Morden which he gave to Walleran, Earl of Mellent, and which the church long possessed"—*Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, London, 1874, Appendix, p. 39.

² Charlemagne, from whom Waleran was descended through his mother. For text of quotations, see pp. 147, 148 *infra*.

and keep his engagements.”¹ Stephen, on his part, later took a specific oath recognizing Robert's special claims — which oath he by no means kept. In fact, not long afterwards, he planned a treacherous attack upon Robert, which was foiled only by the latter's prolonged absence from his castle.

During April, 1136, while Robert was in England and Waleran in Normandy, Stephen visited Oxford,² where we have every reason to believe, Geoffrey was “*magister*”; and, since the earliest Welsh life states that Geoffrey “was the instructor of many scholars and chieftains,”³ it would seem that Salter's supposition that he was there a “Canon of St George's” is highly probable. Both Geoffrey and Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, witnessed the foundation-charter of Oseney in 1129, and also a charter at St John's College, Oxford, to be dated between 1125–35; Walter was also present at the dedication of the church at Godstow, April 2, 1138,⁴ and witnessed a deed in the Godstow Cartulary (fol. 5) in January, 1139. It may well have been at precisely the time of Stephen's visit, therefore, that Geoffrey dedicated another copy of his newly-written book to the king as well as to Robert, his regular patron. We shall return to this later.

In the third week of March, 1137,⁵ Stephen crossed to Normandy, joining Waleran, and was followed on Easter day⁶ by Robert of Gloucester, who, as William of Malmesbury suggests, was already wavering in his enforced allegiance to the king and was arranging

¹ *Historia Novella*, i, § 463 *ad fin.* (ed. Stubbs, Rolls Ser., XC, ii, 541): *Itaque homagium regi fecit sub conditione quadam, scilicet, quamdiu ille dignitatem suam integre custodiret et sibi pacta servaret.* Cf. §§ 463, 466.

² Henry of Huntingdon, viii, 3 (ed. cit., p. 258). Cf. J. H. Round's masterly discussion in his *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (London, 1892), pp. 15–24.

³ *Gwentian Brut* or *Brut y Tywysogion*, compiled from early sources in a careless and unreliable manner about 1550, and printed in the *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales* (2d ed., Denbigh, 1870), p. 711 (cf. bottom of col. a and col. b). Cf. H. E. Salter, “Geoffrey of Monmouth and Oxford,” *English Historical Review*, XXXIV (1919), 382–85, where no reference is given, and also W. Lewis Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 58.

⁴ *Carta domini Walteri, Archidiaconi Oxonfordensis, facta conventui de Godestow, in dedicatione ecclesie*, printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, “Additional Particulars for the Biography of Three Oxfordshire Writers,” *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute* (Meeting of June, 1850), London, 1854, pp. 95 ff.

⁵ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.* xiii, 30 (ed. A. LePrévost, V, 81); cf. Henry of Huntingdon, viii, 5.

⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Hist. Novella*, i, § 466 (ed. cit. p. 543).

"what he conceived proper to be done afterwards." In December,¹ 1137, Waleran, who had assisted the king in establishing his position throughout Normandy, returned with him to England, to cope with the rebellion there of several powerful and factious counts, as well as with the rapacity of knightly free-booters. Stephen was measurably successful, and Waleran returned in May, 1138, to Normandy,² attacking Roger de Couches and plundering the country. In June, Geoffrey of Anjou, husband of Matilda — the daughter and designated heiress of Henry I and half-sister of Robert — entered Normandy with a body of troops, bent upon establishing Matilda's claims to the English throne, and "by prayers and promises drew Robert Earl of Gloucester to his side."³ William of Malmesbury adds that "immediately after Pentecost [June thirteenth], sending some of his men from Normandy to the king, he [Robert] took back, following ancient usage, his friendship and allegiance, and even renounced his homage, giving as a just reason, that the king had illegally aspired to the kingdom."⁴

The break between Robert and King Stephen, therefore, can be assigned precisely, and the period of their friendship set between the most definite limits, that is, April, 1136, and June, 1138. In the same way, Ordericus tells us that Waleran within one month (July), not merely declared hostility against, but actually besieged, Robert in his stronghold at Caen. Thus we may also set an absolute limit to any friendship between Robert and Waleran.

In the month of July, Waleran Count [of Mellent] and William of Ypres grieving that the enemy should prevail through intestine treason . . . resolved to go against the Angevins. But Robert de Courcei hastily sent a messenger to Count Geoffrey [of Anjou] and informed him of their machinations, urging him speedily to withdraw from Normandy and to await another opportunity to aggrandize himself. On hearing this, he immediately retreated with his troops in some fear; so that the enemy, who had mustered a large force, were greatly disappointed that the hostile

¹ "On the very eve of Christmas" — Henry of Huntingdon, viii, 5; Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.*, xiii, 32 (ed. A. LePrévost, V, 91): *Unde in adventu Domini festinanter in Angliam transfretavit, et Gualerannum atque Rodbertum comites aliosque proceres pene omnes secum duxit.*

² Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.*, xiii, 37 (ed. A. LePrévost, V, 108).

³ *Ibid.* (ed. cit., V, 108).

⁴ *Historia Novella*, i, § 467 (ed. cit. p. 545).

army, by an unexpected retreat, should escape. Indeed, in order that a thousand soldiers should not seem to have been assembled in vain, and lest they should return to their homes without having accomplished anything worthy, they went to Caen, wasting the country thereabouts, and tried to draw the garrison out of the fortress. But Robert the Count, who greatly feared the factions of both sides, for that reason wisely shut himself up with a hundred men-at-arms.¹

Two knights, who sallied forth with forty men-at-arms, were killed, but the expedition seems to have accomplished little. However, from that time on, Geoffrey of Monmouth would have been ill-advised to dedicate his *Historia* to Robert and Waleran together.

There is no evidence that the two earls ever became friends again after this break. Three years later, before the battle of Lincoln, we find Henry of Huntingdon, in the traditional style, making Robert say to his troops just before the engagement: "Advancing against us we have the Earl of Mellent, practiced in deceit, skilful in perfidy, innate in whose heart is villainy, in whose mouth is falsehood, and whose acts are weakness. Vainglorious in heart and boastful in words, he is pusillanimous in deeds; the last to engage, the first to retreat, slow to fight, swift to flee."² This, written after the event (ca. 1145) by a close friend of Robert, certainly reflects the latter's opinion of Waleran in the years that followed and, as we shall see, is a characterization of the man too largely justified by his acts to be dismissed as mere rhetoric. Incidentally, it argues strongly against the possibility that Waleran and Robert could have made friends after this same battle, when Waleran ceased actively to support Stephen.

In June, 1139,³ we find Waleran back in England at Oxford, where he and his brother were acting as Stephen's chief advisers. For instance, in 1140,⁴ Waleran's nomination of Philip de Harcourt

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.*, xiii, 37 (ed. cit., V, 108, 109).

² Procedit quoque contra vos comes Mellensis, doli callidus, fallendi artifex, cui innata est in corde nequitia, in ore fallacia, in opere pigritia, corde gloriosus, ore magnificus, opere pusillanimis, ad congregiendum ultimus, ad digrediendum primus, tardus ad pugnam, velox ad fugam. *Historia Anglorum*, viii, 15 (ed. cit., pp. 269, 270).

³ Cf. William of Malmesbury, *Hist. Novella*, ii, § 469, with Ordericus Vitalis, xiii, 40 (ed. cit., V, 100).

⁴ Ordericus Vitalis, xiii, 42 (ed. cit., V, 123).

to the vacant see at Salisbury was accepted by the king against the wishes of his own brother, Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, who promoted the cause of their nephew, Henry de Sulli. The influence of the Earl of Mellent was at this time certainly at its height, and his services had already been rewarded, late in 1139, by a grant of the earldom of Worcester. On September 30, 1139,¹ Matilda and Robert of Gloucester landed at Arundel with only one hundred and forty knights, and the civil war began, which culminated in the Battle of Lincoln, February 2, 1141. Waleran, one of Stephen's foremost leaders in the field, disgraced himself by fleeing precipitately at the first onslaught, and Stephen himself was made a prisoner. However, the queen shortly thereafter (September fourteenth) captured Robert, and both were released by mutual exchange. Ordericus tells us specifically that, though Stephen's brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, turned against him, "Gualerannus the Count, and William de Guarenna [his brother], and Simon [de Senlis, Count of Northampton] adhered with many others to the queen, and pledged themselves to fight manfully for the king and his heirs."² Thus, though Waleran ran away from the battle, he did not by any means break with Stephen or his party.

So far, the sequence of events has been clear and simple. Robert and Waleran, associated before Henry's death, were for a period of two years between 1136 and 1138 more or less active supporters of King Stephen and were much in the public eye as such. Whatever we may now know to the contrary from later events, Robert and Waleran were to all outward appearances at that time two of the most powerful and most prominent "pillars of the realm." At no later time can this be said of them, and especially not by one who sided with Robert of Gloucester, as did Geoffrey of Monmouth. However, after the Battle of Lincoln, the relation between the two men is by no means clear, and we can only say that at no time are Robert and the Earl of Mellent mentioned as together or as meeting each other. Waleran no longer actively supported the king, and though he assisted Geoffrey of Anjou, Matilda's husband and enemy of Stephen,

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Hist. Novella*, ii, § 478 (*ed. cit.*, p. 555).

² *Hist. Eccles.*, xiii, 43 (*ed. cit.*, V, 130).

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

in his siege of Rouen in 1143, there is no evidence that he was prompted by any other motive than the obvious one of protecting in the readiest way his own Norman fiefs from a dangerous neighbor, who was on the spot and who had the military power to deprive him of his remaining castles. It was probably for this reason, and this reason only, that he made friends with Geoffrey, and was immediately the gainer in so doing. But all through this campaign, Robert was in England, and had no part in it. Furthermore, we have already seen that a close friend of Robert, Henry of Huntingdon, could write most disparagingly of the Earl of Mellent — scarcely possible, had Waleran been Robert's friend at the time. The complications of feudal relations made changes of side frequent, especially when these were prompted by self-interest, rather than by any principles of loyalty. Ordericus tells us that Waleran's brother Robert, Earl of Leicester, had, in 1141, shortly after the Battle of Lincoln, "obtained a truce [from Geoffrey of Anjou] for himself and Waleran his brother, until he should return from England."¹ Robert of Torigni, who describes the siege of Rouen and Waleran's relations with Geoffrey, says merely that "Waleran count of Mellent, who was superior to all the Norman nobility in strongholds, revenues, and family connections, made a compact with Count Geoffrey of Anjou; so that was ceded to him the castle of Montfort, which he had possessed from the time of the death of King Henry."² It is obvious that Geoffrey was willing to pay for his support. Waleran, relieved of personal danger, in return assisted Geoffrey to besiege and reduce Rouen; — but no word occurs of his declaring himself, or taking up arms directly, against King Stephen at this time, and in no chronicle does his name again occur in conjunction with that of Robert. Indeed, except for a brief sojourn in Normandy in the summer of 1142, and so before the above compact with Geoffrey,³ Robert was actively campaigning in England, as said above, until after Waleran left Normandy in 1145 on an extended crusade to the

¹ *Hist. Eccles.*, xiii, 43 (*ed. cit.*, V, 132).

² *The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, ed. by Richard Howlett, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I.*, Rolls Series, LXXXII (1889), iv, 142.

³ William of Malmesbury, *Hist. Novella*, iii, §§ 519, 521 (*ed. cit.*, pp. 592, 594 resp.).

Holy Land.¹ When Waleran returned to Normandy from this expedition late in 1146, Robert's power was broken, and very shortly thereafter he died, still in England, in 1147. The fact that Waleran later treated with Matilda and finally joined forces with her, does not concern us, because this was after Robert's death — not, in fact, till 1150. At that time Stephen attacked Worcester, reducing the town, but not the castle, which Waleran successfully defended against him. In 1152, Stephen, however, attacked again, and this time with success.

The whole course of events prior to Robert's death leads, therefore, to the one conclusion, namely, that Geoffrey of Monmouth could only have dedicated the *Historia* to both earls with any possible hope of winning their favor together, during the period of twenty-six months between 1136 and 1138. If we turn to the actual text of the double dedication, the wording, as already suggested, bears this out, and practically eliminates the possibility of a later date. Furthermore, a comparison between the two double dedications, and the later single one to Robert alone, will make this clear, and will establish which of the two double dedications came first in point of time. For the sake of convenience, the two double dedications are printed below in parallel columns:

University Library (Cambridge) MS., No. 1706

Cum mecum multa et de multis
sepius animo reuoluens in hys-
toriam regum Britannie inciderem,
in mirum contuli quod infra men-
5 tionem quam de eis Gildas et Beda
luculento tractatu fecerant nichil
de regibus qui ante incarnationem
Christi inhabitauerant nichil etiam
de Arturo ceterisque conpluribus
10 qui post incarnationem successerunt
repperissem, cum et gesta eorum digna

Codex Bernensis, No. 568

Cum mecum multa et de multis
sepius animo reuoluens in hys-
toriam regum Britannie inciderem,
in mirum contuli quod infra men-
tionem quam de eis Gildas et Beda
luculento tractatu fecerant nichil
de regibus qui ante incarnationem
Christi inhabitauerant nichil etiam
de Arturo ceterisque conpluribus
qui post incarnationem successerunt
repperissem, cum et gesta eorum digna

¹ Cf. the brief entry in Robert of Torigni, *op. cit.*, p. 152, and the extended notices in *Chronicon Valassense* written in 1181, ed. by F. Somménil, Rotomagi [Rouen] 1868. Waleran, while on this crusade, in order to win safety from shipwreck, vowed that he would found a monastery if he survived, and for once kept his vow, deeding a tract of swampy land for that purpose on his return; cf. p. 134. See also the Appendix to the *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 301, col. a, where Waleran makes his brother, the Earl of Leicester, and Willelmus de Bello Campo his representatives at Worcester during his absence.

Univ. of
California

Cum mecum multa & de multis sepius animo reuoluenti in hystoria regni
brannie incidere in mirum etuli: quod infra mentione quoniam de eis
gildas et beda luculento tetatu fecerant. nichil de regibus quam
in carnatione christi inhabitauerant. nichil et de arturo cetisque complu-
ribus quod post incarnatione successerit repperisse. cum et gesta eorum digna
eternitate laudis constarent. et a multis populis quasi inscripta iocunde et
memorie predicarent. Tanta mihi et de talibus multocientis cogitanti optu-
it et alteri quoniam metuendensis archidiaconi. uir in oratoria arte. atque in
proticis historiis eruditus. quidam brannici sermonis libri uenustissi-
mum. quod ab initio primo rege britonum. usque ad cadualadri filium cadual-
lonis actus omnium continue et ex ordine populi orationibus proponebat.
Rogatu itaque illi ductus. tam et si infra alienos oculos. falerata uerba non
collegeri: agresti cum stilo. propriisque calamis etene. codice illum in lati-
num sermonem transferre curavi. Nam si apullosis dictionibus pagine
illuminasse totum legentibus ingerere. dum magis in exponendis uerbis.
quam in hystoria intelligenda ipsos commorari oportere.

Opusculo ergo meo stephane rex anglie faueas. ut sic te docto-
re te monito et corrigatur. quod si ex gauridi monemur
sit fonticello censeatur et totum. sed tale immerue tue condi-
tum illudicatur editio. cui henricus illustris rex anglorum a uenit ex-
puit. que philosophia liberalibus artibus eruditus. quoniam inuata pbitas
in militia militibus prefecit. unum brannia insula et nunc regibus nostris.
ac si alterum henricum adeptus. merito congratulatur affectu. Tu quoque Rob-
te et alius claudiocestre alia regni nostri columna. opam adibeas tuam.
ut utriusque moderatione communicata: editio in medium ponenda. et pulchre
elucescat. Te rem et illo celeberrimo rege henrico progeniti. mater phi-
losophia in gremio suo precepit. scientiarumque suarum subtilitate edo-
cuit. ac deinde ut in militaribus clareret exercitiis ad castra regni
derexit: ubi omnitiones tuas audacter suppositus. et contra hostium in-
stere. et prelio tuorum te patris auspiciis addidisti. fidelis itaque pro-
fectio motu existens: me tui uacem. codiceque ad oblectamentum tuum
sub tutela tua recipias. ut sub regimine tam patule arboris recubant.
calamum mihi mee oram inuicis atque in pbitis tuto modula-
mine resonare queam.

Bricannia insularum optima. in occidentali oceano inter

aeternitate laudis constarent et a multis populis quasi inscripta iocunde et memoriter predicarentur.

15 Talia mihi et de talibus multociens cogitanti optulit Walterus Oxenefordensis archidiaconus uir in oratoria arte atque in exoticis hystoriis eruditus quendam britannici sermonis librum uetustissimum, qui a Bruto primo rege Britonum usque ad Cadualadrum filium Caduallonis actus omnium continue et ex ordine perpulcris orationibus

20 proponebat. Rogatu itaque illius ductus tametsi infra alienos ortulos falerata uerba non collegerim, agresti tamen stilo propriisque calamis contentus codicem illum in latinum sermonem transferre curauim. Nam si ampullosis dictionibus paginam illinissem tedium legentibus ingererem dum magis in exponendis uerbis quam in

35 hystoria intelligenda ipsos commorari oportet. Opusculo igitur meo Roberte dux Claudiocestrie faueas, ut sic te doctore te monitore corrigatur quod non ex

40 Galfridi Monemutensis fonticulo censeatur extortum sed sale Minerue tue conditum illius dicatur editio quem Henricus illustris rex Anglorum generauit, quem philosophia

45 liberalibus artibus erudiuit, quem innata probitas in milicia militibus prefecit, unde Britannia insula tibi nunc temporibus nostris ac si alterum Henricum adepta interno

50 congratulatur affectu. Tu quoque Galeranne consul Mellenti altera regni nostri columpna operam adhibeas tuam ut utriusque moderatione communicata editio in medium

55 producta pulchrius elucescat. Te etenim ex illius celeberrimi regis Karoli stirpe progenitum mater philosophia in gremio suo excepit scientiarumque suarum

60 subtilitatem edocuit ac deinde ut in militaribus claresceret exercitus

aeternitate laudis constarent et a multis populis quasi inscripta iocunde et memoriter predicarent. Talia mihi et de talibus multociens cogitanti optulit Walterus Oxinefordensis archidiaconus uir in oratoria arte atque in exoticis hystoriis eruditus quendam britannici sermonis librum uetustissimum qui a Bruto primo rege Britonum usque ad Cadualadrum filium Caduallonis actus omnium continue et ex ordine perpulcris orationibus

20 proponebat. Rogatu itaque illius ductus tametsi infra alienos ortulos falerata uerba non collegerim, agresti tamen stilo propriisque calamis contentus codicem illum in latinum sermonem transferre curauim. Nam si ampullosis dictionibus paginem illinissem tedium legentibus ingererem dum magis in exponendis uerbis quam in

35 historia intelligenda ipsos commorari oporteret. Opusculo igitur meo Stephane rex Anglie faueas, ut sic te doctore te monitore corrigatur quod non ex

40 Gaufridi Monemutensis fonticulo censeatur extortum set sale Minerue tue conditum illius dicatur editio cuius Henricus illustris rex Anglorum awnculus extitit, quem philosophia liberalibus artibus erudiuit, quam innata probitas in milicia militibus prefecit, unde Britannia insula tibi nunc temporibus nostris ac si alterum Henricum adepta interno

50 congratulatur affectu. Tu quoque Roberte consul Claudiocestrie altera regni nostri columna operam adibeas tuam ut triusque moderatione communicata editio in medium producta et pulcrius elucescat. Te

55 etenim ex illo celeberrimo rege Henrico progenitum mater philosophia in gremio suo excepit scientiarumque suarum subtilitatem edocuit ac deinde ut in militaribus claresceret exercitiis

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>ad castra regum direxit, ubi com-
 militones tuos audacter supergressus
 et terror hostium existere et pro-
 65 tectio tuorum esse paternis aus-
 piciiis addidicisti. Fidelis itaque
 protectio tuorum existens me tuum
 uatem codicemque ad oblectamentum
 tui editum sub tutela tua recipias
 70 ut sub tegmine tam patulae arboris
 recubans calamum muse tue coram
 inuidis atque improbis tuto
 modulamine resonare queam.</p> | <p>ad castra regum derexit, ubi com-
 militones tuos audacter supergressus
 et terror hostium insistere et pro-
 tectio tuorum esse paternis aus-
 piciiis addidicisti. Fidelis itaque
 protectio tuorum existens me tuum
 uatem codicemque ad oblectamentum
 tui editum sub tutela tua recipias
 ut sub tegmine tam patule arboris
 recubans calamum muse mee coram
 inuidis atque improbis tuto
 modulamine resonare queam.</p> |
|---|---|

9 conpluribus] quam pluribus *Harlech MS* (= *H*) 14 predicentur *H* 15 multociens *om. H*
 18 Arte eruditus *H* exotiis *H* 19 historiis *H* eruditus] usus *H* 20 brittanici *H* 21 brittonum *H*
 24 pulcris *H* 26 infra] inter *H* 35 historia *H* 36 oporteret *H* 37 Rodberte *H* 41 set *H*
 46 militibus *om. H* 47 brittannia *H* insula *om. H* 50 gratulatur *H* Tu quoque . . . resonare queam
 (50-73) *om. H* 61 exercitus *Camb.*] exercitiis (ut uidetur) *supra lineam et in marg. man. posterior.*

The opening of the *Historia* (ll. 1-50 *supra*) in the Cambridge manuscript may be translated as follows:

While oftentimes pondering things in my own mind, I happened to turn to the history of the kings of Britain, and wondered that, in the mention Gildas and Bede made of them in their excellent tractates, I found nothing of those kings who lived before the Incarnation of Christ, nor even of Arthur and many others with him who succeeded after the Incarnation, though their deeds were worthy of eternal praise and, as if they had been written, were proclaimed by many peoples with delight and from memory. While I was thus thinking much about these things, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, a man learned not only in the art of eloquence, but in unusual histories, brought to me a certain most ancient book in the British language, which set forth the deeds of them all from Brutus, first king of the Britons, to Cadwalader, son of Cadwallo, in a continuous and regular order, and in a very excellent style. Led on, therefore, by his request, and although I have not myself acquired ornate expressions in foreign gardens, but for all that—satisfied with a rustic style and my own proper reed-pens—I have taken pains to translate that volume into the Latin language. For if I had spread the page with bombastic discourse, I should have inflicted tedium on my readers by requiring them to dwell more upon the meaning of the words than upon an understanding of the history. Unto this little work of mine, therefore, do thou, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, show favor, so that, being corrected by thy instruction and advice, it may be rated to have sprung, not from the poor little fountain of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but, seasoned by the salt of thy wit, may be said to be the work of one

galliam et bithyniam sita octoginta milia in longū. ducenta uero
in latum continent. quod mortalium usui egunt. indifferenter ferri
licite ministrat. Omni rerū genere metalli secunda. campos lacte
pantof hē. colles q̄ p̄pollenti culture aptos. in q̄s frugū diuinitates
ubertate glebe tēpibz suis pueniunt. Hē nemora uniuersis ferarum
generibz repleta. q̄rū in saltibz et alēandis animalū pastibz grama
dueniunt. et ad uolandū apibz floret diuorsū colorū mella distribu
unt. Hē et p̄ta sub aeris montibz ameno siti uirentia in q̄s fontes
lucidi p̄ nidos riuos leni murmure manantes. pignū suauis sapo
ris nris accubantibz iritant. Porro lacubz atq; piscosus flumēs ir
rugia ē. et absq; meridiane plage fredo q̄ ad gallias nauigatur. tā
nobilis flumina. tamis uol. et labue. necn et hūbri. uelut tria brachia
errendit. q̄s chisnarina cōmercia ex uniuersis nationibz eidē nauigio
feruntur. Bis deniq; et bisq; q̄ntis ciuitatibz olim decorata erat. quarū
quā diuinas menibz in desertis locis sēlescēt. quā uero adhuc integre
templa scōrū cū turribz p̄ pulc̄ p̄ceritate erectis oment. in quibz
religiosi cetūs uirōū ac mulierū obsequiū deo iuxta xp̄ianā tra
dicionem pstant. Postremo quinq; inhabitatur p̄p̄lis. noēmanis
uol. atq; bithynis. saronibz. pictis. et scotis. Ex quibz bithones olim
ante cetos a mari usq; ad mare infederunt. donec ultione diuina
p̄p̄t ip̄sōrū supuemente supbiam. pictis. et saronibz cesserunt.
Qualit̄ uero unde applicuerunt. restat nunc parare ut in subsequen
tibus explicabitur.

TO VIND
ABSORBIAO

whom Henry, illustrious king of the English, bore, whom philosophy nurtured in the liberal arts, and whom an innate competence made superior to warriors in the art of war, — wherefore the island of Britain now, in these days, rejoices in thee with heartfelt affection, as if possessed of another Henry.

At this point, ends the single dedication, represented by the great majority of manuscripts and by all those in the British Museum, so frequently quoted. However, in the manuscripts where the double dedication to Robert and Waleran appears, there follows an additional paragraph, which, in the Cambridge manuscript ¹ (ll. 50–73 *supra*) may be translated as follows:

And do thou also, Waleran, Count of Mellent, thou other pillar of our realm, give thy aid, that, through the common patronage of both, when presented to the world, this work may shine forth the more resplendently. For Mother Philosophy has taken thee, a scion of that most illustrious king Charles, to her bosom, and has trained thee in the exact knowledge of her sciences. And further, to the end that thou mightest be famed in the accomplishments of a soldier, she has guided thee to the camp of kings, where, fearlessly outstripping thy comrades, thou, under thy father's auspices, didst learn to be at once a terror to the enemy and the defender of thine own. And being thus, as thou art, the loyal defender of thine own, take under thy protection me, thy bard, and this book now published to give thee pleasure; so that I, reclining under the shade of so spreading a tree, may be able to make music on the pipe of thy muse, with harmonies that are safe in the very face of men envious and malicious.

The Bern manuscript substitutes King Stephen's name for that of Robert, who in turn displaces Waleran. The significant sentences (ll. 36–44) read, first: "Unto this little work of mine, therefore, do thou, Stephen, King of England, show favour, so that it . . . may be said to be the work of him whom Henry, King of the English, thy uncle, made prominent . . ." and second (ll. 50–53): "Thou also, Robert, Count of Gloucester, the other pillar of our realm, give thy aid. . ."

The first point to be decided is which of these two double dedications was written first. The second, is to discover, as nearly as possible, from internal evidence, the exact date when either one was

¹ As also in all the discovered manuscripts with this dedication, rotographs of which are in my possession.

written, in order to corroborate what has already been adduced from the general historic setting and the foregoing study of the relations of the three men involved. This, in turn, will enable us to fix with greater precision the earliest date of publication of the *Historia* itself.

Taking up the Robert-Waleran dedication, we notice first that the two paragraphs balance each other, and that the praise bestowed upon Robert ("whom philosophy nurtured in the liberal arts," and "whom an innate competence made superior to warriors in the art of war") reappears with substantially the same thought, merely changed in wording, when applied to Waleran ("Mother Philosophy . . . has trained thee in the exact knowledge of her sciences," and "to the end that thou mightest be famed in the accomplishments of a soldier, she has guided thee to the camp of kings"). There was to be no jealousy between the two patrons, who are, as it were, placed on an equal footing. Second, the concluding phrase of this first paragraph, appearing in all the dedications, namely: "wherefore the island of Britain now, in these days, rejoices in thee with heartfelt affection, *as if possessed of another Henry*," certainly implies that Henry I was dead. No one would be seeking to hail a second Henry while that monarch was still alive. We may therefore safely date the writing of this sentence of the preface (which applies equally to all three forms of dedication) after December 1, 1135, when Henry died. Furthermore, this sentence, as already pointed out, could only apply to Robert upon his landing in England after Easter (March twenty-second), 1136. Towards the end of April, 1136, at Oxford, he signed Stephen's famous Charter of Liberties, having taken an oath of allegiance to the king; and as we have seen, it was at Oxford that Geoffrey appears to have lived, and to have been "*magister*." During the civil wars that followed, it would have been strange, indeed, to write in one paragraph that Britain "now, in these days, rejoices in thee [Robert]" — and *in the next paragraph* to praise Waleran, the most powerful supporter of the king, and open enemy of Robert.

Similarly, in the second paragraph devoted to Waleran, Geoffrey obviously stresses Waleran's "loyalty" — "the second pillar of the realm," "the defender of thine own," and "the loyal defender of

thine own." In view of his disgraceful flight at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, and subsequent non-support of either Stephen or Matilda, these phrases could only have been penned before the battle. It would seem that Geoffrey, a priest, had been won over early to the side of Stephen, the king's first adherents being, in fact, churchmen, secured by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, Papal Legate, and brother of Stephen. Having espoused the cause of Stephen, it would have been a matter of rejoicing to Geoffrey when Robert, after some hesitation, came to England and at least appeared to support Stephen; while he would naturally turn to Waleran as the next most powerful supporter of the king, betrothed to the king's daughter, and loyally fighting his battles for him in Normandy. In this connection, it is also noteworthy that Robert and Waleran are fitly described at this time as twin "pillars of the realm," both being powerful earls, and both supporting Stephen. However, in the dedication to King Stephen and Robert in the Bern manuscript, it would be a strange thing to place an earl on a par with the king, speaking of them equally as "pillars of the realm." The king represents in his person, and *is*, in a sense, the realm — only loyal subjects can be called its "pillars." Therefore, the inference at this point seems clear that the Bern dedication to King Stephen and Robert is a hasty rewriting of the more natural Cambridge dedication to Robert and Waleran.

Before we begin to compare more fully the double dedication in the Cambridge MS. with that of Bern, one more phrase requires to be noted, namely, that "Mother Philosophy" guided Waleran "to the camp of kings, where, fearlessly outstripping thy comrades, thou, under thy father's auspices, didst learn to be at once a terror to the enemy and the defender of thine own." This phrase, with all its rhetoric, applies correctly enough to Waleran, who, in his youth, served with his father in the camp of Henry I, and now, while still only thirty-one or two, was making a name for himself fighting under Stephen. It would have no point, however, if applied to Robert, as we shall see. Therefore, once more, the inference seems clear that the Robert-Waleran dedication was written first, and that the Bern dedication was a hasty rewriting of this.

Turning now to the double dedication in the Bern manuscript, we find that, where Robert of Gloucester held first place, King Stephen, as was fitting, has been substituted, while Waleran is displaced entirely, to make room for Robert. As a result of these changes, several awkwardnesses of phrase and positive incongruities occur, which, in the first paragraph struck Madden so forcibly that he wrote that they were done "in so artificial a manner, and with so little disguise, that it is surprising how any writer would have ventured on such a step."¹ He did not analyze the second paragraph at all. Madden adds that "The terms of praise, in which the Earl of Gloucester had been addressed, in regard to his proficiency in the liberal arts, were well merited, and are amply borne out by the contemporary testimony of William Malmesbury, but could hardly be applicable to Stephen, except by licence of the grossest flattery." Not having the key of an earlier dedication to Robert and Waleran — which had been hastily reapplied — Madden could offer no explanation, though his strictures are entirely justified and seem very clearly to suggest that the dedication to Robert in the first paragraph was written first and then hastily altered when an opportunity occurred to dedicate a copy to the king as well. Once more, it is almost inevitable to point to the exact time when Stephen was in Oxford, April, 1136, as the likely occasion when we may surmise that Geoffrey would have seen his royal patron, would have offered him the completed *Historia*, and may well have presented it personally to the king. The king, pleased with so notable a contribution to British history, may even have asked for a copy, and hence the hasty dedication to him. The general appearance of the Bern manuscript, the number of hands, the separate leaf for the dedication, all bear this out.²

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, XV (1858), 301.

² It would be a fascinating conjecture to suppose that in this separate preliminary leaf in a hand different from any others in the manuscript, we have an actual example of Geoffrey's own autograph. The scribe having begun the first line, Geoffrey took the pen from him, and having placed the name of King Stephen first, himself changed a few words only, as he wrote, so as to make the familiar sentences conform in obvious essentials to the new and royal patron. It is a striking coincidence that the concluding sentences of the envoy at the end, also appear to be in a different hand from that immediately preceding, as if added perhaps for the first time in this very copy apparently made for King Stephen.

The Bern dedication changes *Roberte, dux Claudiocestrie* into *Stephane, rex Anglie*, and alters *quem Henricus, illustris rex Anglorum generavit* into *cuius Henricus, rex Anglorum avunculus extitit*. The awkwardness of the last phrase, in its context, is manifest:

Unto this little work of mine, therefore, do thou, Stephen, King of England, show favour, so that, being corrected by thy instruction and advice, it may be rated to have sprung, not from the poor little fountain of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but, seasoned by the salt of thy wit, may be said to be the work of him whose uncle was Henry, illustrious king of the English, whom philosophy nurtured in the liberal arts. . . .

The natural and rhetorical sequence of the earlier dedication — “whom Henry bore” and “whom philosophy nurtured” — is broken by the intrusive *extitit*, and though Geoffrey of Monmouth's thought is clearly that Stephen is rendered conspicuous or prominent because of his close relation to King Henry I, the phrasing is less felicitous. The Bern text, therefore, is a rewriting, and a careless rewriting, of the dedication to Robert.

In the next paragraph, the rewriting is even more obvious, and it is here that we find the final proof that the dedication to Waleran came first. For *Galeranne consul Mellenti* we find *Roberte consul* [no longer *dux*] *Claudiocestrie*; and here Waleran is correctly described as “the scion of that most illustrious King Charles,” and, since he was descended from Charlemagne through his mother's family, we now find *ex illo celeberrimo rege Henrico progenitum* “born of that most celebrated King Henry.” These phrases fit more naturally than those above; but what point is there in describing in succeeding sentences Robert, a king's own son, as guided by Mother Philosophy “to the camp of kings”? Such words apply, not to a prince of the blood, but to some noble who has luckily or successfully achieved a place at court. And though Robert was always a favourite of Henry, he never even remotely served in the camp of King Stephen. Why, then, the plural *ad castra regum*? Waleran, however, served under both Henry and Stephen. Moreover, the next phrases are equally absurd when applied to Robert — “where, fearlessly outstripping thy comrades, thou, under thy father's auspices, didst learn to be at once

a terror to the enemy and the defender of thine own." A favourite prince does not outstrip his "comrades" — he by birth excels them — whereas Waleran did outstrip other young nobles in making a place for himself. Finally, a prince does not need "his father's auspices" to win for him a place at court, whereas Waleran, under the auspices of his influential father, Robert de Beaumont, undoubtedly gained his first introduction to King Henry's court. Nor can Robert be said at this time to be the "loyal defender of thine own." He was doing no fighting, on his own or Stephen's behalf, whereas Waleran was actively and successfully campaigning in Normandy, protecting Stephen's continental fiefs, and recapturing lost castles.

The whole cast of these sentences, therefore, seems very clearly to point to the Bern double dedication as a hasty rewriting of the earlier double dedication to Robert and Waleran. Once this is established with a fair degree of certainty, we note the phrase in the second paragraph — "... take under thy protection me, thy bard, and this book *published* to give thee pleasure"; and for "published" we may properly say "*now* published," since the Latin *editum* means the actual issuance, or first appearance, of a work. We have, therefore, the specific statement in this early dedication that the work was just published, which disappeared when this last paragraph was omitted and when the dedication was confined to Robert alone.

There does not seem to be any likelihood that the single dedication to Robert of Gloucester actually represents the first edition, and that both the double dedications came slightly later in an attempt to win favour in additional directions — an effort given up as unsuccessful. The following arguments against this seem to be conclusive: (1) the balancing of the two parts seems to indicate careful and skilful writing; (2) the Cambridge manuscript is without reference in the envoy to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, which, once written and retained in all but one other manuscript, would not have been omitted in this one; (3) if Robert had seen the work dedicated to himself alone, and after that to Waleran (or even to the king) also, he might not have been pleased; whereas to be chosen as the only patron, dropping Stephen and Waleran, both his enemies, was an additional (albeit subtle) piece of flattery; (4) by

far the largest number of manuscripts have but the single dedication, and these appear to represent a later and more carefully written or polished version of the *Historia*; and (5) the meaning of *editum* ('now published') in the last paragraph, seems conclusive, when taken with the above. This phrase, of course, disappeared with the dropping of the second paragraph, and since this represents the later version of the *Historia*, it is quite proper that the word *editum* should no longer be used in a later edition.

In conclusion, the double dedication to Robert and Waleran, represented by at least seven manuscripts, which has been overlooked for several centuries, and which appears here for the first time in print, points by a clear and simple chain of contemporary evidence to the actual date of composition of Geoffrey's *Historia*. Like the Bern double dedication, it could not have been written after June-July, 1138. On comparison with the Bern dedication, it gives conclusive evidence of having been the earlier draft of the two. While either double dedication might have been written any time before June-July, 1138, the probabilities are that Geoffrey would have hailed Robert's advent no very long time after the latter landed in England just after Easter in 1136, and before difficulties had begun to arise between him and the king. Since King Stephen and Robert visited Oxford together, and since Robert took his oath of allegiance to the king there in April, 1136, and since we have every reason to believe that Geoffrey himself lived as "*magister*" and composed his *Historia* in Oxford, it is a highly probable supposition that it was precisely on this occasion that Geoffrey rededicated a special copy of his work to King Stephen and Robert — an alteration made all the easier by the absence, at that time, of Waleran, who was, at least temporarily, dropped as a patron. The dedication to Robert and Waleran, Earl of Mellent, therefore, would seem to have been written early in April, 1136, followed within a few weeks by the special dedication to the king and Robert. The single dedication to Robert alone, which appears in by far the greatest number of manuscripts, can hardly have preceded the double dedications, since the latter expressly describe themselves as "*now published*," a statement which would not have been added had the work already ap-

peared without that phrase. Moreover, it is unlikely that Geoffrey would have dedicated a work first to Robert alone, then with him to two other patrons — Waleran and Robert, and the king and Robert — and finally have returned to Robert alone.

Geoffrey's *Historia* was published at first without any reference to Henry of Huntingdon or William of Malmesbury, but the source of his work having been challenged, he added a paragraph asserting in unmistakable terms that he had an old book which they did not possess and which he had translated.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

THE LITERARY BACKGROUND OF THE *CHANTEFABLE*

By JOHN R. REINHARD

THE new edition of *Aucassin et Nicolette* by Mario Roques¹ once more offers occasion for the discussion of its peculiar literary form, that of alternate prose and verse. In his Introduction, Roques briefly discusses "cette forme *originale et unique* dans la littérature du moyen âge,"² and after rejecting the various definitions of *Aucassin* as a "roman," a "conte," a "nouvelle," a "fabliau," and a "récit," he arrives at the conclusion that it is a "mime."³ If a technical name must be found for the type of literature which *Aucassin* represents, why not call it, as did its author, a *chantefable*? If it is felt that this term needs explanation, we can find none better than that of Gaston Paris, who has definitely explained the *chantefable* as "ce mélange de prose et de vers, de morceaux où l'on chante, et de morceaux où l'on dit et conte et fable."⁴

So far as we know, *Aucassin et Nicolette* is the only specimen of French literature in the Middle Ages which is composed of verse and music and prose, and thus it is rightly called unique. But if we view the *chantefable* as being in its elementary form simply a literary style in which prose and verse operate together as a unit in narrative function, and if we disregard the special characteristic of musical notation on the manuscript of *Aucassin*, then we shall be able to match it with other pieces of literature written in this style in both earlier and later times. Examples of prose-and-verse in which the verse is purely adventitious and does not form an integral part of the narrative vehicle have not been included among the following quotations. That *Aucassin* represents a type of literature which in France was eventually attracted to the theatre, is a matter we shall not discuss. Our interest in the document lies not so much in its

¹ *Aucassin et Nicolette: Chantefable du xiii^e siècle*, éditée par Mario Roques (Paris: Champion, Classiques français du moyen âge, 1925).

² The italics in this quotation are mine.

³ Roques, *op. cit.*, pp. iv-vi.

⁴ G. Paris, *Poèmes et Légendes du moyen âge* (Paris, 1900), p. 99.

successors as in its literary antecedents, and these, we shall show, were of various types.

Scholars who have treated the various problems offered by *Aucassin et Nicolette* have not neglected the matter of its form.¹ A variety of opinion prevails on this subject. G. Gröber (*Grundriss*, II, i, 529) and H. Heiss² consider the form to be the invention of the author. Ten Brink explained the prose as having grown out of a commentary on the verse.³ H. Suchier seems to consider the form as a transition stage between the verse novel and the prose novel.⁴ Other scholars are of the opinion that the form of *Aucassin* derives from Arabic or other oriental literary models. W. Hertz⁵ in his notes to *Aucassin et Nicolette* gives some oriental analogies. K. Burdach seems to hold this theory also.⁶ It is very ably, though inconclusively, supported by L. Jordan,⁷ whereas W. Suchier in the *Einleitung* to his ninth edition of *Aucassin et Nicolette* reverts to Gröber's opinion as to the form, while postulating an Arabico-Byzantine source for the story.⁸ A still different opinion as to the origin of the mixed prose and verse form of *Aucassin* is held by W. Meyer-Lübke.⁹ He discards the opinions of Gröber, Suchier, and Hertz, mentions the Provençal *razos* and the *Vita Nuova* as showing similar form. But when considering the origin of Old-French narrative, says Meyer-Lübke, we are inclined to look to the west and to the Celts, whose literature likewise shows prose interspersed with verse. He then quotes several passages (without references) from R. Thurneysen's *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*.¹⁰

¹ See the bibliography listed by M. Roques on pp. xxix-xxxvi of the work cited above.

² "Die Form der Cantefable," *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLII (1912), 250 ff.

³ B. ten Brink, *Dauer und Klang* (Strassburg, 1879), p. iv.

⁴ H. Suchier-A. Birsch Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur* (2. Aufl., Leipzig und Wien: Bibliographisches Institut, 1913), I, 226, 227. Although he does not say so, he may have had in mind the *Ninus* fragments and the *erotica* of Parthenius.

⁵ *Spielmannsbuch* (3d ed., Berlin, 1905), pp. 435-455.

⁶ *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1904, p. 899; 1918, p. 1097, note 1.

⁷ "Die Quelle des Aucassin," *Zs. f. roman. Philol.*, XLIV (1921), 291 ff.

⁸ H. Brunner, *Über Aucassin und Nicolette* (Halle, 1880), pointed out that Aucassin = Al-Kásim, the name of a Moorish king who ruled Cordova between 1018 and 1021.

⁹ "Aucassin und Nicolette," *Zs. f. roman. Philol.*, XXXIV (1910), 513 ff.

¹⁰ Better Celtic illustrations of prose mixed with verse, in which the latter is an indispensable and even dramatic part of the narrative, may be found in English in J. Dunn's trans-

But this scholar's Irish parallels prove no more than do Hertz's oriental analogues. Meyer-Lübke might have quoted — as he does not — numerous passages from Old-Norse literature, of which mixed prose and verse is one of the outstanding stylistic characteristics.¹

That *Aucassin et Nicolette* owes its form to oriental, Celtic, or Old-Norse literature still remains to be proved by documentary evidence. On the other hand, it seems to be a reasonable conjecture that the mediaeval artistic author, where he did not invent — and he was not inventive, whatever other virtues he may have possessed — followed the guidance of familiar literary models. So far as the present writer is aware, the Mohammedan Empire, Ireland, Iceland, however many stories and plots they may have furnished, did not contribute any traditions of literary workmanship to the mediaeval world.² The mediaeval author did not deliberately look into far corners for literary guides: rarely did he possess the learning that would have enabled him to do so, even if he had thought of it. What he did do was, in our opinion, to make use of what lay ready to his hand — the literary traditions of antiquity in which he had been reared. The aim of this article is to show what literary traditions of Greece and Rome lay behind the prose-and-verse form of writing as illustrated by *Aucassin et Nicolette*.

If the form of *Aucassin et Nicolette* has piqued the interest of students of French literature, the form of the *Vita Nuova*, which Dante followed again in the *Convito*, has piqued that of students of Italian literature. From Dante and his contemporaries, Francesco da Barberino and Brunetto Latini, it is but a step to Sedulius Scotus

lation of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (London: Nutt, 1914). For the Irish text of this, together with a German translation, see edition of E. Windish, *Die altirische Heldensage Táin Bó Cúalnge* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1905).

¹ It would be tedious and pedantic to cite at length; one may mention *Howard the Hilt*, *The Banded Men*, *The Ere-Dwellers*, and other pieces translated by Morris and Magnússon in the Saga Library. For a detailed study of prose-and-verse in Old-Norse literature the reader is referred to H. A. Bellows, *The Relations between Prose and Metrical Composition in Old Norse Literature* (Harvard diss., 1910). The present state of critical opinion — with the exception of Jordan's article mentioned above — has been admirably summed up by Roques, *op. cit.*, pp. vii-x.

² The theory that derives Provençal poetry from Arabic poetry is now no longer largely credited. oh?

(fl. ca. 850), and another step to Boëthius and Martianus Capella, with whom we have arrived at the borders of Roman literature. Continuing our search backward through the centuries we are halted by the hilarious personalities of Lucius Apuleius and Petronius Arbiter, with the latter's somewhat heavier contemporary, Seneca the Younger. But our search does not end here, for Cicero directs our attention to Varro and Menippus.¹

With Menippus of Gadara, who flourished ca. 280 B.C., our quest comes to an end. He was the author, and apparently the originator, as far as the Occident is concerned,² of a type of literature in mixed prose and verse called after him the *Satura Menippea*.³ In this style "he interspersed jocular and commonplace topics with moral maxims and philosophical doctrines, and may have added contemporary pictures, though this is uncertain." His works seem to have perished almost completely.⁴ Still we may perhaps judge his style, even though imperfectly, from the Menippean Satires of Varro, who, as we have seen, imitated him.

The *Saturae Menippeae* of M. Terentius Varro (116–28 B.C.) are written in mixed prose and verse and sometimes alternate prose and verse. He treats all kinds of subjects just as they come to hand, "often with much grossness, but with sparkling point." Though the *Saturae* originally extended to one hundred and fifty books, only fragments now remain, comprising 591 lines in all. This fragmentary state makes illustration difficult, but the piece called *Est Modus Matulae* may serve our purpose. This seems to be an altercation

¹ *Academica*, i, 2. See also Quintilian, *Institutiones*, x, 1, 95, Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae*, ii, 18.

² The *Book of Judges*, for example, is written in prose-and-verse.

³ C. Wachsmuth, *Sillographorum graecorum reliquiae* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1885), p. 79, writes: Hic igitur Menippus, quem acerbissime philosophos mortuos irridere videmus in Luciani scriptis, vivos irrisse audimus ex Diogene apud Lucian., *mort. dialog* I 1, conscripsit ad philosophos potissimum sigillandos satiras prosa oratione eam variavit immixtis diversi generis versibus parodiis facetiis. quod ita sese habere, etsi cetera omnia deessent testimonia, iam satis demonstraretur eo quod Varro Menippeus vocatus est ob saturas cynicas, quas ille Menippeas appellavit et composuit, ut ipse ait, 'Menippum imitatus, non interpretatus.'

⁴ I have not been able to find, as W. C. Wright directs in her *History of Greek Literature* (New York: American Book Co., 1907), p. 378, any fragments of Menippus under Bion in C. Wachsmuth's work cited above; I do find, however, this statement on p. 85 of the *Sillographorum*: "Fati autem invidia factum est, ut Menippi Meliagriue σπουδογελοίων libro- rum paene nihil sit relictum."

between a partisan of wine-drinking and a prohibitionist who laments the bad example set by the gods.

- I. vino nihil iucundius quisquam bibit:
hoc aegritudinem ad medendam invenerunt,
hoc hilaritatis dulce seminarium,
hoc continet coagulum conviviae
- IV. dolia atque apothecas, tricliniaris, Melicas, Calenas obbas et Cumanos calices
- V. non vides ipsos deos, siquando volunt gustare vinum, derepere ad hominum fana et tamen tum ipsi illi Libero simpulio vinum dari? ¹

Here we see prose and verse acting together in narrative function in spite of the fragmentary state of the quotation. A better illustration of the Menippean style is given by the *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca (3-65 A.D.). This 'Pumpkinification' of the Emperor Claudius "is a bitter satire on the apotheosis of that heavy prince." When Claudius appears in heaven, Hercules is told off to interview him.

- VII. Tum Hercules 'audi me' inquit 'tu desine fatuari. venisti huc, ubi mures ferrum rodunt. citius mihi verum, ne tibi alogias excutiam.' et quo terribilior esset, tragicus fit et ait:

'exprome propere, sede qua genitus cluas,
hoc ne peremptus stipite ad terram accidas;
haec clava reges saepe mactavit feros.
quid nunc profatu vocis incerto sonas?
quae patria, quae gens mobile eduxit caput?
edissere.'

.....
haec satis animose et fortiter, nihilo minus mentis suae non est et timet *μωροῦ πληγὴν*. Claudius ut vidit virum valentem, oblitus nugarum intellexit neminem Romae sibi parem fuisse, illic non habere se idem gratiae: gallum in suo sterquilino plurimum posse. itaque quantum intellegi potuit, haec visus est dicere: ²

Here we see more clearly than in Varro that the verse continues and advances the narrative in prose. The fact that the prose-and-verse style was used by Menippus, Varro, Seneca, and, in a some-

¹ Cf. *Petronii Saturae et Liber Priapeorum*, 5th ed., F. Bücheler-W. Heraeus (Berlin: Weidmann, 1912), pp. 193, 194.

² Bücheler-Heraeus, *ed. cit.*, pp. 256, 257.

what different fashion, by Petronius as a vehicle for satire is not prejudicial to the purpose for which these passages are quoted. We have already been told that the form was used as a vehicle for drama in *Aucassin et Nicolette*; later we shall see it used as a medium of literary criticism and didactics also.

In 65 A.D. Petronius Arbiter, declining to "endure the suspense of hope and fear," himself opened his veins in a bath, bequeathing to his master Nero — so the story goes — a fearful revenge in the *Satiricon*. The incident of Encolpius's rage at the perfidy of Ascylos and Giton will illustrate Petronius's use of the prose-and-verse style.

LXXX. . . . fulminatus hac pronuntiatione, sic ut eram, sine gladio in lectulum decidi, et attulissem mihi damnatus manus, si non inimici victoriae invidissem. egreditur superbus cum praemio Ascylos et paulo ante carissimum sibi commilitonem fortunaeque etiam similitudine parem in loco peregrino destituit abiectum.

nomen amicitiae sic, quatenus expedit, haeret;
 calculus in tabula mobile ducit opus.
 cum fortuna manet, vultum servatis, amici;
 cum cecidit, turpi vertitis ora fuga.
 grex agit in scaena mimum: pater ille vocatur,
 filius hic, nomen divitis ille tenet.
 mox ubi ridendas inclusit pagina partes,
 vera redit facies, dum simulata perit.

LXXXI. nec diu tamen lacrimis indulsi¹

By the time of Lucius Apuleius (125 (?)–200 (?) A.D.), the prose-and-verse style was no longer a novelty in Latin literature. It may have been used in other Milesian tales — now lost to us — than those of Petronius. The use made of it in the *Metamorphoseon* represents rather a survival than an active continuation of the style. Since there is only one poem in the whole work (iv, 22) — and that an oracle, which would naturally be pronounced in verse — space need not be taken to quote from Apuleius here.

Somehow or other the style was kept alive in Latin literature for the next two hundred years, so that ca. 410–427 Martianus

¹ Bücheler-Heraeus, *ed. cit.*, p. 56. A still better illustration is found in chapter CXXXII, *ed. cit.*, pp. 102 ff.

Capella was able to use it with vigor and effect in his *de Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*.¹ The following passage from that fanciful allegory describes the bridal array of the *doctissima virgo* Philologia:

. . . At cingulum, quo pectus annecteret, sibi prudens mater exsoluit et, ne Philologia ipsius Phronesis careret ornatibus, eius pectori, quo uerius comeretur, apponit. calceos praeterea ex papyro textili subligauit, nequid eius membra pollueret morticinum. acerra autem multo aromate grauidata eademque candenti manus uirginis onerantur.

et iam tunc roseo subtexere sidera peplo
coeperat ambrosium promens Aurora pudorem,
cum creperum lux alma micat, gemmata Dione
cum nitet, aurato uel cum fit Phosphorus astro.
tunc candens tenero glaciatur rore pruina
et matutina greges quatiunt in pascua caulas,
languida mordaces cum pulsant pectora curae
et fugit expulsus Lethaea ad litora somnus.

Ecce ante fores quidam dulcis sonus multifidis suauitatibus cietur, quem Musarum conuenientium chorus impendens nuptialibus sacramentis modulationis doctae tinnitibus concinebat.²

A greater man and a greater literary artist than Martianus was Anicius Manlius Boëthius Severinus, ca. 480–524. The richness of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* makes the selection of an illustrative passage difficult, but Prosa 2 (*ad fin.*) and Metrum 2 of Book ii may serve our purpose. Attention is called to the fact that the prose and verse are exceptionally close knit, and that the latter not only advances the narrative, but invests it with a dramatic intensity:

Nonne adulescentulus *δοιοὺς πίθους τὸν μὲν ἕνα κακῶν τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐλῶν* in Iouis limine iacere didicisti? Quid si uberius de bonorum parte sumpsisti? Quid si a te non tota discessi? Quid si haec ipsa mei mutabilitas iusta tibi causa est sperandi meliora? Tamen ne animo contabescas et intra commune omnibus regnum locatus proprio uiuere iure desideres.

Si quantas rapidis flatibus incitus
Pontus uersat harenas
Aut quot stelliferis edita noctibus
Caelo sidera fulgent

¹ Ed. A. Dick, *Martianus Capella* (Liepzig: Teubner, 1925).

² Ed. cit., pp. 48, 49.

Tantas fundat opes nec retrahat manum
 Pleno copia cornu,
 Humanum miseras haud ideo genus
 Cesset flere querellas.
 Quamuis uota libens excipiat deus
 Multi prodigus auri
 Et claris auidos ornet honoribus,
 Nil iam parta uidentur,
 Sed quaesita uorans saeua rapacitas
 Altos pandit hiatus.
 Quae iam praecipitem frena cupidinem
 Certo fine retentent,
 Largis cum potius muneribus fluens
 Sitis ardescit habendi?
 Numquam diues agit qui trepidus gemens
 Sese credit egentem.¹

But we are still far from the year 1225. Is there anything between the beginning of the sixth century and the beginning of the thirteenth which bridges the gap? Did Martianus and Boëthius, representing the culmination of an anterior period, also fructify a succeeding one? Or did the tradition of the prose-and-verse style sink too far beneath the surface of literary usage to have any effect on such a work as *Aucassin et Nicolette*? The facts are that Martianus's manual was constantly studied in the schools, wherever there was a school, from Charlemagne's revival of studies throughout the Middle Ages. Indeed, the Schoolmen occupied themselves with a controversy over the respective claims of the Classics themselves and those of the Liberal Arts as represented by the *de Nuptiis*. It was a favorite book of Joannes Scottus (*ca.* 810–*ca.* 875), who wrote a commentary on it. In the same century Martianus was attacked by Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, and Remi of Auxerre commented on him.² In the tenth century Walter of Speier shows acquaintance with his work; Notker Labeo († 1022) translated it. Saxo Grammaticus

¹ Ed. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand (London: Loeb Library, 1918), pp. 180, 182.

² John the Scot's commentary on Martianus, discovered by Hauréau among the ninth century MSS once belonging to the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (*Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1862), XX (2), 1 ff.), further attests the familiarity with him in this century.

in the twelfth century copied his *prosimetrum* in the *Gesta Danorum*. Alain de Lille shows his influence in the *Anti-Claudianus*.

As in the case of Martianus, the tradition and influence of Boëthius was constant throughout the Middle Ages. Sedulius Scottus (fl. ca. 850) composed a *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, modelling the form on the *Consolatio*. He begins his work with a poem, and recapitulates the contents of each of the twenty prose chapters, except the last, in verse. King Alfred the Great made a translation of the *Consolatio* about 888. Provençal literature contains a version of it in 257 decasyllables, dated ca. 1000. Alfano, Archbishop of Salerno (1058–1085), imitated Boëthius's verse. Notker Labeo translated some of his tracts. In the twelfth century his *prosimetrum* was copied by Bernard Silvester of Tours in his *de Mundi Universitate*. Alain de Lille (†1203) shows direct influence from the *Consolatio* in the mixed prose and verse of his *de Planctu Naturae*. It was translated into French in the twelfth century by Simon de Fraigne, and in the thirteenth by Jean de Meung. The book was the constant companion of Dante's maturity. If the Schoolmen had not read what lay behind them, namely, the literature of Rome, what would they have had to read?

Thus we see that the use in Latin of a style of literary composition in mixed prose and verse was constant in western Europe from the time of Cicero to the death of Alain de Lille in 1203. The author of *Aucassin* could hardly have avoided encountering the style at home: certainly he did not need to search for it abroad, in the literature of the Celts or the Arabs.

If, now, we were able to find a document written in this style which showed musical notation as well, we should have a still better model for *Aucassin et Nicolette*. It may be that such a document does exist in the *Psalter* of Louis the German, wherein certain *melra* from Boëthius's *Consolatio* have been set to music. This document, which is to be found in a Berlin manuscript, I have not been able to consult.¹

But it was not only in Latin that *prosimetrum* was cultivated in western Europe. That *cursor mundi*, Brunetto Latini (1210–1294?),

¹ Cf. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (München: Beck, 1911), I, 33 ("Fortleben der *Consolatio*").

resorted to the use of it for didactic purposes in the work known to us as the *Tesoretto*.¹ He intended to write this key to the *Tesoro* entirely in verse, but in chapter five he tells us that, 'when he wishes to treat of things that would be obscure in verse, he will dispose the matter in prose so that it may be understood and learned.' Illustrations are not particularly good, but the following quotation from this chapter will show how these scraps of prose were inserted:

Che ad ogni creatura
 Dispose per misura,
 Secondo 'l conveniente
 Suo corso e sua semente;
 Ma tanto ne so dire,
 Ch' i' le vidi ubbidire,
 Finire e 'ncominciare,
 Morire e 'ngenerare.

E sappiate che tutte le cose che hanno cominciamiento, cioè che furo fatte di alcuna materia, si aranno fine.²

The style was used for didactic purposes by Francesco da Barberino (1264–1348) also, in *Del Reggimento e Costumi di Donna*.³ In this book of edification the author aims to instruct women in the way in which they should behave under various circumstances. A passage from *Parte prima* touching the problem of talkativeness will serve as an illustration.

III. Una donzella parlava molto. Una fiata a tavola disse uno suo balio: "Tu parli per tutti quegli chessono a tavola." Disse ella: "Mesere, costoro sanno parlare, e però si possono posare; ma io non so, sichè mi conviene parlare per imprendere. . . ."

¹ I have not been able to consult a complete edition of this document; the edition of B. Wiese in *Zs. f. roman. Philol.*, VII (1883), 236 ff., reprinted in the *Bibliotheca Romanica*, Nos. 94, 95, contains no prose. I have used L. Gaiter, *Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni raffrontato col testo autentico francese edito da P. Chabaille, emendato con mss. ed illustrato* (Bologna, 1878), Vol. I, in the Introduction whereof certain extracts of prose and verse from the *Tesoretto* are found.

² L. Gaiter, *op. cit.*, I, 173 ff.

³ Ed. Carlo Baudi di Vesme (Bologna, 1875).

IV. Ritorno alla materia,

E dico, che non è sì da taciere;
 Che altri non parli mai,
 Sì c' altri non dicesse: "Ella non parla
 Perch' ella è muta,"
 Ma dico, da taciere è e da parlare,
 Come lo luogo e lo tenpo richiede.¹

Perhaps the most graceful and artistic use of the *prosimetrum* in modern times has been made by Dante (1265-1321) in the *Vita Nuova* (ca. 1295). Dante's verse is usually but a repetition of what has already been told in prose,² or rather, the prose is only an amplified account of what has been said in rhyme. This is especially true in the *Convito* (ca. 1308) wherein, even more than in the *Vita Nuova*, prose is the medium of literary criticism of a given verse-text. In some instances in the *Vita Nuova*,³ however, the verse continues the narrative and forms an integral part thereof:

XX. Appresso che questa canzone fue alquanto divulgata tra le genti, con ciò fosse cosa che alcuno amico l'udisse, volontade lo mosse a pregare me che io li dovesse dire che è Amore, avendo forse per l'udite parole speranza di me oltre che degna. Onde io, pensando che appresso di cotale trattato bello era trattare alquanto d'Amore, e pensando che l'amico era da servire, propuosi di dire parole ne le quali io trattassi d'Amore; e allora dissi questo sonetto, lo qual comincia: *Amore e 'l cor gentil*.

Amore e 'l cor gentil sono una cosa,
 sì come il saggio in suo dittare pone,
 e così esser l'un sanza l'altro osa
 com' alma razional sanza ragione.
 Falli natura quand' è amorosa,
 Amor per sire e 'l cor per sua magione,
 dentro la qual dormendo si riposa
 tal volta poca e tal lunga stagione.
 Bietate appare in saggia donna pui,
 che piace a gli occhi sì, che dentro al core

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 23. See also *Parte nona*, pp. 273, 279.

² Cf. *Liber de Rectoribus* of Sedulius, *supra*, p. 165.

³ Text quoted from *Le Opere di Dante*, edited by the Società Dantesca Italiana (Florence: R. Bemporad e Figlio, 1921), pp. 24, 25.

nasce un disio de la cosa piacente;
 e tanto dura talora in costui,
 che fa svegliar lo spirito d'Amore.
 E simil face in donna omo valente.

Then follows the explanation.

XXI. Poscia che trattai d'Amore ne la soprascritta rima, vennemi volontade di volere dire anche, in loda di questa gentilissima, parole, per le quali io mostrasse come per lei si sveglia questo Amore, e come non solamente si sveglia là ove dorme, ma là ove non è in potenza, ella, mirabilmente, operando lo fa venire. E allora dissi questo sonetto, lo quale comincia: *Ne li occhi porta*.

The literary form of *prosimetrum* did not come to an end with Dante. Jacopo Sannazzaro (1458–1530) employed it in his *Arcadia* (1481–86). Here the poems are usually inserts in the form of musical compositions by some one of the assembled company, but there are also some verses used in the way illustrated above.¹ Sir Philip Sidney (1554–86), whose *Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1580–81) appeared in 1590, followed Sannazzaro in this as in other things.² Shakspeare often varies his blank verse with prose and lyrics. At the close of the sixteenth century Leroy, Gillot, Chrestien, Rapin, Pithou, Passerat and Durant united in writing, in prose and verse, *La Satire Ménippée* (1593), which, by its title, sends our thoughts back to Varro and Menippus.³ Finally we may note that certain Italian *novellieri*, following the example of Boccaccio (1313–78) in the *Decameron*, adorned their prose with *canzoni*. Such were Giovanni Fiorentino (ca. 1350–1406), Giovan Francesco Straparola (ca. 1480?–1565?) and Giraldis Cinzio (ca. 1504–73).⁴

We have now reached — and passed — the period in which *Aucassin et Nicolette* was composed, and I have endeavored to show

¹ Cf. the end of Prosa VIII and Egloga VIII.

² Cf. ed. E. A. Baker (reprinted by Routledge and Sons: London, 1921), p. 144.

³ J. C. F. Bähr, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur* (Karlsruhe: 1868), I, 557, § 141, note 19, refers to the *Satira Menippea* of the Dutch classical scholar Justus Lipsius in *J. Lipsii Opera* (Antwerp, 1637 ff.), I, 417 ff. I have not been able to consult this work.

⁴ The works of these authors may be found in *Raccolta di Novellieri Italiani* (Firenze: Tipografia Borghi e Compagni, 1833–34), II, 2225 ff., 1287 ff., 1753 ff., except the *Piacevoli Notti* of Straparola, edited by G. Rua, Bologna, 1898–1908.

by a sufficient, though not complete, series of examples that the *chantefable* does not stand alone, but forms a member of an extensive body of literature whose tradition was constant in western Europe down to the close of the Middle Ages. With such a persistent anterior and contemporary use of the *prosimetrum* style, the astonishing thing is, not that the author of *Aucassin* should have used it, but that it had no further fortune in France, as it had in Italy.¹

¹ Rutebeuf's *Dit de l'Herberie*, consisting of a piece of prose and a piece of poetry, is not a *chantefable*. The *Satire Ménippée* ignores native mediaeval tradition and is inspired by classical antiquity. Examples of narrative *verses* interspersed with lyrics are afforded by *Cleomads*, *Meliacin* and *Guillaums de Dole*. The Provençal *razo* contains a prose dedication to a poem. Further examples of a bastard sort of rhyme-prose may be found by consulting the Index of Manitius, *op. cit. supra*, sub voce "*Reimprosa*."

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SOME ASPECTS OF MEDIAEVAL LATIN STYLE

By MARBURY BLADEN OGLE

WHILE engaged upon the translation of Walter Map's *de Nugis Curialium*, I was struck by the fact that he employed—whether consciously or not I was not prepared to say—two kinds of style, each distinctly different from the other. At times he writes his Latin in a style that is direct, clear, and free from excessive ornateness, a style which compares favorably with that of any writer after the classical period. At other times, however, his sentences are involved, full of far-fetched figures and learned references, and marked by repetitions, antitheses, alliteration, jingles. Although it is not possible perhaps to classify with strictness the peculiarities of this style, there are certain features which stand out more clearly than others and which are of such a nature that they may be regarded as typical:

1. Unnatural word order (*traiectio*), and the use of unnecessary words in order to get rhythm or jingle, what Cicero has so aptly described as “stuffing in words to fill the chinks.”¹ Thus, in *Distinctio* iii, 1 (p. 104, 3), *cum a palatii descendunt palatini negotiis*; iii, 2 (p. 106, 9–11), *unum tamen et unicum scio quem de simili possum laudare constancia, si non ei Veneris usum neget impotancia*; iv, 1 (p. 138, 10–11), *nostrum semper orantes refugium, ut eleccionis pure bonorum Ipse in nobis consecucionem, et fuge malignitatis Ipse faciat effugium*.²

2. Short *cola*, often of equal length (*isocola*) as, for example, ii, 18 (p. 89, 10–12), *occumbunt ergo quatuor, sed ipse solus euasit, et a suis inuentus ad securitatem se transtulit*; iii, 2 (p. 111, 13–15), *regina . . . quam Cupidinis accenderat arcus, quam gravitas extinguit plumbea*; i, 10 (p. 30, 17–18), *Petrus ibi didicit pacem querere paciencia; nescio quis hos docuit vim vincere violencia*; i, 23 (p. 36, 14–16), *locum extra mundum in corde mundi, semotum ab hominibus hominum in medio, seculum scire nolentes, a seculo sciri volentes*.³

¹ *Orator*, 231.

² Citations are made with parenthetical reference to page and line in edition of M. R. James, *Walter Map. de Nugis Curialium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914).

³ Cf. i, 12 (p. 18, 9–11), iv, 13 (p. 187, 9–10).

3. Puns, a play on words, whether in regard to form or meaning (*paronomasia*). Here are three examples taken from one page of the Epilogue to *Distinctio* iv (p. 141, 1-2): *quia prorsus ab eis auersam et longe plus aliis aduersam*; (p. 141, 6-8), *a curia liber sum, unde relegatus quiete noua percipio quam misere fuerim ibi religatus*;¹ (p. 141, 24-25) *non oportet ab antris earum loqui nec in regulis arcium artari. Quidlibet ut libet agimus*. Again in i, 12 (p. 17, 29-31), *huiusmodi sunt lusus curie, et tales ibi demonum illusiones; et quicumque delectatur aliquod videre portentum, ingrediatur curias potentum*; iii, 3 (p. 130, 10-11), from the conclusion of the story of Parius and Lausus, *instat enim et adheret litere, nec habet aliquam inuisam nisi peruisam, aut neclectam nisi perlectam*.²

4. Parallelism of sound, both in the interior and at the ends of words (*paromæon*). This is secured by various devices among which the following are the most usual: (a) alliteration, as in the Epilogue to *Distinctio* iv (p. 141, 23), *et mihi nunc primo placere potest puteal*; or, in the *Conclusio* to his "*Epistola ad Ruffinum*," iv, 5 (p. 159, 12), *suavi serenitate salebras apperi salbures asperum planans iter*; i, 15 (p. 23, 20-21), *sanius est ut irracionalium ratione regamur*.³ (b) By the use of different parts of speech formed on the same stem, as: i, 15 (p. 24, 5-6), *nos tamen eorum excedimus excessus* and (p. 24, 7-8), *nec sit aliquid oculis ostensum in quo non ostendat Dominus aliquam instruccionis formam*; i, 12 (p. 18, 7-8), *tu caueas, si me ruditus ruditas ridiculum reddiderit*.⁴ (c) By the use of the same stem, compounded with different prefixes or suffixes, or of simple and compound words formed on the same stem, as in ii, 2 (p. 105, 14-15), *tum manibus tum oculis cupidis non cupitis, susceptis et non acceptis*; Sceva's love-making, iv, 16 (p. 199, 12-13), *carissima mi electa et super animam meam dilecta, potes si placeret menti placare mentem*; ii, 1 (p. 64, 6-7), *differantur tamen, si non auferantur*; i, 10 (p. 11, 8-9), *cogebant potentes et impotentes, volentes et nolentes*.⁵ (d) By the

¹ The same play on words occurs in i, 10 (p. 13, 3).

² Cf. also, v, 1 (p. 204, 29), iv, 1 (p. 139, 26).

³ Cf. i, 12 (p. 19, 2); iv, *Prologus* (p. 138, 11); *ibid.* (p. 140, 17-18); iii, 2 (p. 105, 30).

⁴ Cf. iii, 2 (p. 115, 37); ii, 1 (p. 104, 1, quoted above).

⁵ Cf. i, 12 (p. 17, 29, cited above); i, 12 (p. 18, 8); iv, 6 (p. 171, 26); v, 1 (p. 203, 3); iv, 13 (p. 186, 31); iv, 14 (p. 188, 5).

use of the same word in different cases or tenses (*polyptoton*) as in i, 23 and iv, 16, both cited above. (e) By the repetition of the same case- or tense-endings (*homœoteleuton*), especially at the end of short *cola*. Many of the examples I have quoted illustrate Map's fondness for this device; compare also iv, 13 (p. 188, 4-6), really the conclusion of his sermon on the court: *cupio etiam ut postera recordetur huius malicie militia, sciantque tollerabilia perpeti, a nobis intoleranciam passis edocti*; v, 1 (p. 203, 9-10), *quod reprehendere scimus, et scribere ignoramus; carpere appetimus, et carpi mere-mur*; iv, 6 (p. 171, 30-31), *non patris verbera, non matris ubera, vitrici gladium, noverce venenum, baiulat*; v, 1 (p. 204, 22-23), *hanc tibi vitandam proponimus pro veneficiis, illam eligendam pro beneficiis*.

If Map is fond of *paronomasia* and *paromæon*, two of the so-called Gorgianic figures, he is no less fond of the third, *antithesis*, as the passages already quoted make clear; but compare especially v, 1 (p. 203, 7-8), *iacent tamen egregia modernorum nobilium, et attolluntur fimbrie vetustatis abiecte*.

These devices which I have described are the most important, it will be noted, among the *schemata verborum*, the ornaments of one's speech or manner of utterance, in contrast to the *tropi*, which are devices for adorning one's idea or for illustrating it.¹ These have so distinctive a character that they may, with all justice I think, be taken as criteria of style. When one begins to seek out their history, he is at once struck by the fact that they are not peculiar to one age or clime, but that they occur everywhere and have had a long tradition. We find them in Greek literature, especially in that written during and after the Alexandrian period, and they are the hall-marks — and this, I think, is the important thing — of the productions of the Greek schools of rhetoric which came into being after the passing of the great days of the fifth century. These schools had as their primary aim the teaching of practical eloquence, but they also claimed to train youth for the affairs of life and to embrace all spheres. When the Romans became lords of things in the second century B.C., they needed practical rhetoric, and Greek teachers

¹ Cf. Lyly's *Euphues* (ed. Croll and Clemons, London: Routledge, 1916), Introduction, pp. i ff.

brought their schools to Rome. Hence it was that both oratory and public utterance of every sort came under the influence of rhetoric both in theory and practice. The results of this training may be seen in the remains of the oratory of the Gracchan period and in the earliest speeches of Cicero, in the *pro Quinctio* for example, in which one can find parallels to all the artifices I have cited from Walter Map. Cicero, however, became a deep student of philosophy and, with this as his guide, he was able to fashion a new ideal of the orator as one in whom rhetoric should be subordinate to philosophy. But this ideal did not long survive him, and hardly more than a generation had passed away before rhetoric had become all powerful over literature and over life. It came to be regarded as the foundation of all education for the statesman no less than for the man of letters. Its methods and its manner had become fixed by tradition and the continuity was likewise preserved by the practice of delivering epideictic speeches in honor of men and gods and of fictitious court speeches, in which the important thing was not the content but the manner of utterance. There were, of course, periods of reaction against the fashion and it was during one of these that the term 'Asiatic' was adopted as a term of reproach for the exponents of the gawdy style, a style which Quintilian, himself a follower of Cicero, termed *corrupta eloquentia* and of which he says "*aut puerilibus sententiolis lascivit aut immodico tumore turgescit*," "it runs riot with its childish tags or is swollen with unmeasured fulsomeness."¹

In these two phrases Quintilian aptly describes the two features of the Latin style of his time which Cicero had found too prevalent in the oratory of the Greeks of Asia Minor² and in the literary productions which had emanated from their schools; but Quintilian was no more successful than Cicero had been in his efforts to establish higher standards of oratory. Everywhere throughout the Roman Empire schools, in which hardly a trace of sound philosophic training remained, were helping to fix the type of style which had been

¹ Quint., xii, 10, 73.

² Cicero, however, never condemns these Asiatic orators unqualifiedly; he makes it perfectly clear that there were orators outside of Attica who wrote classic Greek as well as orators from other parts of the Greek world who were not guilty of redundancy of style; cf. U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Hermes*, XXXV (1900), 1 ff.

developed in the Greek schools three hundred years before. Hence, the characteristic features of the style of later Latin literature, whether written in Italy or Africa, Gaul or Spain, whether pagan or Christian, are much the same. What differences there are are differences in degree, not in kind. And these features are, for the most part, such as I have described above. It is wrong, therefore, to give the style which is marked by these features a geographical appellation, to call it Asiatic or African or, with certain critics of the Latin of Anglo-Saxon writers, Celtic or Hisperic.¹ Such a practice overlooks, also, the very important fact, to which I shall return presently, namely, that a writer such as Apuleius² may in one work employ a style that is marked by all the mannerisms termed Asiatic or African or Celtic, and, in another, a style that is practically free from these mannerisms.

Since sufficient emphasis has not been laid, it seems to me, upon the influence of the traditions of the schools as a possible explanation for certain peculiarities of Mediaeval Latin style — Norden certainly, in his zeal for his theory of imitation, fails to do so — it may not be out of place to glance for a moment at the nature of the instruction in the schools and to point out the universality of one type of education.³

It must be noted, first of all, that the chief place in education, in the upper schools, at least, was held by grammar and by rhetoric. The term grammar had, of course, a much wider meaning than we associate with the word. To Varro, for example, (quoted by Marius Victorinus, i, 1),⁴ *ars grammatica, quae a nobis literatura dicitur*, was

¹ Cf. especially, W. H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford, 1904), Introduction, p. xci.

² Cf. Eduard Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1898), pp. 603 ff. The same is true of Prudentius, as Professor Rand has noticed, "Prudentius and Christian Humanism," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LI (1920), 75. This matter is connected, as he has suggested to me, with what he there describes as "Christian simplicity, real and assumed," a subject to which I hope to return at a future time. It is referred to by M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris: Picard, 1905), 104; cf. Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 595, n. 1, p. 754, n. 1.

³ This is the opinion, also, I am glad to note, of Professor Croll, expressed in the Introduction to his edition of the *Euphues*, *cit. supra*. The fact that my conclusions, which were reached before I read his excellent essay, coincided with those of such an authority, justifies my boldness in attempting to discuss the matter.

⁴ Cf. Keil-Hertz, *Grammatici Latini*, VI, 4.

scientia eorum quae a poetis historicis oratoribusque dicuntur ex parte maiore; to Quintilian (i, 4), it was *recte loquendi scientia et poetarum enarratio*, and this was the meaning which the word continued to have throughout the Middle Ages. This is clear from the definitions of it given in the three most important text-books, Cassiodorus, *Institutio de arte grammatica*:¹ *grammatica est peritia pulchre loquendi ex poetis illustribus oratoribusque collecta*; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, i, 5 (ed. Lindsay, *Oxford Classical Texts*): *scientia recte loquendi et origo et fundamentum liberalium literarum*; Rabanus Maurus, *de Clericorum Institutione*, iii, 18 (Migne, CVII, 395): *scientia interpretandi poetas atque historicos et recte scribendi loquendique ratio*. The word takes on even wider content in the *Glosa Notabilis* to the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei: ² *grammatica est ostiaria omnium aliarum scientiarum, linguae balbutientis expurgatrix aptissima, logicae ministra, rhetoricae, theologicae interpres, medicinae refrigerium et totius quadrivii laudabile fundamentum*. Even though Quintilian, in his discussion of the *ludus grammaticus*, emphasizes the need of the study of geometry, music, and astronomy, he does so only because these subjects were considered necessary for the appreciation of poetry, and poetry, in fact, was the chief matter of study in these schools; hence, Tacitus (*Dialogus de Oratoribus*, 20) remarks, *exigitur iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor*. From the very first the student had to paraphrase poetry, the plots of epics, of dramas, sometimes condensing, sometimes elaborating; poetry furnished him, in large part, with the subjects for his *prosopopæiae* or *ethopæiae*, speeches which were put into the mouth of mythical or historical persons suitable to the particular individual in the particular circumstances, as for example, the speech of the love-lorn Achilles on the death of Penthesilea (Libanius, *Orationes*, ed. Reiske, IV, 1026), or that of a greedy slave who had found a golden sword (*idem*, p. 1043).³ From poetry, too, were taken oftentimes the questions set up for debate, especially from the

¹ Cf. Keil-Hertz, *Grammatici Latini*, VII, 214.

² Cf. D. Reichling, "Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei," *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XII (1893), Einleitung, p. iii. For a discussion of the history of the word *grammaticus*, cf. J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* (3d ed.), I, 6 ff.

³ For similar themes, cf. Theon, *Progymnasmata* (ed. L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, II, 115 ff.); Quintilian, iii, 8, 53; Libanius, *op. cit.*

comedy and the mime which dealt with imaginary and romantic themes. Or else, merely imaginary characters or abstractions were represented in conversation or debate, or speeches were delivered in commendation of the good, in dispraise of the evil, and descriptions (the so-called *ἐκφράσεις*) written of all sorts of persons and things. In short, the sense of reality, the sense of proportion, was lost and the result was, as Quintilian puts it, "a transgression of the mean and a perversion of the natural."¹

Since, therefore, poetry was to such a large extent the subject of study, especially in the *ludi grammatici*,² the language not only of the school exercises but of prose generally tended more and more to become poetic; ordinary language was tabooed, and its place was taken by a prose which was adorned with all the artifices of poetry. And not only was the style of prose made poetic, but the matter, which in the best period had belonged to the province of poetry, found treatment in prose, especially descriptions — descriptions of objects of nature, objects of art, the seasons, places, persons, animals, and birds, and panegyrics of great men and praises of their deeds.³

Although this sort of education had been shaped primarily to train men to be orators, in course of time the claim was made for it that it furnished the only method to train men for any of the higher walks of life. Above all else it was thought to have a moral value, and through the agency of rhetoric, it was said, the cardinal virtues, prudence, temperance, justice, courage were produced. What gymnastics do for the body, that, said Aristides, the art of rhetoric does for the soul.⁴ This education was, moreover, the only type of education which the whole world knew, for wherever Roman arms went, there went the *grammatici* and the *rhetores*. By the side of the private schools there were, after the time of Vespasian, schools which were established by the State or supported by the separate provinces or

¹ Quint., viii, 3, 58.

² Cf. M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), pp. 8 ff.; T. Haarhoof, *Schools of Gaul* (Oxford: University Press, 1920), pp. 56 ff., 68 ff.

³ Cf. E. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman* (3d ed., Leipzig: Breitkopf u. Härtel, 1914), pp. 357 ff.; also A. S. Pease, "Things without Honor," *Classical Philology*, XXI (1926), 27 ff.

⁴ *Ora iones*, xlv, ed. Dindorf, II, 72.

cities with chairs of rhetoric occupied by professors paid from the public treasury. Even after the Roman Empire was divided under Diocletian, when the tendency was for the East to become more oriental and different from the West, this difference was not reflected, apparently, in the methods of education. When Theodosius II founded the University of Constantinople in 426 A.D., the center of its instruction was grammar and rhetoric. Of its thirty-one professors, twenty were grammarians, eight were rhetoricians, two were teachers of law, one of philosophy. Similarly, in the University of Bordeaux (Burdigala), according to Ausonius,¹ who was a pupil there and master for thirty years, all the teachers were Latin or Greek grammarians or rhetoricians. Nor did the fact that a barbarian, Theodoric, became master of the western world in the beginning of the sixth century, result in the casting out from the schools which survived poetry, grammar, and rhetoric. We have, for example, from the pen of Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, a short treatise entitled *Paraenesis Didascalica*, written in 511, in which he extols poetry, modesty, chastity, faith, grammar, and rhetoric — rhetoric, the mother, he calls it, of poetry, of dialectic, of arithmetical, which makes the innocent guilty, the guilty innocent, and gives worldly power.² Moreover, in his *Dictiones* he collected examples of school *controversiae* and *suasoriae* which are similar to those in use in pagan schools four hundred years before. About the same time, in Africa, another Christian bishop, Fulgentius, was employing all the flowers of a decadent rhetoric to adorn his allegorical explanation of Vergil's *Aeneid*, while in Constantinople Priscian was writing his great grammar that was to serve as a textbook for all the world. As evidence of the unbroken tradition between the old and the new, so far at least as the methods of instruction went, may be cited the treatise of Priscian, dedicated to Symmachus, entitled *de Praeexercitamentis Rhetoricis quae Graeci προγυμνάσματα vocant*.³

¹ *Professorum Commemoratio*; cf. Roger, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff.

² *Opuscula* 6 (ed. F. Vogel, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, VII, 814). Similar claims are made for poetry by Fulgentius, *Super Thebeiden*, ed. Helm (Teubner, 1898), pp. 180, 181.

³ Cf. W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (6th ed., Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), § 481, 4. Compare also the reference to the *declamationes* in Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulas*, ix,

Nor did the Christianization of the world alter greatly the time-honored methods of instruction, however much it may have altered the matter. Not only had many of the early Fathers—and these the most influential—been educated in Greek or Latin rhetorical schools, but many of them had themselves been teachers of rhetoric. And although in theory they might have accepted Tertullian's view that, so long as they believed, nothing else mattered, or agreed with Gregory the Great that it was an unworthy thing to subject the word of God to the rules of Donatus,¹ their practice shows that they were well versed in the use of the tools they affected to despise. Some, however, were bold enough to declare, on the one hand, that the Holy Scriptures conformed to the highest laws of rhetorical art and, on the other, that only by the training obtained from the traditional methods of grammar and rhetoric, could the Christian teacher and preacher gain the eloquence necessary to overcome the claims of the heathen.² In this connection it is important to note that St Augustine, in his *de Modis Locutionum*, now lost, declared that the *diversa schemata saecularium litterarum* and the *schemata grammaticorum atque rhetorum* were all contained in the Scriptures, and again, in his *de Doctrina Christiana*, iii, 29 (cf. ii, 40), that through a knowledge of the *modi locutionum*, which the Greek grammarians called *tropi*, one is aided to a better understanding of God's word (cf. iv, 3). Hence it was that Cassiodorus, in his famous *Institutiones*, i, 11, in which he quotes from the *de Modis* of Augustine, put by the side of the sacred writings the seven traditional subjects of the old grammatical and rhetorical schools, which had come to him perhaps from Martinus Capella—grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music—and which Alcuin later described as the seven pillars on which rests wisdom.³ The fact that Cassiodorus justifies the study of the *artes* solely as a means to the proper understanding

7 (ed. Lütjohann, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant.*, VIII), and in Claudius Mamertus, *Epistula ad Sapaudum*, p. 205 (ed. Engelbrecht, *Corp. Script. Ecclesiast. Lat.*, XI). These *praeexercitamenta* are mentioned by John of Salisbury, *Metalogicus*, i, 24 (ed. Giles), as holding a prominent place in the school of Bernard of Chartres.

¹ Cf. *Moralium, Praefatio*, i (Migne, LXXV, 516).

² Cf. E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 529 ff.; Roger, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 ff.

³ Migne, CI, 853. On the *Artes*, cf. P. Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts* (Columbia Univ. Teachers College Contributions to Education, XI, 1906).

of the Scriptures and not as an end in themselves implies no break, (as Roger, *op. cit. supra*, p. 178, notes), with the principles of the pagan schools, and but little, we may be sure, with the methods of instruction. Hence Isidore of Seville, however much he might condemn the poetry of the pagans, used it freely in his historical, grammatical, and theological writings, and could go so far as to exclaim, "rather grammar than heresy."¹ The vitality of the tradition is shown by the fact that in the school of Bernard of Chartres, as described by John of Salisbury,² grammar and poetry were the foundations.

Even if, in the strictly monastic schools, the content of study was furnished by the Scriptures and the writings of the Church Fathers, it is evident, from what we know of the instruction in these schools, that the result was not a ban upon grammar and rhetoric, but rather a minimizing of their more substantial features. In order fully to comprehend the meaning of the Scriptures, these had to be interpreted from four points of view, the historical, allegorical, moral, anagogical,³ and for the last three the study of the *tropi* and the *schemata verborum* were deemed necessary. We have seen the place which St Augustine and Cassiodorus assigned to it, and similar evidence is afforded by a Capitulary of Charlemagne to Baugulf, Abbot of Fulda.⁴ These *tropi* and *schemata* had a place in the *Institutiones* of Quintilian, in Martianus Capella, and in the great grammar of Donatus where the third book was devoted to them. This book came later to be ascribed to Priscian and the authority of his name enhanced its popularity; hence, every grammar published thereafter contained a section in which the figures are defined and illustrated. Bede, chiefly in dependence upon St Augustine and Cassiodorus, wrote a treatise, *de Schematibus et Tropis*,⁵ in which he holds fast to the ancient forms even though he draws his illustrative examples from

¹ *Sententiae*, iii, 13 (Migne, LXXXIII, 698).

² *Metalogicus*, i, 24 (ed. Giles).

³ The *sensus historicus, allegoricus, tropologicus, anagogicus*; cf. Cassianus, *de Spirituali Scientia*, iv, 8 (Migne, XLIX, 962); Aldhelm, *de Virginitate*, iv (ed. Ehwald, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auc. Ant.*, Pars I, 232); John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, vii, 12 (ed. C. C. Webb, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909, II, 666 a). Cf. the rules for preaching contained in H. Caplan, *A Late Medieval Tractate on Preaching* (New York: The Century Co., 1926), pp. 79 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Mon. Germ. Hist., Leges*, II, 1, 79, of the year 789. On the study of the figures, cf. Roger, *op. cit., supra*, pp. 384 ff.

⁵ Cf. Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores*, p. 607; cf. *idem*, p. xv.

Holy Writ, since there, he remarks, they had found a place long before Greek grammarians had invented their names. Donatus furnished him his seventeen *schemata verborum* and his thirteen *tropi*, and to the same authority, or to Cassiodorus, he owes his definitions and illustrations. We find practically the same figures and the same definitions in all the treatises used both in the secular and monkish schools, in the grammar of Alcuin, for example, including finally the famous *Doctrinale*¹ of Alexander of Villa Dei, where they are discussed in verse. Among them, of course, are the *schemata* which I have selected as characteristic of the ornate style of Walter Map: *paronomasia*, *paromæon*, *homæoteleuton*, *antithesis*, *polyptoton*, *isocola*.

The universal study of grammar, which concerned itself, it must be remembered, chiefly with poetry, with its emphasis upon the *tropi* and *schemata*, furnished, therefore, the chief, often, no doubt, the only source of stylistic adornment. What it meant to such a man as Aldhelm, for example, we learn from the last few chapters of his *de Virginitate* (lix and following).² Here he congratulates himself that the leaky bark of his frail ability has about made port, having escaped the crushing cliffs of labdasism and the whirlpools of metasism (the terms come from Isidore, *Etymologiae*, i, 32, 6) which often drive dreadfully to shipwreck the careless who are caught "without the guiding helm of grammar," *sine grammaticorum gubernaculo*. That grammar, moreover, taught one to write not only a correct style but also an ornate one, is clear from the next sentence in which Aldhelm declares, in clauses that are marked by all the *schemata*, that his effort was to do honor to the glory of virgin maidenhood "by means of rhetorical reportings," *rhetoricis relatibus*.

Here arises a question, a complete and satisfactory answer to which I have not seen given and which I certainly am not equipped to give. What principles determined the limits within which the use of the *tropi* and *schemata* was deemed permissible, if not necessary?

¹ Ed. D. Reichling, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XII (1893). Note the emphasis which Peter of Blois laid upon them, *Epistola*, 101, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (ed. H. Denifle et A. Chatelain, Paris, 1889), I, 27 ff., cited by Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, p. 719.

² Ed. Ehwald, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auc. Ant.*, XV, Pars I, p. 320. The passage is strongly reminiscent of the equally rhetorical outburst of St Jerome, *Epistula* xiv, 10 (I, 36, ed., Vallarsi).

That there were such limits—in the case of the majority of mediaeval writers, at least—is shown, I think, by a study of the parts of Map's book in which his use of the *tropi* and *schemata* is most free. These are the Prologues and Epilogues, not only to the five *Distinctiones*, but to the different sections or narratives within a *Distinctio*. These Prologues and Epilogues are often miniature sermons or admonitions, in which Map addresses his readers in the first person. Here belong the gawdy paragraph in i, 12, which concludes his account of the follies of the court; the conclusion of chapter 15 of the same *Distinctio*, a short sermon on the folly of man as compared with beasts; the Prologue to *Distinctio* iii, and especially that to *Distinctio* iv, together with its Epilogue in chapter 2, which serves to introduce to his friend his *Dissuasio, ne uxorem ducat*; that famous *Dissuasio* itself and its conclusion in iv, 4; the Prologue to *Distinctio* v; the introduction to the story of Sadius and Galo in *Distinctio* iii; the conclusion to the story of Parius and Lausus in iii, 3. Then there are passages in which the tone of the narrative is raised to a high emotional level, real or assumed, as in parts of the story of Sadius and Galo and in the story of Sceva and Olla (iv, 16), in which Sceva's love-making is described. There are, on the other hand, many pages in which the figures either do not occur at all or occur rarely. Here may be put practically the entire second *Distinctio*, which is made up of a series of short narratives or anecdotes; most of the third *Distinctio* which contains the prose drama of Sadius and Galo, the contrasting story of Parius and Lausus, the stories of Raso and his wife, and of Rollo and his wife; most of the narratives which conclude the fourth *Distinctio* and practically all the historical narrative in the fifth *Distinctio*. If we may take Map's own words seriously, it would seem that he himself was conscious of the difference in his style in the different portions of his work, for he says, in the short Epilogue to the collection of anecdotes in *Distinctio* ii (*ed. cit.*, p. 103, 1-3), "*siluam uobis et materiam, non dico fabularum, sed faminum appono: cultui etenim sermonum non intendo, nec si studeam consequar . . .*" "A forest and timber—I do not say fictitious but factitious—I set before you; elegance in the telling is not my aim, nor, if I should strive after it, could I attain it."

If one may generalize from this evidence, it seems that in the passages in which Map takes the tone of praise or blame, of exhortation, warning, or appeal, passages which are most closely allied to the sermon, and in those in which he is dealing with the traditional conceits of erotic literature, he makes unstinted use of the *tropi* and *schemata*, but in plain narrative, whether in the form of anecdote or history, he for the most part avoids them.

Such a distinction in the use of the figures is not, however, peculiar to Map, but is also found in the works of his contemporaries. When one reads, for example, the introductory chapter to the third book of the *de Rebus a se Gestis*¹ of Giraldus Cambrensis, or his description of Map's wit in the *Speculum Ecclesiae*,² "*sales saporifero sapientiae sale*," or the proem of his first lecture in Paris, which he quotes in *de Rebus a se Gestis*,³ one is reminded at once of the phrase of Jerome's⁴ which Bede quotes (*de Schematis et Tropis*, Migne, XC, 178), to describe homœoteleuton — *concinnae rhetorum declamationes*. Not all of Giraldus's Latin, however, is of this nature, for one may read many pages of the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, and the *Topographia Hibernica*, and not be struck in the face by the *schemata*. So the *de Rebus a se Gestis* is for the most part written in a plain and simple style, in what Giraldus himself describes in the Prologue as *scolastico stilo simplici tamen et non exquisito*.⁵

The histories of William of Malmesbury,⁶ also, are free for the most part from excessive adornment and he does not hesitate to

¹ Ed. J. G. Brewer, London, 1861 (Rolls Series, XXI, i, 89): *Considerans autem Giraldus vanam ex toto curiae sequelam, vanas omnino promissiones, vanas et indignas nec iuxta merita promotiones: quod olim mente conceperat ac paulatim iam inceperat, a curiae strepitu tanquam tempestuoso pelago penitus se retraxit, et ad scholas ac studium tanquam portum quietum et tranquillum salubriori consilio se transferre curavit.*

² iii, 14 (Rolls Series, XXI, iv, 219).

³ ii, 2 (Rolls Series, XXI, i, 46). The opening sentences read: *Proposueram prius audire quam audiri, prius discere quam dicere, prius dubitare quam disputare. Eruditus enim auribus summaeque eloquentiae viris et minus medullata sententiis oratio et ieiuna verborum macies quae propinabitur.*

⁴ In *Iesaiam viii, praef.* (ed. Vallarsi, IV, 329): *qui flumen eloquentiae et concinnas declamationes desiderant, legant Tullium, Quintilianum, Gallionem, Gabinianum; cf. Norden, Die Antike Kunstprosa, p. 634.*

⁵ Rolls Series, XXI, i, 19.

⁶ *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, XC, i-ii; *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. N. Hamilton, Rolls Series, LII.

criticize the style of his sources as *exarata barbarice*; that of Ethelwerd's version of the Chronicles;¹ that of the old charters, the words of which are dark and many taken from the Greek (*Gesta Pontificum*, ch. 196, ed. Hamilton, p. 344); that of the unknown writer's panegyric of Ethelstan (*Gesta Regum*, ii, 132, Stubbs, i, 144), a style which Cicero, king of Roman eloquence, would have called "*suffultum*." And yet William could, when he so desired, write in this same sort of style. Compare the highly ornate speech which he puts into the mouth of Pope Urban before the Council of Clermont (*Gesta Regum*, iv, 347, Stubbs, ii, 393 ff.), which William quotes, *pauca . . . incastigato sermone depromens, plura manumittens*.² Especially noteworthy is the forced metaphor (*translatio*) which he takes from Lucan, *Pharsalia*, viii, 384 (Stubbs, ii, 395), and the ornate conclusion of the speech (Stubbs, ii, 398). Such, too, is the Latin of many of his descriptions (*ecphrases*), that of Constantinople, for example, in *Gesta Regum*, iv, 355 (Stubbs, ii, 411 ff.), and of his Prologues and Epilogues. Even Map gives us nothing better than the Prologue to the third book of the *Gesta Regum* (Stubbs, ii, 283): *Verum in his protrahendis non multum temporis expendam impendium, quae nulli emolumentum animo legenti fastidium scribenti pariant odium. Satis superque sufficiunt qui genuino molari facta bonorum lacerant*. Here we have *paronomasia*, *paromæon*, *parison*, *homæoteleuton*, *alliteratio*.³

Whether a study of Mediaeval Latin generally would support the conclusion to which the practice of these writers in the employment of figures points, namely, that it was the kind of discourse and of divisions within a discourse which was the determining factor in their use, I am not prepared to say without further investigation. It is certainly true, however, that one can read many, many pages in the histories, such as the *Belli Sacri Historia* of William of Tyre, the *Res Gestae Saxoniorum* of Widukind of Corvey, the *Historia Francorum* of Aimoin of Fleury, the *Historia Langobardorum* of Paulus Diaconus, many in the familiar letters of Alcuin and Lupus and Gerbert, many in the stories told by Ekkehard IV in his *Casus*

¹ For example, cf. *Gesta Regum*, i, Prol. (Stubbs, I, 3).

² *Gesta Regum*, iv, 348 (Stubbs, II, 398).

³ Cf. the Epilogue to v, 446 (Stubbs, ii, 518 ff.), really a panegyric on Robert of Gloucester.

Sancti Galli or by Joannes de Alta Silva and Petrus Alfonsi, without finding offensive examples of *tropi* and *schemata*, however strange the vocabulary and the grammar may be. Even the Latin of Asser's *Life of Alfred*, which Stevenson¹ considers representative of 'Hesperic Latinity' is not, in a majority of his pages, so highly rhetorical and so ostentatious as Stevenson would lead one to suppose. It is noteworthy that "the long-drawn out metaphors," "the traces of alliteration," and, I may add, the *schemata*, do not appear in excess save in the chapters which are of the nature of panegyrics or which, as Stevenson says, "have the air of sermons."²

The same limitation in the use of the *tropi* and *schemata* is apparent, also, in the works of Bede. The *Historia Ecclesiastica* is written, as William of Malmesbury says,³ "*plano et suavi sermone*"; but Bede did not always write thus. His sermon on the Annunciation might well serve to illustrate his treatise *de Schematibus et Tropis*, and his prose life of St Cuthbert (Migne, XCIV, 735) to illustrate the *ubertas Gallici nitorque sermonis* of which Jerome writes to Rusticus.⁴ The same is true, indeed, of practically all sermons and other admonitory and hortatory writings, of the lives of the saints, of the panegyrics of the good and great, the condemnations of the bad, of the speeches which serve to adorn many a dry page of the chronicles, and of prologues and epilogues to writings of all kinds. Aldhelm, in his letter to Leutharius,⁵ aptly marks the difference: *haec . . . cursim pedetemptim perstrinximus, non garrulo verbositatis strepitu illecti* — the very terms he applies to his own style in *de Virginitate*, xix.⁶

Such a distinction in the sort of style appropriate to different types of writing and to the different parts of a discourse was, of course, a commonplace of ancient rhetoric. When we read what Cicero and Quintilian, for example, have to say in regard to this

¹ Cf. *ed. cit. supra*, Oxford, 1904, Introduction, p. xcii.

² Such as chs. 76, 88, 89-90, 91, 95-96. And it is from these chapters that practically all the examples of excessive ornamentation cited by Stevenson, p. xc, come.

³ *Gest. Reg. Angl.*, i, Prol. (Stubbs, I, 1); cf. i, 59.

⁴ *Epistula cxxv*, 1.

⁵ Ed. Ehwald, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiquiss.*, Pars II, 476.

⁶ Ed. Ehwald, *ibid.*, Pars I, 249.

theory, we see at once that the kinds of writing and the parts of a discourse in which an ornate style is recognized as fitting, even necessary, are exactly those in which the *tropi* and *schemata* appear in the greatest profusion. That Cicero's and Quintilian's ideas of an ornate style are not those of the mediaeval writer goes without saying, but this difference in taste does not affect the principle involved. It meant merely a lowering of the standards by which ornamentation was measured, so that, in the place of the rules of eloquence established by classical authorities, were put the recipes for the fine writing of a Martianus Capella.¹

A few words will suffice to show the similarity between the theory of ancient authorities and the practice of mediaeval writers. Of the three kinds of speeches which deal with *causae finitae*, those speeches which belong to the *genus deliberativum*, the purpose of which is to persuade or dissuade, should employ, we are told, *genus dicendi grandius quoddam et inlustrius*.² Most ornate, however, should be speeches dealing with *quaestiones infinitae*, universal truths of whatever nature, in which the orator should use *omnis apparatus ornatusque dicendi*.³ To these two groups correspond the mediaeval sermon, the various documents in which the Church addressed its people "in the tone of warning, exhortation, and appeal" ⁴ the show-speeches in the chronicles, the show-letters which were always closely related to oratory,⁵ and the treatises of devotion and edification which were meant to be read aloud. The other type of speech for which ornate language was essential was that embracing speeches of praise or blame (*genus laudativum, demonstrativum*), not only of persons but of things, places, and events as well, *ecphrases* of

¹ How slavishly these were followed by Gildas in his so-called *Epistula* and by the writer of the *Hesperica Famina* has been convincingly shown by H. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, pp. 330 ff. He rightly says (p. 334) that "*Martianus Capella ist der Lehrmeister für das 'hispanisch-aulonische Latein.'*" For an opposing view, cf. Goetz, *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, XLVIII (1896), 87.

² Cicero, *de Oratore*, ii, 333; cf. Quint., ii, 10, 11.

³ Cicero, *de Oratore*, iii, 30, 119, especially 124; Quint., iii, 5, 5; cf. Martianus Capella, v, 441.

⁴ Cf. Croll, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

⁵ Cf. E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 83 ff.; Maximilian Heinemann, *Epistulae amatoriae quomodo cohaereant cum elegiis Alexandrinis* (Strassburg, 1910), pp. 21 ff.

all sorts.¹ Of this type Cicero² remarks, *ex eis fontibus unde omnia ornamenta dicendi sumuntur, licebit etiam laudationem ornare*, and again,³ that these speeches must have *plurimum suavitatis*, must employ *facta verba*, either old words or words employed in a new or figurative sense, must be rhythmical, *non ad similitudinem versuum sed ad explendam aurium sensum*⁴ where he illustrates his meaning by referring to his description of Sicily in two of the Verrine orations,⁵ and to his speech *de Consulatu Suo*. This type will embrace, in our mediaeval matter, the many descriptions, such as those I have already referred to in William of Malmesbury, the panegyrics of saints and kings, such as the *Liber Historiae Wambae Regis* of Julian of Toledo, which is marked by the use of poetic expressions, long periods, and generous rime, perhaps, too, the lives of the saints, which, however, are closely allied also to the sermon, and such denunciations of the clergy as we find, for example, in the *Epistula* of Gildas and in Map. On the other hand, the style of the strictly court-speech had to be, for the most part, simple and direct and to have less adornment than the speeches belonging to the other types.⁶ That the tradition of this type of oratory lived on, especially in Rome, we see from Jerome's letter to Rusticus.⁷

In regard to the kinds of style recommended for the different parts of a discourse, ancient rhetorical theory held that since the chief purpose of the exordium and peroration was to win favor and to affect the emotions of one's hearers,⁸ these, but especially the peroration, should contain, as Cicero puts it,⁹ *uerba gravia, sonantia, non uolgaria* — *in primis translata* and be marked by *numeri*. The exordium¹⁰ had to be much more restrained than the peroration, but

¹ Cf. Quint., iii, 7, 26 ff., and ii, 10, 12.

² *de Oratore*, ii, 11, 45.

³ In *de Part. Or.*, 72.

⁴ Cf. *Orator*, 210.

⁵ In *Verrem* II, ii, 1 ff.; iv, 72 ff., 106 ff.; so Quint., iii, 7, 27.

⁶ Cf. Quint., ii, 10, 11.

⁷ *Epistula* cxxv, 1, 2, cited above, ed. Vallarsi, p. 935, and quoted by Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 634, 635, where other references are also given.

⁸ Cf. Cic., *de Or.*, ii, 77, 310 ff., *de Part. Or.*, 8, 27; Quint., iv, 1, 5 ff., vi, 1, 1 ff., Martianus Capella, v, 544, 565 (cf. 503).

⁹ *De Part. Or.*, 52 ff.

¹⁰ Quintilian, iv, 1, 58, says of it, *ne quod insolens uerbum, ne audacious translatum, ne aut ab obsoleta uetustate aut poetica licentia sumptum in principio deprendatur*.

such a distinction is not observed by mediaeval writers who, as we have seen, spared no effort to make both as ornate as possible. On the other hand the *narratio* — whether considered as part of a discourse, or as a literary form embracing the *fabula* or *argumentum*, which Cicero describes as *ficta res quae tamen fieri potuit*, and the *historia*, *gesta res ab aetatis nostrae memoria remota*¹ — should employ *usitata verba*,² and although it should avoid barrenness, should not run riot in far-fetched descriptions written in imitation of the poets.³ The many *narrationes* contained in the mediaeval collections of fables, of exempla, and in writings of every sort, a fair cross-section of which is furnished by Professor Beeson's *Primer*,⁴ agree pretty closely with what Cicero and Quintilian say about their nature and style⁵ and are practically free from *schemata* and *tropi*.

That these theories were a part of such rhetorical training as was given in the schools, both secular and monkish, has, I think, been made clear by what has already been said. The application of them to the sermon, whether we consider it as a *quaestio infinita* or as a species of the *genus deliberativum*, was fixed for succeeding periods by St Augustine in the fourth book of his *de Doctrina Christiana*, in which he discusses *elocutio*, basing his treatment of the three kinds of style — *submissum*, *temperatum*, *grande* — and their uses, upon the *de Oratore* of Cicero.⁶ Since the preacher's duty is not merely to instruct, for which purpose the *submissum genus* is sufficient, but also to move and to convert (*movere et flectere*, iv, 26), the other two are necessary, and these are secured, as the examples which he quotes (iv, 40) show, by the free use of the *schemata verborum*. To this authority of St Augustine was added the even greater weight of the teaching of Martianus Capella with its rules for the construction of a fine style, the *dignitas eloquendi* (v, 508 E.)

¹ *De Invent.*, i, 19, 27. On the rhetorical theories dealing with these literary forms, cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 84 ff., 152 ff. Note also Isidore, *Etymologiae*, i, 40.

² Cf. Cic., *de Oratore*, ii, 326.

³ Cf. Quint., ii, 4, 3; iv, 2, 36.

⁴ C. H. Beeson, *A Primer of Medieval Latin* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1925).

⁵ Cf., also Martianus Capella, v, 550.

⁶ C. S. Baldwin, "St Augustine and the Rhetoric of Cicero," *Proceedings of the Classical Assn.*, XXII (London, 1925), 24 ff.

and its description of the *figurae elocutionis ad ornandam tantum et quasi pingendam orationem accommodatae* (v, 531).¹ To Apuleius, if he was the author of the treatise *περὶ Ἐμπνεύσεως* ascribed to him in the MSS and in Cassiodorus and Isidore,² the sole aim of oratory is an appeal to the emotions, to give pleasure, or to inspire fear, and he gives his rules for the attainment of this end: *lata anguste, angusta late, vulgata decenter, nova usitate, usitata nove (dicere), extenuare magna, maxima e minimis posse efficere aliaque id genus plurima*. The same rules, expressed in practically the same language, we find repeated in two such important books as the *Poetria Nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, vv. 114 ff., and the *Laborinthus* of Everardus Alemannus, vv. 143 ff., vv. 181 ff.³ We have noticed the application by Aldhelm in his *de Virginitate* (p. 180 above) of the theory of the use of the grand style in writings of the *genus laudativum*; the contrast between such "rhetorical reportings" and the plain style suitable to historical narrative is noted by William of Malmesbury who remarks, in connection with his quotation from the *laudes* of Ethelstan (cf. above, p. 183), that he will rewrite parts of it *familiari stilo*. Similarly, Ekkehard IV, who certainly does not disdain the *stilus rhetoricus* when his subject demands the grand style,⁴ remarks in his note to the *Prognosticon Futuri Seculi* of Julian of Toledo,⁵ that many have "purified" (*emendarunt*) the book *ad solitum stilum*, because *Hispania facundia et Gallicus coturnus obscurius . . . currere videntur*.

The right to use the prologue to render one's hearer *docilis, attentus, benevolus*—the familiar words are repeated by William of Malmesbury in the Prologue to *Gesta Regum*, iii—belonged, in the opinion of St Augustine (*de Doctrina Christiana*, iv, 2, 3), to the Christian preacher no less than to the pagan orator. The ancient theories in regard to

¹ Cf. Aldhelm, *de Virginitate*, iv (ed. cit., Ehwald, I, 232), and the interesting passage from Dante, *de Vulgari Eloquentia* ii, 6, quoted by Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 753.

² Cf. W. S. Teuffel, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* (6th ed.), § 367, 7; cf. *Apulei opuscula de philosophia*, ed. P. Thomas (Leipzig: Teubner, 1908), p. 176.

³ Ed. Edmond Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e Siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1924): "*Poetria Nova*," pp. 197 ff.; "*Laborinthus*," pp. 337 ff. For an important note on the identity of the author and the form of the title, *Laborinthus*, see Faral, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 39.

⁴ Cf. for example, *Casus Sancti Galli*, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, II, 85.

⁵ Migne, XCVI, 453 ff. The remarks of Ekkehard are edited by Dümmler, *Zs. f. deutsch. Altertum*, N. F., II (1869), 21.

it and to the epilogue are restated with characteristic additions by Martianus Capella, v, 503, 544, 565. Especially noteworthy are his statements (v, 505) that a *pathetica dictio* is fitting for the epilogue, and that this must not be confined to the end of a discourse only, but be employed whenever the matter permitted, as, for example, in digressions — a rule which hardly any mediaeval writer fails to observe. To St Jerome, in one of his letters,¹ the epilogue is the sailors' *celeuma* raised at the happy completion of their voyage, and this passage, as I have pointed out above (p. 180), was in Aldhelm's mind when he wrote the Epilogue to his *de Virginitate*. The warning of classical rhetoric that the prologue and epilogue must be closely connected with the other parts of the discourse and arise out of them² was, of course, seldom heeded, and the emphasis was laid entirely upon their purpose to stir the hearer or reader, a result to be achieved by the observance of such rules for fine writing as those laid down by Martianus Capella (v, 509 ff., for example), or those described and illustrated in the textbooks on grammar and rhetoric which I have mentioned.

Such evidence — and it might easily be increased — shows, it seems to me, that more attention must be paid than hitherto to the methods of rhetorical training during the Middle Ages and to the relation between theory and practice, if we would solve the riddle of Mediaeval Latin style. The question is, of course, important not only for Mediaeval Latin but concerns equally the rise of prose in the vernaculars, indeed in our own English, as Croll points out.³ For here, too, the *tropi* and the *schemata* appear in most profusion exactly in the same kinds of writing and in the same parts of a discourse to which ancient rhetorical theory and mediaeval practice had assigned them.

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¹ *Epistula* xiv, 10 (ed. Vallarsi, I, 36).

² Cf. Cicero, *de Oratore*, ii, 310 ff.

³ *Op. cit. supra*, p. xlviii. The same is true for the rise of English verse forms as is shown by J. M. Berdan, *The Romanic Review*, VII (1916), 288-313.

AN INDEX OF ABBREVIATIONS IN MISS ALMA BLOUNT'S UNPUBLISHED *ONOMASTICON* *ARTHURIANUM*

FOREWORD

IN printing an *Index* of the abbreviations adopted by Miss Alma Blount in her unpublished *Onomasticon* of the mediaeval Arthurian romances (personal names and place-names), it is hoped that SPECULUM is hereby rendering a useful service, not only to mediaevalists, especially to that band of workers who have dedicated themselves to the study of Arthurian Romance, but also to the ever-increasing number of students of the important subject of personal names and place-names.

The need of a general onomasticon of mediaeval romance has long been felt, but the preparation of such a work is an undertaking not lightly to be entered upon. Over thirty years ago Mr Alfred Nutt gave clear expression to the significance and to the difficulties of this problem:

Il me semble qu'une des œuvres dont l'étude des romans arthuriens profiterait le plus serait la compilation d'un *Onomasticon Arthurianum* qui tiendrait compte de l'ensemble des textes tant manuscrits qu'imprimés. Ce serait là une œuvre gigantesque, mais qui pourrait être menée à bonne fin si tous les érudits qui s'occupent de ces études y apportaient un concours actif. — *Revue Celtique*, XII (1891), 228.

Progress has already been made, but much remains to be done in this hitherto somewhat neglected field. The Middle Ages have yet to find their Pauly-Wissowa, though we are grateful to the late Ernest Langlois for his *Table des noms propres . . . compris dans les chansons de geste imprimées* (Paris, 1904), to Lewis Spence for his *Dictionary of Mediaeval Romance and Romance Writers* (London, 1913), and for such important *Namenverzeichnisse* to individual authors and works as that included in the *Wörterbuch* by the late Wendelin Förster (and H. Breuer) to the complete works of Chrétien de Troyes, and the indexes of proper names supplied by Dr H. Oskar Sommer to his edition of Malory's *Mort Darthur* and of the *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*. These, however, are but beginnings, each representing in varying degrees of excellence a first step toward an ultimate goal.

A very special debt of gratitude is due to Miss Alma Blount (Associate Professor, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Michigan) for her substantial contribution to mediaeval *Hilfsmittel*. In 1898, at the suggestion of the late Professor William Henry Schofield (Harvard University), Miss Blount undertook the preparation of an *Onomasticon* of the mediaeval Arthurian romances and for a period of eight years (1898–1905) she gathered materials in various American and European libraries.¹ These very considerable collections, made on slips of paper 3" × 5" and arranged in alphabetical order by proper name (with cross-references), are at present conveniently deposited in a cabinet in the Treasure Room of the Widener Library, Harvard University, where, thanks to the generosity of Miss Blount, they stand permanently at the disposal of qualified students and investigators. Miss Blount has excerpted the personal names and place-names from some two hundred works, composed in ten languages — a large and internationally representative array of titles. The importance and usefulness of this work can, indeed, scarcely be exaggerated. There are, of course, lacunae, and, in examining the *Index*, the reader will miss certain important titles and lesser ones as well. The chronicle-histories, for example, except for that of Pierre de Langtoft, the *Chroniques d'Anjou*, and Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, remain to be excerpted. In many instances more satisfactory editions than those used by Miss Blount have become available, and these must ultimately be taken into consideration and added to the present collection. A list of chronicle-titles to be examined for Arthurian names is at present in preparation by Miss Evangelia H. Waller, graduate student in Radcliffe College, who thus far has brought together one hundred and twenty titles. When completed, Miss Waller's bibliographical survey will provide a point of departure for the continuation and conclusion of Miss Blount's *Onomasticon Arthurianum*.

In registering the proper names, Miss Blount perforce made ex-

¹ 1898–1899 in the Harvard Library (Cambridge), 1899 in the Newberry Library and the Library of the University of Chicago (Chicago), 1899–1900 in the Library of Cornell University (Ithaca), 1900–1903 intermittently in the Harvard Library, and 1904–1905 in the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale. See also *Harvard Library Notes*, No. 4, April, 1921, p. 74.

tensive use of abbreviation in the citation of references. Some of these abbreviations are immediately intelligible, but others require interpretation. Indeed, without such a key as is furnished here, the *Onomasticon* can be used only with difficulty and considerable loss of time. Therefore, in order both to direct the attention of students to this important collection of unpublished material, and to render it immediately accessible to them pending arrangements for completion and publication, it has seemed desirable to publish at once (with Miss Blount's approval) an *Index* of these abbreviations, together with their proper interpretation.

The *Index* is arranged alphabetically by abbreviation, and the order of items under each entry is as follows: abbreviation; the edition used by Miss Blount; the mode of reference (unless otherwise stated, references are to the verses of poems); and, for the especial convenience of visiting workers, the shelf-mark in the Harvard Library of the title cited. In the case of a few early printed books, the press-mark of the British Museum has been supplied. Attention is occasionally directed to a more recent edition than that used by Miss Blount; but these supplementary notices do not pretend to completeness, and corrections and further suggestions will be most welcome. Finally, it may be noted that the title "Gismir," not in the Harvard Library at the time of writing (March, 1926), has been ordered and should be available for consultation at an early date.

To a large measure, the usefulness of the *Index* is due to Miss Waller's careful examination, painstaking arrangement, and patient verification of the bibliographical notes on which the *Index* is based.¹

F. P. MAGOUN, JR.

A.& K.C. *King Arthur and the King of Cornwall*, ed. Child, Ballad No. 30. [25251.15]

A.& M. *Arthour and Merlin* (Auchinlech MS.), ed. E. Kölbing, Altengl. Bibl., IV (1890), 3-272. [12415.4]

¹ By application to the Publishing Editor, offprints of the *Index* may be had post-free for thirty-five cents (35¢) so long as the supply lasts.

- A. & M.(D). *Arthour and Merlin* (Douce MS.), ed. E. Kölbing, Altengl. Bibl., IV (1890), 276–355 (right-hand col.). [12415.4]
- A. & M.(H). *Arthur and Merlin* (Harleian MS.). Frag. of 62 vv., printed in “Exordial Observations” to *Arthour and Merlin*, [ed. W. B. D. D. Turnbull] (Abbotsford Club [Publ. No. 12], 1838), pp. x–xiii. [Br. 8011.5.12*]¹
- A. & M.(L). *Arthour and Merlin* (Lincoln MS.), ed. E. Kölbing, Altengl. Bibl., IV (1890), 275–370 (left-hand col.). [12415.4]
- A. & M.(Lo). *Merlin* by Lonelich the Skinner, ed. E. Kölbing, Altengl. Bibl., IV (1890), 373–408. [12415.4]
- A. & M.(P). [Arthur and] *Merline*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1867–68), I, 422–496. [25247.3]
- A.of A. *Anturs of Arther*, ed. J. Robson, *Three Early English Metrical Romances* (Camden Soc. Publ. [No. 18], 1842), pp. 1–26. Cited by stanza. [Br. 73.4.42.2]
Cf. ed. F. J. Amours, *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, Scot. Text Soc., Orig. Ser., [Nos. 27 and 38], London 1896–97, pp. 116–171. [11495.37]
- A.of K.A. *Avowynge of King Arther . . .*, ed. J. Robson, *Three Early English Metrical Romances* (Camden Soc. Publ. [No. 18], 1842), pp. 57–93. Cited by stanza. [Br. 73.4.42.2]
- Agr. *Agravain*. Names from summary by P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde* (Paris, 1868–77), V, 297–330. Cited by page. [27272.8]
Cf. ed. H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, D.C., 1909–16), Vol. V. [27271.1.5F]
- Anjou *Chroniques d'Anjou*, ed. P. Marchegay and A. Salmon, Soc. de l'Hist. de France (Paris, 1856), I, 14–15. Detailed references not given. [Fr. 65.25.13.20]
- Ariosto *Orlando Furioso*. Cited by book, but incomplete.

¹ Books whose shelf-mark is followed by a star (*) are to be found in the Treasure Room of the Widener Library.

- Art.** *Arthur; A Short Sketch of his Life and History in English Verse*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser., No. 2, 1864. [11472.2]
- Atre** *L'Atre Perillous*, ed. anonymously as "*Der Gefährvolle Kirchhof*," Herrig's *Archiv*, XLII (1868), 148–212. Cited by stanza. [Philol. 325]
- B.& G.** *Conto de Bruno e de Galeoto suo figlio*, ed. P. Papa, *Giornale Storico della Lett. Ital.*, III (1884), 216, 217. Detailed references not given. [P. Ital. 196.3]
- B.& M.** *The Boy and the Mantle*, ed. Child, Ballad No. 29. Cited by stanza. [25251.15]
- B.I.** *Le Bel Inconnu*, ed. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1860. [27273.48]
Cf. ed. G. P. Williams, *Li Biaus Descouneüs de Renaud de Beaujeu*, Oxford: Fox, Jones & Co., 1915. [27273.48.5]
- Bataglia** *La Bataglia de Tristano e Lancelotto e della Reina Isotta*. Unpublished. Names from summary by Pio Rajna in *Curiosità Letterarie* (Bologna, 1873), CXXXV, xlii–xliii. Detailed references not given. [Ital. 6320.135]
- Bead.** *Beaudous* by Robert de Blois, ed. J. Ulrich, *Robert von Blois. Sämmtliche Werke* (Berlin, 1889), Vol. I. [37596.33.2]
- Blandin** *Blandin de Cornouailles*, ed. P. Meyer, *Romania*, II (1873), 170–201. [Philol. 365]
- Bojardo** *Orlando Innamorato*. Cited by book, but incomplete.
- Brait** *El Baladro del Sabio Merlin* [i.e. "*Le Brait du Sage Merlin*"], Burgos, 1498. Names from summary in the introduction to *Merlin* (ed. G. Paris and J. Ulrich, S.A.T.F., 1886), I, lxxxi–xci; cf. pp. lxxii ff. [27271.11a]
- Brun** *Brun de la Montaigne*, ed. P. Meyer, S.A.T.F., Paris, 1875. [27283.7]

- Brux.I } *Een paar fragmenten van den Roman van Perchevael*,
 Brux.II } ed. F. van Veerdeghe, *Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique*, 3e Ser., XX (1890), 642-653; 653-664. [L. Soc. 451.6.4]
- C.D.E. *Li Chevaliers as Deus Espees*, ed. W. Förster, Halle, 1877. [27273.60]
- C.et L. *Claris et Laris*, ed. J. Alton, Bibl. d. litterar. Vereins (Tübingen, 1884), Vol. CLXIX. [27273.23]
- C.of C. *The Carle of Carlile*, ed. Sir F. Madden, *Sir Gawayne, A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems* (London, 1839), pp. 256-274. [Br. 8012.10.61*]
 Cf. ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1867-68), III, 277-294. [25247.3]
- Can.Mor. *Canzone Morale* by Antonio Pucci, ed. Pio Rajna, *Zs. f. roman. Philol.*, I (1877), 382-384. Detailed references not given. [Philol. 375]
- Card. *Carduino*, ed. Pio Rajna, *Curiosità Letterarie* (Bologna, 1873), CXXXV, 1-45. Cited by canto and stanza. [Ital. 6320.135]
- Chantes *Merlin: Fragments de Ballades*, ed. Vicomte H. de la Villemarqué, *Barzaz Breiz: Chants Populaires de la Bretagne* (6th ed., Paris, 1867), pp. 56-75. [27224.12]
- Chants *La Marche d'Arthur*, ed. Vicomte H. de la Villemarqué, *Barzaz Breiz: Chants Populaires de la Bretagne* (6th ed., Paris, 1867), pp. 49-51. [27224.12]
- Char. *Le Chevalier de la Charrette (Lancelot)*, by Chrétien de Troyes, ed. W. Förster, *Christian von Troyes. Sämtliche erhaltene Werke*, IV, 1-252, Halle, 1899. [37596.10]
- Chaucer *Wife of Bath's Tale*.
- Chiev. *Chievrefoil*, ed. K. Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France* (1st. ed., Halle, 1885), pp. 181-185. [37594.40]
 Cf. 3d rev. ed., Halle: Niemeyer, 1925, *Chievrefuail*, pp. 181-185. [27224.23.8.15]

- Cleg.** *Sir Cleges* (Auchinlech MS.), ed. H. Weber, *Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1810), I, 331–353. [27264.26]
Cf. Auchinlech and Ashmole MSS, ed. A. Treichel, *Englische Studien*, XXII (1896), 345–389. [Philol. 660]
- Clig.** *Cligés* by Chrétien de Troyes, ed. W. Förster, Halle, 1888. [37595.36]
Cf. 3d ed., Halle, 1910. [37595.36.51]
- Cor** *Le Lai du Cor* by Robert Biquet, ed. F. A. Wulff, Lund and Paris, 1888. [27273.37]
- Crone** *Diu Crône* by Heinrich von dem Türlin, ed. G. H. F. Scholl, Bibl. d. litterar. Vereins (Stuttgart, 1852), Vol. XXVII. [46585.38]
- D.of R.** *The Dream of Rhonabwy*, trans. Lady Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion* (London, 1838–49), II, 393–418. Cited by page. [Celt. 4427.5]
For Welsh text, cf. *The Text of the Mabinogion . . . from the Red Book of Hergest* (ed. Sir J. Rhŷs and Dr J. G. Evans, Oxford, 1887), I, 144–161 [Celt. 4427.9]; for authoritative transl., cf. Joseph Loth, *Les Mabinogion* (2d ed., Paris, 1913), I, 347–377. [Celt. 4427.8]
- Daniel** *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* by Der Stricker, ed. G. Rosenhagen, *Germanistische Abhandlungen* (Breslau, 1894), Vol. IX. [Philol. 530]
- D'Aussy** *Merlin*, ed. P. J. B. LeGrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux ou Contes, Fables et Romans du 12e et du 13e Siècle . . .* (3d ed., Paris, 1829), V, 138–143. Detailed references not given. [26231.4]
- Deg.** *Sir Degrevant*, ed. J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, *The Thornton Romances* (Camden Soc. Publ., No. 30, 1844), pp. 177–256. [Br.73.4.44.2]
Cf. ed. K. Luick, *Wiener Beiträge zur Engl. Philol.* (Vienna, 1917), Vol. XLVII. [27271.37.9]
- de T.** See “T. (de)”.
- Dur.** *Durmart le Galois*, ed. E. Stengel, Bibl. des litterar. Vereins (Stuttgart, 1873), Vol. CXVI. [27273.63]

- E.O.** *Tristrant* by Eilhart von Oberg, ed. F. Lichtenstein, *Quellen u. Forschungen*, Vol. XIX (1877). [Philol.525]
For new edition of Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-23, "Bruchstücke des alten Gedichtes," cf. ed. K. Wagner, *Eilhart von Oberg. Tristrant. I. Die alten Bruchstücke*, Rheinische Beiträge, V (1924). [Philol.208]
- Edolanz** Long poem preserved only in frags. Cited by fragment and edited as follows :
I. H. Hoffmann, *Altdeutsche Blätter*, II (1840), 148-152. [46573.2]
II. A. Schönbach, *Zs. f. deutsches Altertum*, XXV (1881), 273-279. [Philol. 495]
III. H. Hoffmann, *Altdeutsche Blätter*, II (1840), 152-159. [46573.2]
IV. K. Regel, *Zs. f. deutsches Altertum*, XI (1859), 490-500. [Philol.495]
V. R. Köhler, *Germania*, V (1860), 461, 462. [Philol.502]
VI. Possibly also belonging to the same poem: a short frag., ed. H. Suchier, *Germania*, XVIII (1873), 115, 116. [Philol.502]
- Emaré** *Emaré*, ed. J. Ritson, *Ancient Engl. Metr. Romances*, rev. E. Goldsmid (Edinburgh, 1885), II, 185-215. [27264.25]
Cf. ed. A. B. Gough, *Old and Middle English Texts* (London, 1901), Vol. II. [27283.6.9]; *idem*, ed. Edith Rickert, Chicago diss., 1907. [27283.6.10]
- Erec** *Erec et Enide* by Chrétien de Troyes, ed. W. Förster, Halle, 1896. [37595.36.7]
Cf. 2d wholly rev. ed., Halle, 1909. [37595.36.50.13]
- Er.Sag.** *Erex Saga*, ed. G. Cederschiöld, Copenhagen, 1880. Cited by page. [27273.43]
- Esc.** *Escanor* by Girard d'Amiens, ed. H. Michelant, *Bibl. d. litterar. Vereins* (Tübingen, 1886), Vol. CLXXVIII. Cited by page. [37597.28]

- Espée.** *Le Chevalier à l'Espée*, ed. D. M. Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes inédits* (Paris, 1823), I, 127–164. [26232.5]
Cf. ed. E. C. Armstrong, Johns Hopkins diss., Baltimore, 1900. [27273.23.6]
- F.&B.** *Il Febusso e Breuesso* [publ. by Lord Vernon], Florence, 1847. [27273.22]
- F.et F.** *Floriant et Florete*, ed. F. Michel, Roxburghe Club Publ. [No. 97], Edinburgh, 1873. [Br.88.5.97*].
- F.et L.** *Floris et Liriopé* by Robert de Blois, ed. W. von Zingerle, *Altfranz. Bibl.* (Leipzig, 1891), Vol. XII [37595.35]
- Faiz Tr.** *Les Faiz du Chevalier Tristan*, publ. A. Vérard, Paris, 1489. In two parts of 84 and 47 chs. resp. The names have not been collected because there is no pagination. For contents, see cross-references under “Trtn.” *infra*. British Museum press-mark: C.39.i.8.
- Fer.** *Fergus* by Guillaume le Clerc, ed. E. Martin, Halle, 1872. Cited by page. [27273.24]
- Fer.D.** *Ferguut* (Dutch version of “Fer.”), ed. L. G. Visscher, Utrecht, 1836. [27273.24.5]
Cf. ed. E. Verwijs, *Bibl. v. Middelnederl. Letterkunde*, Groningen, 1882. [Neth. 4214.3]; *idem*, ed. J. Verdam, Leyden, 1908; *idem*, ed. G. S. Overdiep, Leyden: Sijthoff, 1924.
- Fred.** *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie; efter gamla Handskrifter på Svenska och Danska*, ed. J. A. Ahlstrand, Stockholm, 1853. Refs. to Swedish text only. [27283.47]
- G.& C.of C.** *Syre Gawene and the Carle of Carelyle*, ed. Sir F. Madden, *Sir Gawayne, A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems* (London, 1839), pp. 187–206. [Br.8012.10.61*]
- G.& G.** *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Sir F. Madden, *Sir Gawayne, A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems* (London, 1839), pp. 131–183. [Br.8012.10.61*]
Cf. ed. M. Trautmann, *Anglia*, II (1878–79), 395–440 [Philol. 665]; *idem*, ed. F. J. Amours, *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, Scot. Text Soc., Orig. Ser. [Nos. 27 and 38], (London, 1896–97), pp. 1–46. [11495.37]

- G.& G.K. *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyzt*, ed. Sir F. Madden, *Sir Gawayne, A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems* (London, 1839), pp. 1-92. [Br.8012.10.61*]
Cf. ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, Oxford, 1925. [27273.27.15]
- G.ap A. *Brut Gruffudd ap Arthur*. Names excerpted from San-Marte's (i.e. Albert Schulz) notes to his *Gottfried's von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae . . . und Brut Tysilio* (Halle, 1854), pp. 177-471. The Welsh names are equated with the corresponding Latin forms, *q. v.* See *ed. cit.*, p. xlvii for San-Marte's abbreviations. [Br.1005.44]
For Welsh text, cf. *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales* (2d ed., Denbigh, 1870), pp. 476-554. [Celt.4318.6]; but students of the Welsh *Bruts* should note A. Griscom, "The Book of Basingwerk and MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. V.," *Y Cymmrodor*, XXXV (1925), 49-116; XXXVI, (1926) 1-33.
- G.K. *The Grene Knight*, ed. Sir F. Madden, *Sir Gawayne, A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems* (London, 1839), pp. 224-242. [Br.8012.10.61*]
Cf. ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1867-68), II, 58-77. [25247.3]
- G.S. *Tristan und Isot* by Gottfried von Strassburg, ed. R. Bechstein (2d ed., Leipzig, 1873).
1st ed., 1869. [46587.7]
Cf. ed. K. Marold, in *Teutonia* VI (1906). I. Teil: Text. [46585.18.9]
- Garel G }
Garel Z } *Garel vom blühenden Thal* by Der Pleier.
Names from the abstracts in Gödecke's *Grundriss z. Gesch. d. deutsch. Literatur*, I (1884), 135-137 for "Garel G" [Ref. 478.4]; and from I. V. Zingerle's *Fresken-cyclus des schlosses Runkelstein bei Bozen* [Innsbruck, 1857], pp. 6-11 for "Garel Z" [28271.7].
Detailed references are not given.
Cf. ed. M. Walz, *Garel von dem Blühenden Tal . . . mit den Fresken des Garelsaales auf Runkelstein*, Freiburg i. Br., 1892. [27271.3.2]
- Gaur. *Gauriel von Muntabel; eine höfische Erzählung aus d. 13. Jahrh.* by Konrad von Stoffe, ed. F. Khull, Graz, 1885. [German Library]

- Ger. *Geraint the Son of Erbin*, trans. Lady Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion* (London, 1838-49), II, 67-141. Cited by page. [Celt.4427.5]
For Welsh text, cf. *ed.*, *cit. sub* "D. of R.", I, 244-295; for transl., cf. *ed. cit. sub* "D. of R.", II, 121-185.
- Girone *Girone il Cortese*, ed. F. Tassi, Florence, 1855. Cited by page. [27273.35]
- Gismir. *Il Gismirante*, ed. F. Corazzini, *Miscellanea di Così Inedite o Rare* (Florence, 1853), pp. 275-306. Cited by canto and stanza.
- Gliglois *Gliglois*. Unpublished. Names from summary in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXX, 161-170. Detailed references not given. [37531.2]
Cf. holograph transcript by Wendelin Förster of unique MS., *Cod. Taurensis français L. iv. 23*, destroyed by the fire of January 26, 1904 in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino. [27271.57F]
- Gol.Horn *Das Goldene Horn*, ed. I. V. Zingerle, *Germania*, V (1860), 102-105. Cited by page. [Philol.502]
- Gorlagon *Arthur and Gorlagon*, ed. G. L. Kittredge, [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes in Philol. and Literature*, VIII (1903), 150-162. Detailed references not given. [Philol.343]
- Grim. *Histoire de Grimaud*, ed. E. F. F. Hucher, *Le Saint-Graal ou le Joseph d'Arimathie* (Le Mans and Paris, 1875-78), III, 311-738. Cited by page. [27272.13]
- Guingamor *Guingamor*, ed. G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII (1879), 50-59. [Philol.365]
Cf. *ed.* P. Kusel, in K. Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, 3d rev. ed. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), pp. 233-255. [27224.23.8.15]
- H.& M. *Herowdes and Merlin*. Story XI [*Sapientes*] in *The Proses of the Seuyn Sages*, ed. H. Weber, *Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1810), III, 91-99. [27264.26]
Cf. *ed.* K. Campbell, *The Seven Sages of Rome* (Boston: Ginn, 1907), pp. 88-95. [27282.50.4]

- H.F.** *Tristan* by Heinrich von Freiberg, ed. R. Bechstein, Leipzig, 1877. [46587.17]
Cf. ed. A. Bernt, *Heinrich von Freiberg*, Halle, 1906: *Tristan*, pp. 1-211. [46585.37]
- H.G.** *The History of the Holy Grail* by Herry Lonelich, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser., Nos. 20 (Part i), 24 (Part ii), 28 (Part iii), 30 (Part iv), 95 (Part v). References by volume and page. Parts v, i, and ii = Vol. I; Parts iii and iv = Vol. II. [11473.20]
- H.G.(W).** *Y Seint Greal* (Welsh), ed. R. Williams, London, 1876. 2 vols. Names cited by page from English translation I, 437-720. [27273.20]
- H.H.G.** *History of the Holy Grail*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club Publ. [No. 80], (London, 1861-63). 2 vols. Cited by page. [Br. 88.5.80*]
- Hart.E.** *Erec* by Hartmann von Aue, ed. M. Haupt (2d ed., Leipzig, 1871). [46585.36]
- Hart.I.** *Iwein* by Hartmann von Aue, ed. E. Henrici, Halle, 1891-93. [46585.32.2]
- Higden** Usually cited as "Trev.", *q.v.*
- Horn** *Ain Hupsches Vasnacht Spill . . . von Kunig Artus [und das Horn]*, ed. H. A. von Keller, *Fastnachtspiele aus d. 15. Jahrh.*—*Nachlese*, Bibl. d. litterar. Vereins (Stuttgart, 1858), XLVI, 183-215. Cited by page. [47512.56]
- Hucher** *Le Saint-Graal ou le Joseph d'Arimathie*, ed. E. F. F. Hucher (Le Mans and Paris, 1875-78), II, 1-539; III, 1-308. Cited by page. [27272.13]
- Humbaut** *Gauvain et Humbaut*. Names from summary in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXX, 69-71. Detailed references not given. [37531.2]
Cf. ed. H. Breuer, *Hunbaut*, Gesells. f. roman. Literatur (Dresden, 1914), Bd. 35. [27273.85]

- Huth *Merlin* (Huth MS.), ed. G. Paris and J. Ulrich, S.A.T.F. (Paris, 1886). 2 vols. Cited by page. [27271.11a]
- Ider *Ider*. Names from summary in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXX, 199–215. Detailed references not given. [37531.2]
Cf. ed. H. Gelzer, *Der altfranz. Yderroman*, *Gesells. f. roman. Literatur* (Dresden, 1918), Bd. 31. [27273.41.5]
- Isald. *Tristrant und Isalde*, ed. Fr. Pfaff, *Bibl. d. litterar. Vereins* (Tübingen, 1881), Vol. CLII. Cited by page [Ger. 10546.90]
- Ivn. *Ivents Saga*, ed. E. Kölbing, *Riddarasögur* (Strassburg and London, 1872), pp. 75–136. Cited by page. [27266.27]
Cf. new ed., E. Kölbing, *Altnord. Saga-Bibl.*, No. 7, Halle, 1898, [Scan 4600.7]
- J.A. *Der Prosaroman von Joseph von Arimathia*, ed. G. Weidner, Oppeln, 1881. Cited by page. [27273.18]
- J.of A.(P). *De Sancto Joseph ab Arimathia*, publ. Pynson, 1516. Prose. Ed. W. W. Skeat, E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser., No. 44 (1871), pp. 33, 34. Cited by page. [11472.4]
- J.of A.(R). *Lyfe of Joseph of Armathia*, black-letter ed. by Pynson, 1520. Poem. Ed. W. W. Skeat, E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser., No. 44 (1871), pp. 37–49. [11472.4]
- J.of A.(V). *Joseph of Aramathie* (alliterative poem in the *Vernon MS.*), ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser., No. 44 (1871), pp. 1–23. [11472.4]
- J.of A.(W). *Lyfe of Joseph of Armathy*, black-letter ed. by Wynkyn de Worde. Prose. Ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser., No. 44 (1871), pp. 27–32. Cited by page. [11472.4]
- J.of G. *The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne*, ed. Sir F. Madden, *Sir Gawayne, A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems* (London, 1839), pp. 207–223. [Br. 8012.10.61*]

- Jaufré.** *Jaufré.* Names from summary of *Geoffroi et Bruins-sende*, in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXII, 224–234. Detailed references not given. [37531.2]
Cf. ed. F. J. M. Raynouard, *Lexique Roman*, I (1836), 48–178. [6275.12]
J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, II, 287, n. 38, notes a new ed. in preparation. [27271.1.15]
- K.A.D.** *King Arthurs Death*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1867–68), I, 498–507. [25247.3]
- K.& O.** *Kilhwch and Olwen or the Twrch Trwyth*, trans. Lady Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion* (London, 1838–49), II, 249–318. Cited by page. [Celt. 4427.5]
For Welsh text, cf. ed. cit. sub. "D. of R.", I, 100–143; for transl., cf. op. cit. sub. "D. of R.", I, 243–346.
- K.K.** *Kempy Kay*, ed. Child, Ballad No. 33. [25251.15]
- K.O.** *Kemp Owyne*, ed. Child, Ballad No. 34. [25251.15]
- K.R.C.** *King Ryence's Challenge*, in *Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (ed. Philadelphia, 1855, pp. 328, 329). [25241.31]
- L.&S.** *Lantsloot [ende Sandrijn]*, ed. A. H. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Horae Belgicae* (Breslau, 1836), Part vi, 158–166. Detailed references not given. [Neth. 4210.2]
- L.D.** *Libeaus Desconus*, ed. M. Kaluza, *Altengl. Bibl.* (Leipzig, 1890), Vol. V. [12415.5]
- L.D.(P).** *Libius Disconius*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1867–68), II, 415–497. [25247.3]
- L.d'A.** *Livre d'Artus.* Names from summary by E. Freymond, *Zs.f.franz.Sprache u. Litteratur*, XVII (1895), 21–128. Cited by paragraph. [Philol. 457]
Cf. ed. H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington D.C., 1909–16), Vol. VII. [27271.1.5F]

- L.du L. *Lancelot du Lac*, ed. P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde* (Paris, 1868-77), Vols. III, IV, and V. Cited by chapter. [27272.8]
 Cf. ed. H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, D. C., 1909-16), Vol. V. [27271.1.5F]
- ✓ L.du L.(D). *Roman van Lancelot* (Dutch), ed. W. J. A. Jonckbloet, 's-Gravenhage, 1846. [27271.5]
 For Book iii, 1-1160 (which follows "Q.S.G." closely) and Book iv (which follows "Mort" closely) only the variants in spelling from "Q.S.G." and "Mort" have been recorded. Cf. "Torec" *infra*.
- Le M.A. See "M. A. (Le)".
- L.L. *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser., No. 6, 1865. [11472.6]
 Cf. rev. ed. M. M. Gray, Scot. Text Soc., N. Ser., No. 2, 1912. [11495.102]
- L.L.(G). *Sir Launcelott of Dulake*, ed. J. H. Dixon, Percy Soc. Publ., [Vol. XXX] (London 1852), pp. 38-43. [11466.9(30)]
- L.L.(P). *Sir Lancelott of Dulake*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, (1867-68), I, 84-87. [25247.3]
- L.of F. *The Lady of the Fountain*, trans. Lady Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion* (London, 1838-49), I, 39-84. Cited by page. [Celt. 4427.5]
 For Welsh text, cf. ed. cit. sub "D. of R.", I, 162-192; for transl. ed. cit. sub "D. of R.", II, 1-45.
- Lan.[i].¹ *Lanval*, ed. K. Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France* (1st ed., Halle, 1885), pp. 86-112. [37594.40]
 Cf. 3d rev. ed., Halle: Niemeyer, 1925, pp. 86-112. [27224.23.8.15]
- Lan.[ii].¹ *Launfal* by Thomas Chestre, ed. J. Ritson, *Ancient Engl. Metr. Romances*, rev. ed., E. Goldsmid (Edinburgh, 1884-85), II, 1-33. [27264.25]
 Cf. ed. M. Kaluza, *Englische Studien*, XVIII (1893), 168-184. [Philol. 660]

¹ No distinction is made between references to *Lan. [i]* and *Lan. [ii]*. Unfortunately, both are cited *Lan.*

- Lan.(B).¹** *Sir Lamwell* (Bodleian fragments), ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1867-68), Vol. I, Appendix, pp. 521-532. [25247.3]
- Lan.(C).¹** *Sir Lamuell* (Cambridge MS.), ed. F. J. Furnivall, *Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books* (Ballad Soc., London, 1871), p. xxxi. [25244.9]
- Lan.(D).¹** *Sir Lamwell* (Douce fragments), ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1867-68), Vol. I, Appendix, pp. 533-535. [25247.3]
- Lan.(P).¹** *Sir Lambewell* (Percy MS.), ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1867-68), I, 144-164. [25247.3]
- Lan.(R).** *Landavall* (Rawlinson MS.), ed. G. L. Kittredge, *Amer. Journal of Philol.*, X (1889), 21-32. [Philol. 99]
- Lan.Ital.** *Lancillotto dal Lago*, ed. F. Z[ambrini], *Curiosità Letterarie* (Bologna, 1862), XXIII, 9-69. [Ital.6320.16]
- Lay.** *Lazamon's Brut*, ed. Sir F. Madden, London, 1847. 2 vols. Cited by page. [12414.20]
- Lejon** *Herr Ivan Lejon-Riddaren*, ed. J. W. Liffman and G. Stephens, Stockholm, 1849. Many proper names are recorded without specific reference; here consult comparative table of names, pp. xlvi, xlvii, and for an equation of the verses in "Lejon" and in "Yvn." cf. cols. No. 2 and No. 6, "Lejon," pp. xlviii, xlix-lviii, lix. [27273.57]
Cf. "Förteknig på Egen-namn," ed. cit., pp. ccvi-viii.
- Lohen.** *Lohengrin* (Bavarian version), ed. H. Rückert, *Bibl. d. gesammten deutsch. National-Lit.*, Vol. 36, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1858. [46577.29]

¹ Lan.(B)., Lan.(C)., Lan.(D)., Lan.(P).: for collation of various "Lan." MSS, cf. A. Kolls, *Zur Lancelsage. Eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Berlin, 1886. [27273.29]

- Loq. *La Bataille de Loquifère* (a branch of the *Geste de Guillaume au Cort Nés* [d'Orange]), extract ed. A. J. V. LeRoux de Lincy, *Le Livre des Légendes* (Paris, 1836), pp. 246–259. Cited by page. [25232.31]
For the numerous unpublished MSS, see L. Gautier, *Les Épopées françaises* (2d ed., Paris, 1882), IV, 25. [27263.9]. Cf. also P. Paris, *Les Manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du Roi* (Paris, 1840), III, 157–166. [B.3693.52]
- Lotto. *Lancilotto*, ed. C. Giannini, Fermo, 1871. Cited by canto and stanza. [27273.33]
Cf. ed. E. T. Griffith, *Li Chantari di Lancelotto*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. [27273.33.3]
- Lun.M. *Der Luneten Mantel*, ed. H. A. von Keller, *Fastnachtspiele aus d. 15. Jahrh.*, Bibl. d. litterar. Vereins (Stuttgart, 1853), Part ii, 664–678. Cited by page. [47512.55]
- M.A. *Morte Arthure* (alliterative), ed. E. Brock, E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser., No. 8 (1871). [11472.8]
Cf. ed. E. Björkmann, *Alt- u. Mittlenglische Texte*, No. 9, Heidelberg, 1915. [27272.5.12]
- M.A.(Le) *Le Morte Arthur*, from *MS. Harl. 2252*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, London, 1864. [27272.5]
Cf. ed. J. D. Bruce, E.E.T.S., Extra. Ser. 88 (1903). [11473.88]
- M.de P. *Meraugis de Portlesquez* by Raoul de Houdenc, ed. M. Friedwagner, *Raoul von Houdenc. Sämtliche Werke* (Halle, 1897), Vol. I. [37596.16.5]
- M.of G. *The Marriage of Sir Gawain*, ed. Child, Ballad No. 31. [25251.15]
- Mal. *Le Morte Darthur* by Sir Thomas Malory, ed. H. O. Sommer, London, 1889–91. 3 vols. Vol. I: Text. Cited by page. [27271.3]
- Man.Hpt. *Der Mantel*, ed. M. Haupt, *Altdeutsche Blätter* (Leipzig, 1840), II, 217–240. Cited by page. [46573.2]
- Manteau *Le Mantel Mautaillié*, ed. G. Cederschiöld and F. A. Wulff, *Versions nordiques du fabliau français "Le Mantel Mautaillié"* (Lund, 1877), pp. 1–34. Cited by page. [25284.32]

- Mantel** *Der Mantel* by Heinrich von dem Türlin, ed. O. Warnatsch, *Germanist. Abhandl.* (Breslau, 1883), II, 8–54. [Philol.530]
- Mel.** *Méliador* by Jean Froissart, ed. A. Longnon, S.A.T.F., 1895–98. 3 vols. Names in Vol. III not excerpted. [38512.11]
- Meler.** *Meleranz* by Der Pleier, ed. K. Bartsch, *Bibl. d. Litterar. Vereins* (Stuttgart, 1861), Vol. LX. [27273.67]
- Melion** *Le Lai de Melion*, ed. L. J. N. Monmerqué and F. Michel, *Le Lai d'Ignaurès . . . par Renaut* (Paris, 1832), pp. 43–67. Cited by page. [27283.24]
- Mer.** *Merlin*, ed. H. B. Wheatley, E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser., Nos. 10, 21, 36, 112. London, 1865–99. 2 vols. Cited by page. [11472.10]
- **Mer.D.** *Merkijn* (Dutch), ed. J. van Vloten, Leyden, 1880. [27271.13.2]
- Mer.Ital.** *Istoria di Merlino* (Italian), ed. G. Ulrich, *Curiosità Letterarie* (Bologna, 1884), Vol. CCI. Cited by page. [Ital. 6320.201]
- Mer.Pro.** *Merlin* (Provençal). Fragments ed. C. Chabaneau, *Fragments d'une Traduction Provençale du Roman de Merlin*, Paris, 1883. Cited by page. [27271.8]
- Mon.** *Gottfried's von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae . . . und Brut Tysilio*, ed. San-Marte (i.e. Albert Schulz), Halle, 1854. Cited by book and chapter. [Br.1005.44]
- **Morien** *Roman van Moriaen*, ed. J. te Winkel, *Bibliotek v. middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*, 20.Afl., Groningen, 1878. [Neth.4214.5]
- Mort** *La Mort d'Artus*. Names from summary by P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde* (Paris, 1877), V, 332–352. Cited by page. [27272.8]
Cf. ed. J. D. Bruce, *Mort Artu*, Halle: Niemeyer, 1910. [27272.5.10];
idem, ed. from different MS., H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, D. C., 1909–16), VI, 203–391. [27271.1.5F]

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- Mule *La Mule sans Frain* by Païens de Maisières, ed. D. M. Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes inédits* (Paris, 1823), I, 1–37. [26232.5]
Cf. ed. B. Orlowski, *La Demoiselle a la Mule: conte en vers du cycle arthurien par Païen de Maisières*, Paris, 1911. [27273.13.8]; idem, ed. R. T. Hill, *La Mule sanz Frain, an Arthurian Romance by Païens de Maisières*, Yale diss., publ. Baltimore, 1911. [27273.13.7]
- Nennius *Nennius und Gildas*, ed. San-Marte (i.e. Albert Schulz), Berlin, 1844. Only Nennius excerpted. Cited by paragraph.
Cf. ed. Th. Mommsen, *Mon. Hist. Germ., Auctores Antiquissimi*, xiii (1898), 111–222, "Historia brittonum cum Additamentis Nennii." [Germ.65.2]
- Nennius(Irish) *The Irish Nennius*, ed. E. Hogan, Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series, Vol. VI, Dublin, 1895. Cited by page. [L.Soc.1808.40]
- Novelle *Le Novelle Antiche*, ed. G. Biagi, Florence, 1880. Cited by number of "Novella." [Ital.6305.1]
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- Ortu *De Ortu Waluuanii*, ed. J. D. Bruce, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XIII (1898), 390–432. Cited by page. [Philol. 340]
Cf. rev. ed. J. D. Bruce, *Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Waluuanii* (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1913), pp. 54–93. [27273.90]
- P.de L. *Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ed. T. Wright, *Rolls Ser.*, XLVII, i, 94–224. Cited by page. [Br.98.47]
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- P.Sag. *Parcevals Saga*, ed. E. Kölbing, *Riddarasögur*, (Strassburg and London, 1872), pp. 3–53. Cited by page. [27266.27]
- Pape. *Le Chevalier du Papegau*, ed. Ferd. Heuckenkamp, Halle, 1896. Cited by page. [27271.39]
- Pcl. *Perceval ou la Quête du Saint Graal* (Didot MS.), ed. E. F. F. Hucher, *Le Saint-Graal ou le Joseph d'Arimathie* (Le Mans and Paris, 1875–78), I, 415–505. [27272.13]
- Per. *Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal* by Chrétien de Troyes, ed. Ch. Potvin (Mons, 1866–71), Vols. II, III, IV, V, and VI. [27271.17.2]
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- Pulz. *Pulzella Gaia*, ed. Pio Rajna, Florence, 1893. Cited by stanza. [27273.28.2]

- Q.S.G. *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, from MSS in the British Museum, Roxburghe Club [No. 84], London, 1864. Cited by page. [Br.88.5.84*]
- R.de T. *Le Roman de Tristan* by Bérout, ed. F. Michel, *The Poetical Romances of Tristan. . . . Composed in the xii. and xiii. Centuries* (London, 1835–39), I, 3–212. Cited by page. [27272.30*]
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- Rag. *La Vengeance de Raguidel*, ed. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1862. [27273.50]
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- Skikk. *Skikkju Rímur*, ed. G. Cederschiöld and F. A. Wulff, *Versions nordiques du fabliau français "Le Mantel Mautailié"* (Lund, 1877), pp. 51–71. Cited by stanza. [25284.32]
- T.(de) *De Tristan* (Bern MS.), ed. F. Michel, *The Poetical Romances of Tristan. . . . Composed in the xii. and xiii. Centuries* (London, 1835–39), I, 215–240. [27272.30*]
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- T. & F.** *Tandarois und Flordibel* by Der Pleier. Names from summary by E. H. Meyer, *Zs. f. deutsches Altertum*, XII (1860-65), 470-514. Detailed references not given. [Philol.495]
Cf. ed. F. Khull, *Tandareis und Flordibel*, Graz, 1885. [27273.66]
- T. & G.** *The Turke and Gowin*, ed. Sir F. Madden, *Sir Gawayne, A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems* (London, 1839), pp. 243-255. [Br.8012.10.61*]
Cf. ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1867-68), I, 90-102. [25247.3]
- T. & I.** *Tristrams Saga ok Ísondar*, ed. E. Kölbing, *Die nordische und die englische Version der Tristan-Saga* (Heilbronn, 1878), I, 5-112. Cited by chapter. [27273.70]
- Tan.** *Le Roman de Tristan* by Thomas (Douce MS.), ed. F. Michel, *The Poetical Romances of Tristan. . . . Composed in the xii. and xiii. Centuries* (London, 1835-39), II, 1-85. Cited by page. [27272.30*]
Cf. ed. J. Bédier, S.A.T.F., Paris, 1902-05. 2 vols. [27272.31]. Michel II, 1-85 = Bédier I, 344-414.
- Tav.** *La Tavola Ritonda o l'Istoria di Tristano*, ed. Filippo-Luigi Polidori, Bologna, 1864-65. 2 vols. Cited by page. [27273.69.8]
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For a critical text (with additional stanzas) of much of the "Grail-Temple episode" (ed. cit., stanzas 319-559), cf. F. Zarnke, *Abhandl. d. kgl. sächsisch. Gesells. d. Wissenschaft, phil.-hist. Kl.*, VII (1876), 375 ff. [L.Soc.1726.7]
- **Torec** *Roman van Torec*, ed. Jan te Winkel, Leyden, 1875.
Cf. "L. du L.(D).," ed. cit., Tweede Deel, pp. 157-83, where "Torec" = "L. du L.(D).," Book III, vv. 23127-26980. Cf. *Histoire Litt. de la France*, XXX, 263 ff. [37531.2]
- Tr. & Lan.** *Tristano e Lancielotto*, ed. Pio Rajna, *Curiosità Letterarie* (Bologna, 1873), CXXXV, 46-64. Cited by stanza. [Ital.6320.135]

- Tr.Fr. *Fragment einer Tristandichtung*, ed. H. Lambel, *Germania*, XXVI (1881), 356–361. [Philol.502]
- Tr.S. *Romance de Don Tristan* by Alonso de Salayo, ed. F. Michel, *The Poetical Romances of Tristan*. . . . *Composed in the xii. and xiii. Centuries* (London, 1835–39), II, 298–302. Cited by page. [27272.30*]
 Note. On this ballad see Michel, *op. cit.*, I, xciv, note 40; also and especially A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Libro del esforçado cauallero Don Tristan de Leonis* ([Soc. de bibliófilos madril., No. 6], Madrid, 1912), p. 394, note 1. [Span.4240.6]
- Trev. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the Fifteenth Century* (9 vols.), Rolls Ser., XLI (1865–86), i, 394–431; v, 329–339. [Br.98.41]
- Triads *Triads of Arthur and his Warriors*, ed. and transl. W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Edinburgh, 1868), II, 457–465. Cited by page. [Celt.4250.5]
- Trin. ['Ο Πρέσβυς Ἰππότης], *Poema Graecum de rebus gestis regis Arturi, Tristani, Lanceloti, Galbani, Palamedis Aliorumque Equitum Tabulae Rotundae* (Middle-Greek text and Latin trans.), ed. F. Michel, *The Poetical Romances of Tristan*. . . . *Composed in the xii. and xiii. Centuries* (London, 1835–39), II (Appendix), 269–297. [27272.30*]
 Cf. 'Ο Πρέσβυς Ἰππότης — *Ein griechisches Gedicht* (Middle-Greek text with German transl.), ed. A. Ellissen, *Versuch einer Polyglotte der europ. Poesie* (Leipzig, 1846), Vol. I, Nachtrag. [Lit. 1508.46]
- Tris. *Sir Tristrem*, ed. E. Kölbing, *Die nordische und die englische Version der Tristan-Saga* (Heilbronn, 1882), II, 3–90. [27273.70]
 Cf. ed. G. P. McNeill, Scot. Text Soc., Orig. Ser., No. 1, 1885–86. [11495.18]
- Tris.R. *Il Tristano Riccardiano*, ed. E. G. Parodi, Bologna, 1896. Cited by page. [27273.69.5]

- Trn.** *De Tristan. Extrait* [= vv. 453–674] du “*Donnez des Amanz*,” ed. F. Michel, *The Poetical Romances of Tristan. . . . Composed in the xii. and xiii. Centuries* (London, II, 149–157). Cited by page. [27272.30*]
Cf. ed. G. Paris, “*Le Donnei des Amants*,” *Romania*, XXV (1896), 500–22. [Philol.365]
- Trtn.** *Le Roman de Tristan . . . analyse critique*, by O. E. Løseth, Bibl. de l’École des Hautes Études (Paris, 1891), Vol. LXXXII. Cited by paragraph except where page (p.) is especially indicated. [27273.69.4]
Cf. “Table analytique des noms propres,” pp. [493]–542.
- Tan.** *Tristan* (five fragments), ed. F. Michel, *The Poetical Romances of Tristan. . . . Composed in the xii. and xiii. Centuries* (London, 1835–39), III, 3–94. Cited by page. [27272.30*]
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Frag. II (Sneyd MS.) = “Tan.” (ed. Bédier), I, 385–417, vv. 2319–3144 (S²)
Frag. III (Strassburg MS.) = “Tan.” (ed. Bédier), I, 332–35, vv. 1197–1264 (Str¹)
Frag. IV (Strassburg MS.) = “Tan.” (ed. Bédier), I, 353, vv. 1489–94 and I, 357–60, vv. 1615–88 (Str²)
Frag. V (Strassburg MS.) = “Tan.” (ed. Bédier), I, 365–68, vv. 1785–1854 (Str³)
- Ttn.** *De Tristran* (Douce MS.), ed. F. Michel, *The Poetical Romances of Tristan. . . . Composed in the xii. and xiii. Centuries* (London, 1835–39), II, 89–137. Cited by page. [27272.30*]
Cf. ed. J. Bédier, *Les Deux Poèmes de la Folie Tristan* (S.A.T.F., 1907), pp. 15–54. [27273.68.4]
- Tyolet** *Tyolet*, ed. G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII (1879), 41–50. [Philol.365]
- Tys.** *Brut Tysyllo* in *Gottfried’s von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae . . . und Brut Tysyllo*, ed. San-Marte (i.e. Albert Schulz), Halle, 1854. Names

excerpted from San-Marte's notes to the Latin text (*ed. cit.*, pp. 179–471). The Welsh names are equated with the corresponding Latin forms, *q.v.* See *ed. cit.*, p. xlvii for San-Marte's abbreviations. [Br.1005.44]

For Welsh text, cf. *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales* (2d ed., Denbigh, 1870), pp. 434–75 and pp. 555–99 (notes). [Celt.4313.6]

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- U.T. *Tristan und Isolt* by Ulrich von Türheim, ed. H. F. Massmann, *Dichtungen des deutschen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1843), III, 498–590. [46574.8]
- U.Z. *Lanzelet* by Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, ed. K. A. Hahn, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1845. [27271.7]
- V.di M. *Di Vita di Merlino*, ed. G. Ulrich, *Zs. f. roman. Philol.*, XXVII (1903), 173–185. Detailed references not given. [Philol.375]
- V.Kron *Das Vasnachtspil mit der Kron*, ed. H. A. von Keller, *Fastnachtspiele aus d. 15. Jahrh.*, Bibl. d. litterar. Vereins (Stuttgart, 1853), Part ii, 654–663. Cited by page. [47512.55]
- V.Mer. *Vita Meriadoci*, ed. J. D. Bruce, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV (1900), 339–397. [Philol.340]
Cf. rev. ed. J. D. Bruce, *Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Waluuanii* (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1913), pp. 1–54. [27273.90]
- V.Saga *Valvers þáttr*, ed. E. Kölbing, *Riddarasögur* (Strassburg and London, 1872), pp. 57–71. Cited by page. [27266.27]
- Vita *Galfridi de Monemuta Vita Merlini*, ed. F. Michel and T. Wright, Paris, 1837. Cited by page. [27271.12]
Cf. ed. J. J. Parry, *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. X, No. 3, Urbana (Ill.), 1925. [Philol.344.7]

- Vulg. *Le Roman de Merlin* (Vulgate), ed. H. O. Sommer and privately printed for subscribers, London, 1894. Cited by page. [27271.10.2]
Cf. ed. from different MSS, H. O. Sommer, "*Lestoire de Merlin*" in *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, D. C., 1909-16), Vol. II. [27271.1.5F]
- W.C. *Parzival* by Claus Wisse and Philipp Colin, ed. K. Schorbach, *Elsässische Literaturdenkmäler aus dem XIV.-XVII. Jahrh. . . . 5.Bd.*, Strassburg, 1888. Cited by column. [27271.15d]
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Cf. ed. Laura Sumner, *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages* (Northampton, Mass.), Vol. V, No. 4 (July, 1924). [Philol.335.10]
- Wace *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. A. J. V. LeRoux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836. 2 vols. [37597.15]
- Wal. *Roman van Walewein*, ed. W. J. A. Jonckbloet, *Werken uitgegeven door de Vereeniging ter bevordering der Oude-Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, Vol. III, (Leyden, 1846-48). [27273.25]
- Wart. *Der Wartburgkrieg*, ed. K. Simrock, Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858. Cited by section. [46583.32]
- Wig. *Wigalois*, ed. F. Pfeiffer, *Dichtungen des deutschen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1847), Vol. VI. Cited by column. [46574.10]. Occasional use is made of *En smuk lystig Historie, om den berømmelige Ridder og Helt Hr. Viegoleis med Guld-Hjulet*, Copenhagen, N.D. (a chapbook of 80 pp.). Cited by page, and names put in parentheses after corresponding names from *Wigalois*. [27266.23]
- Wigam. *Wigamur* (Wolfenbüttel MS.), ed. F. H. von der Hagen and J. G. Büsching, *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1808), Vol. I (third item in vol.). [28281.10.2]
For editions of other MSS (frags.), see E. Jenisch, *Vorarbeiten zu einer kritischen Ausgabe des Wigamur* (Königsberg diss., 1918). [27273.39.15]

- Wolf.** *Parzival* by Wolfram von Eschenbach, ed. K. Lachmann, 5th ed., Berlin, 1891. Cited by page. [German Library]
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NOTES

EXPOSITION DU MOYEN AGE

A STRIKING proof of the revival of interest in mediaeval culture, exemplified by SPECULUM itself, was furnished in Paris by the Exposition du Moyen Age (Manuscripts-Estamps-Médailles et Objets d'Art-Imprimés) at the Bibliothèque Nationale, January 28 to March 7, 1926. The exhibition was to close on the 28th of February, but the management was induced to add a week. Day after day the public fairly fought its way into the small room which housed so many of the priceless treasures of France. Busy men and women, whose special work is far removed from anything which touches the Middle Ages, made repeated efforts to discover a time of day when the room did not resemble a bargain counter at the Bon Marché.

The last day of the exhibition was a Sunday. Long before half-past nine in the morning the massive doors of the Bibliothèque Nationale on the rue de Richelieu were besieged by an eager crowd. Ten minutes after the opening all the show cases were lined with two or three rows of humanity which jostled, good-naturedly but resolutely, for a last glimpse of beautiful books which were produced in the hush of mediaeval scriptoria. All the world knows that life in Paris extends far into the night, especially into the night between Saturday and Sunday. Here half-past nine on Sunday morning is comparable with the lecture hour of Pomponius Laetus, who, lantern in hand, descended from his home on the Esquiline to the place where sleepless devotees gathered before dawn to hear his lectures on Roman authors in the flush of the revival of classical Latin and Greek learning. The "Exposition du Moyen Age" leaves little room to doubt that we are on the threshold of a renaissance of interest in mediaeval learning.

A *Catalogue de l'exposition du moyen âge, Bibliothèque Nationale, janvier-février, 1926* (Paris, Éditions de la Gazette des Beaux-arts, 106 Boulevard Saint-Germain, 1926) gives a description of the 388 books and articles exhibited, with 21 handsome plates. The chief feature of the exhibition was an historical presentation of illuminated manuscripts. One whole case was devoted to Byzantine treasures, of which the oldest, the *Codex Sinopensis*, containing the gospel of St Matthew, goes back to the time of Justinian and is adorned with some of the earliest illustrations of scenes from the New Testament. The oldest illuminated Latin book was the *Ashburnham Pentateuch*, originally treasured at Tours, which was written probably in the seventh century. The two oldest manuscripts of the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours, both of the seventh century, one in uncial and the other in Merovingian cursive, held their share of interest even in the midst of a riot of the most marvellously illuminated books. The same was

true of the precious unique copy of Nithard's history, opened at fol. 13 to show the Oaths of Strassburg. Equally attractive were the *procès-verbaux* of depositions made by the Templars of Paris in 1309-1311; and of the *procès* of the condemnation of Joan of Arc.

It was almost bewildering to have in view in one room, and interspersed with dozens of other attractions of highest merit, such treasures as the Carolingian copy of the comedies of Terence, the Psalter of St Louis and that of St Louis and of Blanche of Castille, which belongs to the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the *Bible moralisée* with its 5000 pictures (of which the Pierpont Morgan collection boasts a small fragment), the Breviary of Belleville, the Hours of Anjou, the Psalter and the Hours of the Duc de Berry, the Hours of Marguerite d'Orléans, of Nevill, of Rohan, and of Louis de Laval. The famous copy of *de Viris Illustribus* was opened to show the well-known portrait of Petrarch.

As was to be expected, illuminated manuscripts written in French were well represented. First and foremost, the oldest manuscript of Joinville's *Histoire de Saint-Louis*, the celebrated thirteenth-century *Chronique de France* of Primat, which is the pride of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, the *Vie et Miracles de Saint-Denis*, with its valuable pictures representing Parisian life in the fourteenth century, the best copy of the *Livre de la Chasse* of Gaston Phoebus, Count of Foix, the *Livre des Merveilles* by Marco Polo, the *Miracles de Notre-Dame*, translated by Jean Miélot, the *Antiquités Judaïques* of Josephus, written for the Duc de Berry, opened to show the astounding "Capture of Jericho," and the sumptuous *Cité de Dieu* of St Augustine, translated by Raoul de Presles.

The marvels of mediaeval bindings were presented chiefly by books which emanated from St Denis, Metz, and the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris. A special effort was made to portray French engravings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and there was a fair representation of incunabula, portolani, cameos, ivories, coins, medals, and seals.

Among the antiquities, the visitors bestowed most of their attention on the sword of Childeric I, the bronze curule chair called the throne of Dagobert, the silver platter of Gelimer, last king of the Vandals, and on a set of sixteen large chessmen of the twelfth century.

An important memento of this remarkable exhibit is in course of publication by Camille Couderc: *Les enluminures des manuscrits du moyen âge (du VI^e au XV^e siècle): exposition de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, Éditions de la Gazette des Beaux-arts, 106 Boulevard Saint-Germain, 1926), in 4°, 120 pages de texte et 80 planches en héliotypie, 375 francs.

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March 7, 1926.

THE ARABIC BIBLE IN SPAIN¹

THERE are Jewish versions of the Old Testament in Arabic, of which the most famous is the translation by Saadia Gaon (892 ?-942). The Christian-Arabic literature which we know to-day does not go beyond the eighth century A.D. From the cloister of St Saba near Jerusalem and from that of St Catherine on Mt Sinai we have important manuscripts dating from the eighth to the tenth centuries, which contain fragments of Scripture, lives of saints, ascetic, apocryphal, and apologetic writings.

Graf (*op. cit.*, below in fn. 1) gives an excellent treatment of these Christian-Arabic writings which were composed in Palestine and the Syriac-speaking territory. He informs us that we have no Arabic-Christian works from Egypt that antedate the tenth and eleventh centuries; the Copts, as is known, were favoured by their Arab conquerors and clung tenaciously to their vernacular.

It is of particular interest that Arabic literary activity began in Spain at an early date. Graf notes a version made from the Latin by Isaak Velasquez of Cordoba, who in 946 A.D. translated Luke (and presumably the other three Gospels) into Arabic. *Cod. Monac. ar.* 238 (or. 41), containing this version of the four Gospels, an excerpt from Eusebius, and the pericopes for the whole Church year including the feast days, was copied in 1394 and is based upon two manuscripts which were written by Ibrahim b. Chair in Fez in 1145. *Cod. Monac. ar.* 234 (or. 40), from the hand of a Moslem scribe in 1492, contains the Pentateuch and the above version of the four Gospels; this manuscript was intended by the copyist to be used as propaganda to expose the fallacies of the Jewish and Christian religions and to glorify Islam. Graf observes that the latter edition of the Pentateuch is based on a Syriac recension (in the Arabic), while the Spanish-Arabic version of the Gospels found its way to the Orient, where it was finally discovered by Tischendorf. This is a fine example of the remarkable

¹ BIBLIOGRAPHY

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literary intercourse which existed between the various parts of the Arabic-speaking world.

In the course of his study of the 'Polyglot' Arabic text of the book of Daniel, the writer came across a passage in Walton (*op. cit.* in fn. 1) in which mention is made of an earlier translation of the Bible into Arabic in Spain. Walton records that there was an Arabic version of the Scriptures prepared by Johannes Episcopus Seviliensis in 719 and cites as his authorities the Spanish Chronicle and Padre Juan de Mariana.¹ The date given by Walton, however, needs correction; it is also important that we have the references to this translation in a form that is accessible to modern scholars. According to the Spanish Chronicle,² this translation was made in the reign of Don Pelayo, the first year of whose reign was 719 A.D. and 99 (*sic*) according to the Mohammedan reckoning.³

It appears that the rendering was made between the end of the fourth and the sixth year of his reign. The chronicler, after mentioning the close of four years of his rule, says that he has nothing important to record for the fifth year,⁴ and in the course of his narrative he comes to the translation of the Bible into Arabic. Shortly after this he mentions the conclusion of six years of the reign of Don Pelayo. It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume that this Arabic recension⁵ of the Bible was made in 724 A.D. Padre Juan de Mariana (1537-1624), *Historia General de España*, VII, 3, also says⁶ that John, Bishop of Seville, translated the Bible into Arabic

¹ *Praeter has aliam etiam versionem Scripturae Arabicam memorant, a Johanne Episc. Sevilensi in Hispania factam anno Christi 719 de qua Vascus in Chron. Hispan. et Jo. Mariana de rebus Hisp. 1. 7. c. 3. (op. cit. § 18).*

² R. Menendez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General, Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*. (Madrid 1906) Tomo I, sub "El Rey Don Pelayo."

³ El primero anno del su regnado fue en la era 757 quando andaua ell anno de la Encarnacion en 719, e el dell imperio de Leon en 6, e del papa Gregorio en 9, e el de Carlos rey de Francia en 2, e el de Vlit rey de los alaraues en 11, e el de los alaraues en 99. He makes an error of about a year in the Mohammedan reckoning.

⁴ Del quinto anno del regnado del rey don Pelayo non fallamos ninguna cosa que de contar sea que a la estoria pertenesca si non tanto que murio Omar rey de los alaraues e finco su hermano Yzid por rey et sennor del regno. . . .

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Tomo I, 326: En aquel tiempo otrossi fue en Seuilla el sancto obispo Johan, omne de mui grand santidad et de buena uida et santa, que era llamado de los alaraues por su arauigo Çæt *almatran*; et era mui sabio en la lengua arauiga e fizo Dios por el muchos miraglos; et traslado las santas escripturas en arauigo, et fizo las esposiciones dellas segund la santa escriptura, et assi las dexo despues a su muerte pora los qui uiniessen despues del.

⁶ Contemporáneo dellos fué Juan, prelado de Sevilla, que tradujo la Biblia en lengua arábigo con intento de ayudar a los cristianos y a los moros, a causa que la lengua arábigo se usaba mucho y comunmente entre todos; la latina ordinariamente ni se usaba ni se sabía. Hay algunos traslados desta traducción, que se han conservado hasta nuestra edad, y se ven en algunos lugares de España.

with the intention of helping the Christians and the Moors, since Arabic was widely and commonly used by all. Juan de Mariana makes the interesting statement that copies of this translation were preserved until his day and seen in some parts of Spain.

This literary reference throws light upon the extraordinary rapidity with which Arabic was understood and adopted by the Spaniards. It is a marvel with what rapidity Arabic was adopted in the conquered territories; in fact it seems to have spread like wild-fire. It has not been generally known that the language of the Koran, in a few years after the conquest of Spain, was widely used in that land by both Moors and Christians. For this reason this note should be published with a view to stimulating research in the relations that existed between the two races, languages, and religions, in the Iberian peninsula. This translation not only marks an important step in the history of biblical versions, but it also reveals the fact that this language has a certain inherent (shall we call it mysterious or intriguing?) spirit which has appealed to all nations with whom it has come into contact. If some of the Christians of Spain used this version of the Scriptures only thirteen years after the conquest, we need not be surprised that this tongue has become the *lingua franca* of the East.

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A FURTHER NOTE ON A NOTE

IN his note on "Public Readings of New Works in Mediaeval Universities" in the preceding number of *SPECULUM*, pp. 101-103,¹ Professor Thorndike overlooks an earlier and more celebrated example, the description given by Giraldus Cambrensis, otherwise known to readers of the same number, of the public reading of his *Topographia Hibernica* at Oxford ca. 1188. The purpose is stated to have been the author's desire not to hide his light under a bushel (as if Giraldus ever did!); the reading occupied three successive days and was accompanied by lavish entertainment of masters and scholars at his hostel. See Giraldus, *Opera*, I, 72-73, 409; III, 92; V, 3; also Rashdall, *Universities of the Middle Ages*, II, 341. The parallel is interesting in another respect: Professor Thorndike appears to argue that history was taught at the University of Padua since Rolandinus read an historical treatise there in 1262; would he infer from the case of Giraldus that geography, to name only the main theme of the *Topographia*, was taught at Oxford in the twelfth century?

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¹ For MSS of Lawrence of Aquileia other than the one there mentioned, see my note in *American Historical Review*, III (1898), 208.

CHAUCER IN ERROR ¹

In her helpful volume on *Vergil and the English Poets* (Columbia University Press, 1919), Miss Elizabeth Nitchie points out, in accordance with what is apparently the general opinion, an "actual mistake" in Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*, where the poet (v. 174 ff.) makes two different persons of Ascanius and Iulus. Such a mistake, she declares (p. 48), "is not remarkable in the Middle Ages." The Middle Ages, we know, were a period of black ignorance and naïve confusions. Miss Nitchie describes three other mistakes in the same poem, which "indicate that Chaucer was not yet thoroughly at home with his original." I select one of these indictments.

"In relating the events connected with the stilling of the storm off the coast of Carthage," she declares, "he confuses the order of the incidents. He says that there was a picture representing Venus imploring Jupiter to save Aeneas's fleet, and that he saw

Joves Venus kisse,
And graunted of the tempest lisse.

But in Virgil, the quieting of the storm is due to Neptune, and after her son has landed on the African shore, Venus, motivated by her fear for his safety in Carthage, appeals to Jupiter for his aid."

Verily this is a grievous error. However, we are glad to learn that the *Legend of Dido* "shows a marked improvement in the matter of accuracy in following the original." However, an antecedent question is, to what extent did Chaucer mean to follow the original? In general, it is plain, that for his wall-pictures in the palace, he transforms, to quote Professor Kitzredge's happy phrase,² the 'epic of Rome' into the 'epic of Venus.' He shortens, expands, selects, to suit his purpose. In the new design, Neptune may well yield to Venus in the scene just described; the poet is putting in a background of harmonious shades.

The first-mentioned "error" is of another sort. It is possibly no error at all. The poet declares (vv. 174 ff.):

And I saw next, in all this fere,
How Creusa, daun Eneas wyf,
Which that he lovede as his lyf,
And hir yonge sone Iulo,
And eek Ascanius also,
Fledden eek with drery chere,
That it was pitee for to here.

¹ I am grateful to my co-editor, Dr F. P. Magoun, for information and advice kindly offered during the preparation of this note. He should not be held responsible, however, for any of its indiscretions.

² *Chaucer and his Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), p. 78.

This looks as if Creusa had two sons, Iulus and Ascanius, and though just below (v. 192) we find Creusa imploring her husband to keep good care of "hir sone" — one, not two — Chaucer apparently had two in mind when he wrote the preceding lines. We have no authority, as Skeat comments,¹ for accepting Koch's proposed emendation '*That hight*' for '*And eek*' (v. 178) and for taking the line in the sense "who likewise was called Ascanius." Chaucer can be egregiously careless on occasion,² and the *Hous of Fame* was not touched by the finishing hand. Let us admit, then, that although only one son is mentioned in v. 192, the poet had just been thinking of Iulus and Ascanius as different persons.

For all that, Chaucer's error is not so startling as it has been made to appear. The double personality of Ascanius confronts us elsewhere in the Middle Ages. We note it in the *Irish Aeneid*, whenever that curious document was written.³ Now whoever thus treated Ascanius knew not only Virgil but the sources with which Virgil worked. Livy tells us in a familiar passage (i, 3, 2), which strangely enough has not been cited, so far as I am aware, in the present connection, that there was considerable uncertainty about the parentage of Ascanius, and his number. Livy's words are:

Haud ambigam — quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet? — hicine fuerit Ascanius an maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat.

Livy's history — the first book, at any rate — was widely read in the Middle Ages. Jean de Meung before Chaucer, and Dante after him, had often turned those "pictured pages," and before 1341 the Dominican Pierre Bersuire had translated Livy into French.⁴ It was also a time when Virgil's lines were perused with the help of Servius. The following note (on *Aeneid.*, i, 7) in the ancient commentator is to the point:

"ALBANIQUE PATRES: Albam ab Ascanio conditam constat, sed a quo incertum est, utrum a Creusa an a Laviniae filio: de qua re etiam Livius dubitat."

The reader of the *Aeneid*, with Servius, would thus at the very start be apprized of the twofold tradition and also be referred to Livy. He would later (on *Aeneid*, vi, 760) find Servius rather tortuously endeavoring to

¹ *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, 1894), III, 250, note to v. 177.

² E.g., the Shipman's 'The sely housbond . . . most us clothe' (C. T., B 1201-02) and the Second Nun's 'I, unworthy sone of Eve' (C. T., G 62)!

³ *Imtheachta Aeniassa. The Irish Aeneid*, ed. Rev. G. Calder (Irish Texts Soc., Vol. VI, London, 1907), p. 200, ll. 3211-12. *7 faidh Lauina la h-Ascan . . . 7 berid Lauina mac do Ascan i. Ilus a ainm sidhe.* 'And Lavinia married Ascanius . . . and Lavinia bore a son to Ascanius, i.e., Iulus [was] his name.'

⁴ J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, The University Press), I (3d ed.), 660.

reconcile the two accounts. No lack of information was at the disposal of the mediaeval reader.

We thus have a glimpse of the *historia* which Virgil fitted to his plan. Writers like Chaucer and the author of the *Irish Aeneid* did not misinterpret; they reverted to the pre-Virgilian tradition, with which they were more familiar than some modern scholars seem to be. Livy's opening chapters present in outline a very different story of Troy from that which readers of the *Aeneid* know. From Servius in particular, we are made aware of the tangled mass of fact and fancy from which the poet chose unerringly what suited his design. Mediaeval authors turned to that matter, as to Virgil himself, with precisely the same motive.

In a comment on the meaning of the name Iulus (*Aen.*, i, 267), Servius remarks that Virgil had here abandoned the accepted account: *Ab hac autem historia ita discedit Vergilius, ut aliquibus locis ostendat non se per ignorantiam sed per artem poeticam hoc fecisse*. These words might be remembered to-day by some interpreters of Chaucer. Instead of patronizing his ignorance, it behooves us to understand his adaptations. In the present case, I am afraid, he started off with an infelicity. His remembrance of the pre-Virgilian account almost wrought havoc with his story of the hero's departure from Troy with *two* sons clinging to his hand. But the poet immediately recovered himself, and presumably would have eliminated his mistake had he revised his work. The mistake, in any event, was due not to ignorance, but to too much information.

Among the bearers of the tale of Troy in Chaucer's hall of Fame (*Hous of Fame*, vv. 1455 ff.), we see Homer

And with him Dares and Tytus
Before, and eek he Lollius,
And Guido de Columpnis,
And English Gaufride eek, y-wis.

'Tytus' has generally been reckoned a misspelling of Dictys. With Dares preceding, this interpretation is plausible enough, especially as Homer, Dares, and Dictys are grouped together in *Troilus*, i, 146 (*Dyte: write*). In view, however, of Livy's importance in the matter of Troy, and of Chaucer's obvious acquaintance with Livy as elsewhere shown, it is at least possible that Tytus means Livy, called Tytus (Titus) Livius in the *Book of the Duchess* (v. 1084) and in other places.¹ As Chaucer composed the verse, intending something like that which appears in *Troilus*, he may have suddenly switched from *Dyte* to *Tytus*, under that fate of poets, the compulsion of rhyme. It would seem natural to suppose — though I know I am treading dangerous ground — that this passage, at least, in the *Hous of Fame*,

¹ C. T., C 1; *Legend of Good Women*, vv. 280a, 1683, 1873.

was written after *Troilus*. If so, then Chaucer pens these verses with a quiet smile as he knowingly registers Lollius among the authorities. And when he adds:

And English Gaufride eek, y-wis

one can think, after *Troilus*, of a Geoffrey much more deserving of mention here than Geoffrey of Monmouth.

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THE COMPILATION OF ST ALBANS AND THE OLD-FRENCH PROSE ALEXANDER ROMANCE

THE Old-French prose translation of the *Historia de Preliis* (J²-recension) especially commends itself to students of the mediaeval Alexander legend in that the author has adorned his translation of the romance by the addition of a prologue and an epilogue based on historical sources.¹ The editor of the French and Latin texts of the J²-recension of the *Historia de Preliis*, Professor Alfons Hilka, surmises (*ed. cit.*, p. xviii) that the source of the Prologue and Epilogue is a Latin work closely resembling the so-called *Compilation of St Albans*; the present note attempts to show that Professor Hilka's conjecture is correct, at least in so far as the Prologue is concerned.

The *Compilation of St Albans*, whose history and contents were discussed long since by Paul Meyer,² exists in at least two MSS: one, *Corpus Christi College MS. 219*, is of the twelfth century,³ another, *Gonville and Caius MS. 154*, of the twelfth-thirteenth century.⁴ Neither MS. has been published, but through the courtesy of the respective Cambridge college authorities I have been able to secure rotographs of the first eleven folios of each MS.—more than enough for a study of the source of the Old-French Prologue.

¹ A. Hilka, *Der altfr. Prosa-Alexanderroman nebst d. lat. Original d. Historia de Preliis (Rezension J²)*, Halle a/S., 1920. For the text of the Prologue, see *ed. cit.*, pp. 1-6; of the Epilogue, pp. 261-268.

² *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1886), II, 52 ff.

³ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in Corpus Christi College* (Cambridge, 1912), I, 517.

⁴ Idem, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in Gonville and Caius College* (Cambridge, 1907), I, 179. I am grateful to Professor G. L. Hamilton of Cornell University for a reference to the fifteenth-century *Sloane MS. 239* (cf. E. L. J. Scott, *Index to the Sloane MSS in the British Museum*, p. 10) and regret that at the time of writing I have been unable to investigate his suggestion that this MS. may be related to the *Compilation of St Albans*. When compared with the incipit of the *Compilation*, the incipit of the *Sloane MS.*, "*Res Gestae ex Trogo Pompeio aliisque auctoribus*," lends plausibility to the thought that this may be an abridgement of the *Compilation*.

As correctly described by Meyer, the *Compilation of St Albans* is a cento of passages from a number of authors, who, in one part or another of their writings, have had occasion to treat of Alexander the Great. The incipit of *Gonville and Caius MS. 154*¹ indicates the general character of the work:

Incipit hystoria regis Macedonum Philippi filiiue eius Alexandri Magni excepta de libris Pompeii Trogi, Orosii, Iosephi, Ieronimi, Solini, Augustini, Bede, et Ysidori (fol. 1r).

The source of many passages is indicated in the margin of the MS., though the references are only to the author (never to title or book) and are neither altogether complete nor always accurate. In the first eleven folios there is virtually no original composition — save for a few trifling transitional phrases — and the author appears to have been content with weaving together excerpts, in the main from Justin's *Epitome* of the lost books of Pompeius Trogus and from Orosius's *Historiae adversum Paganos*, with occasional snatches from the *Etymologiae* and *Chronicon* of St Isidore, from *de Temporum Ratione* of Bede, and from St Jerome's *Epistola ad Laetam* and his *Commentaria in Daniele Prophetam*. Justin's *Epitome* is certainly the basis of the early part of the narrative — probably of the rest also; other authorities, especially Orosius, are drawn upon to furnish additional interesting details.

In general the compiler had access to texts whose readings, as they appear in the extant MSS of the *Compilation*, agree with the corresponding passages in modern editions of the authors from which he drew. Hence the reader will immediately recognize the difficulty in determining whether a given quotation in a vernacular work be from the *Compilation* itself or from the source upon which the compiler drew. The case is, however, not quite hopeless. There are two criteria available for determining whether the vernacular writer used the *Compilation* itself or whether he made direct use of its sources. First, there is the order and extent of the excerpts found in the *Compilation*: the chances are obviously very much against any two writers hitting upon precisely the same selection and arrangement of authorities, and an identity between two works in this respect would argue for the direct obligation of one to the other. The second criterion is more curious. In the *Compilation* there occur a number of proper names, the spelling of which is so very singularly distorted that it is scarcely conceivable that two writers

¹ Unless otherwise stated all quotations from the *Compilation of St Albans* are taken from *Gonville and Caius MS. 154*, referred to for convenience as *Compilation* and cited by folio. In the folios which I have examined, the differences between the text of the two MSS are few and slight. For the present study the precise relation of these to one another is unimportant; it could not, indeed, be determined without an exhaustive examination of the MSS themselves. From certain practical considerations I have, accordingly, printed from what may be the later MS., but note the variants in *Corpus Christi College MS. 219*.

should arrive independently at the same — often bizarre — result. As it happens, the Old-French Prologue is based on a part of the *Compilation* where the compiler has drawn at considerable length on Justin,¹ borrowing only once from Orosius; on the other hand, in this same part of the *Compilation* distorted spellings of proper names are numerous. These onomastic peculiarities are strikingly reflected in the French, and I shall accordingly begin with a consideration of this phenomenon.

As a further basis of comparison I may note that I have found considerable help in a MS. of the French text apparently somewhat earlier than the one printed by Professor Hilka. Hilka printed from a Berlin MS.;² I quote from this and make supplementary use of *Harleian MS. 4979* (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century), both for the variant spellings of the proper names as well as for the fuller, more complete readings that it furnishes for two passages in the Prologue. These variants, though slight, merit publication quite apart from any question of source.³ In the following I cite the Berlin MS. by page and line of Hilka's edition (cited as Hilka), *Harleian MS. 4979* (cited Harl.) by folio.

The following proper names deserve especial attention:

Unidamius (Hilka, p. 2, l. 7); compare here *Unidanamum* (Hilka, p. 2, ll. 12, 13). For these Harl. (fol. 1v) has respectively *Unidamuis* and *Mungdanamin* [i. e., *Mūgdanamin*]. The ultimate source is Justin, vii, 1, 11;⁴ "*Pulso deinde Mida (nam is quoque quintam portionem Macedoniae tenuit) aliisque regibus pulsus. . .*" We are really concerned then with Midas, predecessor of Caranus (Ceranus) mentioned below. As taken over by the author of the *Compilation* (fol. 1v), the Justinian passage is curiously metamorphosed: "*Pulso deinde Midanamis (qui quintam portionem Macedoniae tenuit) aliisque regibus pulsus. . .*" In both MSS of the *Compilation* the three words *Mida nam is* of Justin are written as one, with the change of *quoque* to *qui*! All four French forms *Unidamius*, *Unidamuis*, *Unidanamum*, *Mungdanamin* very evidently go back to the *Midanamis* of the *Compilation*, but it is perhaps impossible to determine the steps by which the distortion proceeded. Did the French translator write in his holograph *Midanamis* (acc. *Midanamin*), or was the *M* or *Mi* of the Latin misread *Un*

¹ The extracts from Justin are not continuous, but owing to the character of the evidence here adduced it would be superfluous to include an analysis of the items from Justin *within* what I may be pardoned for describing loosely as the Justinian part of the Prologue.

² Hilka, *op. cit.*, p. i (No. 2 in the list of MSS), and cf. p. iii where he declares his intention "den Berliner Text möglichst getreu abzu drucken"; the MS. is described, p. v, as "aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts."

³ MS. briefly described by Hilka, *ed. cit.*, p. i (No. 10 in the list of MSS); more fully by H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances . . . in the British Museum*, I, 127, 128. I have at hand rotographs of fols. 1-5, containing the Prologue, but no more.

⁴ Ed. Fr. Rühl (Leipzig: Teubner, 1915).

from the start?¹ Harl. *Mungdanamin* gives color to the former view; the majority of *Un*-forms to the later. At all events the source is clear.

Argeoleon (Hilka, p. 2, l. 16); Harl., fol. 1v *idem*. The phrase in which this name occurs goes back ultimately to Justin, vii, 2, 2: "*Siquidem senex moriens Argeo filio monstravit locum, quo urbem condi uellet.*" Now *Argeolion* is obviously a fusion of *Argeo* and *filio*,² though not brought about by the French translator; for this alteration had already taken place in the *Compilation* (fol. 1v): "*Siquidem senex moriens Argeonlion monstravit locum, quo condi uellet. . .*" It would seem that the writer of the *Compilation* had had before him a copy of Justin in which the *f* in *filio* was defective, perhaps with part of the vertical stroke faint or worn away. If this were the case, the result of such an *f* plus *i* would be an *n*. In the copy of the *Compilation* before the French translator, or in the translator's holograph, this *n* may well enough have been indicated by a macron (*Argeöleon*), destined to be ignored in later copies.

Passiminus (Hilka, p. 4, ll. 2-5). The passage and the phrase in which this name appears are both important:³

car .iii. ans demora illuec et aprist en cele chité anchienne a fere les premieres de ses enfances en sa vie. Che nos sonne Passiminus que vaillans empereres fu et sages philozophes.

Harl. (fol. 3r) shows here an important difference:

car .iii. ans demoura illuec & aprist en celle chite anchienne a faire les premiers de s'enfanche en sa vie soune Passisininis ki vaillans empereres fu & sages philosophes.

As a footnote to the last sentence in the above quotation from the Berlin text, Professor Hilka writes, "*fehlt bei Justinus.*" On the contrary, I find in the *Compilation* (fol. 2r) the following Latin taken directly from Justin, vii, 5, 3:

siquidem Thebis triennio obses habitus prima puericie rudimenta in urbe seuertatis antique et in domo Epaminunde, summi et philosophi et imperatoris, deposuit.

I do not pretend to account in detail for the fanciful spellings (*Passiminus*, *Passisininis*) of Epaminondas's name, but as I understand the French, Harl. gives us a close rendering of the Latin.⁴ The reading of the Berlin MS. is less happy. The scribe evidently took *soune* (*soigne*) "in the care of" to

¹ Professor E. K. Rand suggests an intermediate stage *midanamis* as a possible source of this error.

² In a footnote to the passage in the French, Hilka calls attention to the reading in Justin — but without comment.

³ Not, as will be seen, in demonstrating the relation of the French to the *Compilation*; rather, in bringing the French into relation with Justin. The last sentence in the text of Hilka has strayed far from the original!

⁴ I take *soune* to be a variant of *soigne* (*soign*) (as cited by Godefroi, *sub* "3. *soigne*"), meaning "au soin de" "care of" and translating *et in domo*.

be part of the verb *sonner* in the sense "to say" "to report"¹ and turned the concluding phrase so as to mean: "Which (i. e., this fact) Epaminondas tells us, who was a brave emperor and wise philosopher." According to the Berlin MS., this makes a separate sentence, and is properly so punctuated by Hilka.

Sarraba (Hilka, p. 5, ll. 19, 21) and *Aruche* (Hilka, p. 5, l. 26). The source of these two names, both referring to the same person, together with one or two immediately relevant matters, is best brought out by a parallel exhibition of the French text and the text of the *Compilation*:

Après ce que tous ses aferes li fu si bien venus, espousa il Olimpias la fille au roy Neptolemi, signor des Molosiens, et tout ce fist il par le conseil Sarraba qui oncles estoit Olimpias de par son pere, ki avoit prise a feme Doadain la seror Olimpias. Et ceste choze fu ocoison a Sarraba de tous maus, car chil Sarraba esperoit par l'aide et par l'esperance de Phelippe a conquerer grant accroissement de son regne. Cil Phelippes l'en-cacha de son regne tout maintenant, et fu getés en exil et illeuques morut. Et de ce dist Orosies que [quant] Phelipes ot conquis les Atheniens et sousmis a soy les Thesaliens, et icil Aruche, com il quida eslargir son empire par l'aide de Phelipe de Macedone, fu aussi decheüs et cachiés en exil et morut de vieillesce (Hilka, p. 5, ll. 16-29).²

Quibus rebus feliciter peruenientibus, Olimpiadem, Neoptolomi regis Molossorum filiam, uxorem ducit, conciliante nuptias fratre patrueli, auctore uirginis Sarraba rege Molossorum, qui sororem Olimpiadis Troadam in matrimonio habebat; que causa illi exicium malorumque omnium fuit. Nam dum regni incrementa affinitate Philippi se adquisiturum sperat, proprio regno ab eodem priuatus in exilio consenuit. De hoc ita Orosius. Igitur uictis Atheniensibus subiectisque Thessalis Olimpiadem Aruche, regis Molossorum, sororem duxit uxorem. Qui cum per hoc, quod societatem Macedonum affinitate regis pasiscebatur, imperium suum se dilaturum putaret, per hoc deceptus amisit priuatusque in exilio consenuit (*Compilation*, fol. 3r).³

In the *Compilation* we have two accounts of the marriage of Philip to Olimpias, daughter of Neoptolomus, of which the first is taken from Justin, vii, 6, 10-12, the second from Orosius, iii, 12, 8. The facts of the two accounts need no comment, though it may be noted in passing that the French reproduces the arrangement of the *Compilation* even to including a translation of *De hoc ita Orosius*, which is rendered by *De ce dist Orosies*. This coincidence alone would argue strongly in favor of interdependence of the two documents, though it is the form of the proper names that pretty definitely

¹ Cf. *sonner*, 4. 'Dire' . . . 'rapporter,' in La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire Historique de l'Ancien Langue François*, Paris, 1881.

² Harl. (fol. 4r) offers the following variants from Hilka: *sires des Molosiens* for *signor des Molosiens*, *Orasies* for *Orosies*, and *quant*, which Hilka apparently supplies (from where?).

³ *Corp. Chr. Coll. MS. 219* (fol. 3r) offers the following variants: *exitium* for *exicium*; omits *Nam dum regni . . . ab eodem priuatus in exilio consenuit*, which is added in the right-hand margin by another hand; *pasiscebatur* for *pasiscebatur*; and *délaturum* for *dilaturum*.

excludes all possibility of the French writer having gone independently to Justin and Orosius. In the editions of Justin, the name of Olimpias's cousin and guardian is *Arryba*, while in the *Compilation* we find *Sarraba* which gives in turn the *Sarraba* of the French. The initial *S* in the *Compilation* evidently comes (by dittography) from the final *s* of the immediately preceding *uirginis*. In the corresponding passage in Orosius (included in the *Compilation*) *Arryba* of Justin appears as *Aruba*. In the *Compilation*, Orosius's *Aruba* becomes *Aruche* (gen. sg.) and is thus passed on to the French in the same form: *Aruche*.

The three names that follow I have reserved for discussion out of the order in which they appear in the text. Taken at the beginning, or considered by themselves, these would not illustrate so convincingly as those already treated the close relation which exists between the Old-French text and the Latin *Compilation*, but in the light of what has now gone before, they possess a certain confirmatory value and have, furthermore, no little interest in and for themselves.

Osteron (Hilka, p. 1, l. 15); *Asteron* (Harl. fol. 1r). The ultimate source is *Asteropaei* (Justin, vii, 1, 5) which turns up in the *Compilation* (fol. 1r) as *Asterorei*. The French *Asteron* (*Osteron*) would seem to go back to **Asteronei*, a form more easily derived from the *rei*-spelling in the *Compilation* than from the correct *paei*-spelling of Justin.

uns rois tirans (Hilka, p. 1, l. 18); with this must be compared *a celui Eram* (Hilka, p. 1, l. 24). For these two passages Harl. (fol. 1r) reads *.i. rois derans* and *a celuj seran*, respectively. Behind all four words *tirans*, *Eram*, *derans*, and *seran* lies ultimately *Caranus* (Justin, vii, 1, 7), but more directly *Ceranus* of the *Compilation* (fol. 1r). *Ceranus* is reflected closely enough by *seran* of Harl.; *derans* (Harl.) shows the first step leading — either by error or popular etymology — to *tirans* in Hilka's Berlin MS. *Eram* of the Berlin MS. seems to point to nothing more than the chance loss of initial *s* in transcription.¹

la terre Dise (Hilka, p. 1, l. 21); *la terre Daise* (Harl. fol. 1r). The ultimate source is *urbem Edessam* (Justin, vii, 1, 7, 10). The *Compilation* (fol. 1v) probably shows us the beginning of the error; for in both passages (corresponding to Justin, *cit. supra*) we find *urbem Edeissam*.² The French translator probably ignored the underdot, or else had before him a MS. without this correction, and wrote *Daise* (perhaps originally *Edaise* or *Edeise*?). *Dise* of the Berlin MS. may represent a corruption of a form *Daise* such as is found in Harl.

¹ Professor E. K. Rand suggests a simplification of *-s s-* to *-s-*, from the situation *rois serans* (*cerans*).

² *Corpus Christi College MS. 219* (fol. 1v) has correctly *Edessam*, but the French *Daise* (*Dise*) would seem to have arisen from an *incorrect* form with an *i*.

The French Prologue ends with a snatch from Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum Historiale*, v, 3).¹ This passage does not occur in the *Compilation*, and was probably introduced by the French translator as a suitable equivalent to a corresponding passage in the *Compilation* (fol. 3r), based on Justin, xii, 16, 2-6 and Orosius, iii, 7, 4-5. All three — Justin, Orosius, and Vincent — tell of the birth of Alexander the Great, but the passage in Vincent forms a more fitting prelude to the marvellous story of the *Historia de Preliis* to follow.

Finally, I should like to print two readings from *MS. Harl. 4979* which supplement Hilka's text and of which the second strengthens the argument that the Old-French Prologue is based upon the *Compilation*:

I. 1 (Hilka, p. 3, ll. 7, 8) "bien que en la premiere bataille por ce qu'il alerent sans lor roi. . . ."

2 (Harl., fol. 2r) "bien ke en la premiere bataille furent desconfitz pour che ke il alerent sans leur roi. . . ."

This corresponds roughly to the Latin of the *Compilation* (fol. 2r), taken from Justin, vii, 2, 12: "*ostenderuntque hostibus suis priori bello regem Macedonibus, non uirtutem defuisse.*"

II. 1 (Hilka, p. 3, ll. 21-27): ". . . et de sa feme la roïne engendra il .iii. fuis, Alixandre, Phelipe et Perdike, et cil Phelippes fu peres au bon roi Alixandre le Grant; d'une autre femme engendra cil Amicas .iii. fuis, Acillem, Aridem et Menelain. Et puis fist il ses grans batailles as gens de Helerie et d'Olinte. Mes puis fust mors par traison et par les agais sa feme Euridice, ne fust sa fille qui a son pere descouvri la putrie et la desloiauté de sa mere."

2 (Harl., fol. 2v) "et de sa feme la roïne *Euridiche* engendra il .iii. fiex, Alixandre, Perdike, Phelippe ki fu peres au boin roi Alixandre le Grant. *Li tiers ot non Eurion de Cigna* [sic!]. D'une autre feme engendra cis Amicas .iii. *autres* fiex, Achillem, Arridem, et Menelaum. Et puis fist il ses grans batailles as gens d'Elerie et d'Olynthe. Mais puis ^{seroit} _{fu} il mors par traison et par les agais sa feme, *la roïne Euridiche, qu'ele eut encouuent a son gendre ke ele son laron ochiroit et li liuerroit le roialme se il l'espousoit*, ne fust sa fille ki au pere descouvrit la puterie et la felounie et la desloiaute de sa mere.

3 (*Compilation*, fol. 2r) qui ex Euridice tres filios sustulit, Alexandrum, Perdica, et Philippum, Alexandri Magni Macedonis patrem, et filiam Eurionem; ex Cignea autem Archelaum, Arideum, Menelaum. Cum Illiriis deinde et cum Olinthiis grauia bella gessit. Insiidiis etiam Euridicis uxoris, que nuptias generi pacta occidendum uirum regnumque adultero tradendum suscepit, occupatus fuisset, ni filia pelucatum matris et sceleris consilia prodidisset.²

¹ Hilka, *ed. cit.*, p. 5, l. 29 — p. 6, l. 5.

² Here and in the following passage, words which are not in Hilka are italicized.

³ *MS. Corp. Chr. Coll. 219* (fol. 2r), *pelicatum* for *pelucatum*.

From the point of view of establishing the French text, the Harl. variants commend themselves without special comment; in both instances Harl. supplies minor deficiencies in the Berlin text.

In the second variant (II), however, the text of Harl. displays a significant rapport with the *Compilation*, demonstrable by the spelling of certain proper names. In Justin, vii, 4, 5-7 (the source of this portion of the *Compilation*), the name of Philip's daughter is given as *Eurynoën* (acc. sg.); in the *Compilation* this appears as *Eurionem*, thus corresponding closely to the French *Eurion*. Furthermore, in Justin (*loc. cit.*) Philip's second wife is *Gygaea* (abl. sg.); in the *Compilation* she is *Cigneæ*,¹ whence taken into the French.

In reviewing the evidence as a whole, there can, I think, be no question as to the source of the historical Prologue of the French prose romance. The agreement in the order of the narrative (the sequence of the passages from Justin with the extract from Orosius) and the striking agreement in the exceedingly peculiar spellings of many of the proper names lead one to the conclusion that there lay before the translator of the Old-French Alexander romance a MS. of the *Compilation* in which the forms of the proper names were virtually identical with those in the two MSS at our disposal.

Confirmation of Hilka's apt conjecture as to the source of the Old-French Prologue is gratifying, but more significant for the history of the Alexander legend is the refutation of Meyer's observation that "*La compilation de Saint-Alban ne paraît pas s'être répandue hors de l'Angleterre. . . . Elle n'a pu par conséquent avoir qu'une influence fort limitée sur les compositions en langue vulgaire relatives à Alexandre.*"² Finally, the very fact that the distortion of the proper names in the vernacular text occurs first in the Latin source may lead to a revised approach to the onomastic curiosities found in our 'best' mediaeval vernacular writers!

¹ In *Corp. Chr. Coll. MS. 219* (fol. 2r) the reading is unmistakably *Cigneæ*; in *Gonville and Caius MS. 154* the reading is less clear: *Cigneæ? Cignæa?*

² Meyer, *op. cit. supra*, p. 63. As a specimen of mediaeval secular narrative, paralleled in the field of religious writing by Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and among historical writings by Vincent of Beauvais's great compilatory work, *Speculum Historiale*, the *Compilation of St Albans* merits publication and study.

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REVIEWS

HERMANN BEENKEN, *Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland, 11. und 12. Jahrhundert.* Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1924.

It would certainly be an exaggeration to say that the Romanesque sculpture of Germany had been neglected. It is evident from a glance at Dr Beenken's selected bibliography that the list of books upon it is a long and an important one, and that not all are of recent date. However, it may fairly be said that only since the war has the subject come into its own. But now German mediaeval scholars have suddenly turned to the eleventh and twelfth centuries with an extraordinary burst of enthusiasm. No less than five books upon German Romanesque sculpture have appeared in the last two years. The student who has not the good fortune to know German monuments at first hand, is no longer therefore obliged to seek for his information here and there among sundry sources and be left with the uneasy apprehension that much of importance escaped him, hidden away in monuments the significance of which had not been realized, published only in local monographs, easily overlooked, or perhaps wholly inaccessible. Especially with the publication of the new book of Dr Beenken that lies before me, all this is changed. One has now the feeling of at last knowing German Romanesque sculpture. What is wanted lies conveniently on the table. There is no longer worry over the possibility that an obvious and vital fact has slipped by. A great and glorious art is there, available for comprehension and for enjoyment.

Dr Beenken's method of presentation is an admirable one — perhaps it is hardly too much to say in many ways the most satisfactory that is possible. It consists of an illustrated *catalogue raisonné* preceded by an essay. The introduction is happily free from the platitudinous verbosity which is only too apt to be characteristic of such compositions.

Dr Beenken begins by insisting upon the aesthetic beauty of early Romanesque sculpture. The idea is suggested that the tendencies of modern art explain the power with which this period appeals to the present age. We seek to find a mirror of our own feelings in the past; and our love for the Romanesque is to be accounted for as a protest against the classic norms of beauty which no longer satisfy us.

The revival of taste for early mediaeval art has led to a curious change of values. The thirteenth century, which may be esteemed the classic period of the Middle Ages, was long held in especial regard, but it came to be found that the art of the twelfth century was even more satisfying. The truth is, however, that the sculpture of the eleventh century is even finer than that of the twelfth. This fact Dr Beenken is one of the first to have

realized, and he has made it so evident for Germany, that he who runs may read. The generality holds, I believe, no less for other lands as well. The old archaeological myth of the uncouth and barbarous eleventh century must be abandoned; with increasing knowledge of its productions is certain to come increased admiration. He who doubts need only compare the two periods in the doors of San Zeno of Verona, or in the productions of the school of Monte Cassino, to cite the first instances that come to mind.

The art of the eleventh century bore nowhere so abundant and so choice fruit as in Germany and Anglo-Saxon England. "*Deutsche Skulptur stand vielleicht noch bis 1100, was die lebendige Qualität ihrer Leistungen anbetrifft, an die Spitze der gesamteuropäischen.*" It is only in the twelfth century that the hegemony passes to France.

The roots of the eleventh-century sculpture of Germany lie in Carolingian and Ottonian art. Thus the Hildesheim doors are stylistically derived from the covers of the *Codex Aureus* of St Emmeram of Regensburg, now in the Staatsbibliothek of Munich. Professor Friend has recently suggested that these book-covers were made at St Denis, hence French.¹ According to this view, therefore, the art of Hildesheim is ultimately of French origin.

The iconography of the Hildesheim doors, as well as the style, also possibly passed through France. The scenes from *Genesis*, arranged in bands, recall the illuminations of a type of Bible which first appears in Northern Europe in the Carolingian school of Tours. It is not, however, to be supposed that this type was a creation of Alcuin or his monks. Long before, such a cycle of illustrations existed in the East, was copied in the Bible of Cotton, and again reproduced in the mosaics of San Marco of Venice. Curious resemblances between the latter and the Bibles of Tours make one question whether the inspiration for the miniatures was so exclusively occidental as we have been taught. Thus the Hildesheim iconography goes back to Tours, and perhaps even to Alexandria.

From such instances as this (and many similar could be named) we understand why it is that Romanesque sculpture was never really archaic. The sculptors simply borrowed forms that had long before been perfected. In the miniatures of Reichenau there had been evolved a formula by which the artists conveyed an expression of strength, a feeling of earnestness and a power of spiritual significance. They had triumphed over the merely physical, over the limitations of corporeal form. This great heritage of a mature art — one of the most mature, perhaps, that has ever been created — fell upon the shoulders of eleventh-century sculpture. Through the use of abstract curves and lines, that is by the emotional effect of pure beauty,

¹ A. M. Friend, "Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St Denis," *Art Studies*, I (1923), 67.

Univ. of
California



FIG. 1

AARAU (SWITZERLAND), GEWERBEMUSEUM. RELIEF FROM VERENAKAPELLE
IN HERZNACH, *ca.* 961

the sculptor is enabled to rise above representation, above the mere reproduction of natural shapes. Thus it became the mission of the artist to reveal not the superficial appearance, but the emotional reality of things, "to make the invisible visible, the incomprehensible comprehensible, the hidden seen, the unrecognized known, the formless and artless the formful and artful, the unreal real, and the unnatural natural."

The history of eleventh-century sculpture is the history of the translation first into metal, then into stone of the ideals and forms which had been perfected by the miniature painters and the goldsmiths.

The introduction finished, Dr Beenken begins the main body of his book. This consists of a series of full-page illustrations of some hundred and fifty monuments; opposite each is a page of printed matter, in which the author contrives to give not only the essential information in regard to the sculpture, but also critical discussions. No words are wasted; the printed matter is amazingly concise, but, on the other hand, all that is needed is there.

The monographs contain much new and important matter. Dr Beenken has made no attempt to produce a complete corpus of German Romanesque sculpture; he has merely presented selected examples in such a way as to give the reader a vivid idea of the consecutive development of the art.

One of the chief interests of the book is the light it throws upon styles outside of Germany. Much that has been puzzling or incomprehensible in the sculpture of France, Italy, and Spain becomes clear in the light of the German facts now established. With these foreign relations Dr Beenken deals frequently; he is much too broad a scholar to suppose that any region can be understood without reference to others, and he never fails to relate Germany to the larger development of the time. He has indeed been singularly perspicacious in perceiving and disentangling the influences, Burgundian, Lombard, or Western French, which alternately affected German art during the twelfth century.

Dr Beenken's first monograph is upon the pre-Carolingian stele from Hornhausen. This is another proof that stone sculpture did not, as has been supposed, wholly cease to exist during the so-called Dark Ages, for the relief, of very respectable technical quality, is of the seventh or eighth century. In this connection I cannot forbear to call attention to another stone relief executed in the period when sculpture is believed not to have existed. It is a Crucifixion from the Verenskapelle in Herznach, now in the Gewerbemuseum of Aarau, Switzerland (Fig. 1). An inscription states that this was the gift of the bishop Landelous, ca. 961. It becomes increasingly evident that the art of stone sculpture was practised in Europe not only before 1100 but before 1000.

The Hornhausen relief shows many signs of Iranian influence to delight the hearts of Strzygowski and Rostovtzev. The interlace with heads (there

is an interlace also on the Aarau relief) recalls the Oseberg ship, the rope motive the Kelermes mirror; the zig-zags on the back of the horse are like those found on vases of the Middle Dnieper of the seventh to the fourth centuries B.C.¹ and the centrifugal spokes of the shield, like the shields of the Beatus, are not without analogy with the Prokhorovka patera. This cavalier is perhaps a cousin of the cavaliers of the Parthenon, and an ancestor of those of the Porta della Pescheria.

The superb metal sculpture of the opening years of the eleventh century in Germany² makes more comprehensible the important manifestations of the same art which took place in Milan at the beginning of the eleventh century under the archbishop Ariberto. The crucifix of the Milan cathedral, and the book-covers in the sacristy of the same church, fit in with the German monuments, as a tenon fits in with a mortise. They show that it was not only in Germany that the art of the first part of the eleventh century rose to superlative excellence.

In addition to the well-known monuments of the early years of the eleventh century in Germany, such as the doors of Hildesheim and Augsburg, Dr Beenken gives due accent to others which have often been lost sight of, the doors of St Maria im Kapitol of Cologne, the Essen and Paderborn madonnas. He does not overlook the reliefs of St Emmeram of Regensburg, dated authentically to the middle of the eleventh century, and masterpieces of stone technique. It is interesting to compare the St Emmeram of this series, executed between 1049 and 1064, with the tomb of St Ysarne (†1048) at Marseille, which is contemporary (Fig. 2). The inscription of the Marseille tomb is of the type which would be composed for a man recently dead, not for a saint long venerated; it praises the virtues of the deceased abbot, the vigor and prudence of his administration. Moreover the tomb also is not of the type which would be made for a saint long dead. The monuments which contained the bodies of saints at Santiago de Compostela, St Junien, St Gilles, and elsewhere had the form of altars, and they were adorned with sculptures representing Christ, angels, the Virgin, the apostles, the four and twenty elders, or the life of the saint. In no case is the saint represented as a *gisant* as here. And what a *gisant*! We search the numerous tombs of the twelfth century in vain for the like. The rounded top and bottom, the body interrupted save for the head and the feet by the long inscription, nothing like this is found in later times. The monument has that peculiar force and characterfulness which proclaims in trumpet tones that it dates from the eleventh century. The pre-

¹ M. I. Rostovtzev, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), p. 91.

² For this subject, see especially Margarete Burg, *Ottotonische Plastik* (Leipzig: Schroeder, 1922).



FIG. 2
MARSEILLE, MUSÉE BORELY. TOMB OF ST ISARNE



FIG. 3
ARLES (BOUCHES-DU-RHÔNE), MUSÉE. TOMBSTONE OF COUNT GEOFFROY
DE PROVENCE († ca. 1060). DETAIL

TO THE
AMERICAN

empty proof of its early date, however, is the epigraphy of the inscription. We have only to compare this ¹ with the tomb-stone of Comte Geoffroy de Provence (Fig. 3), who died about 1080, to be convinced that the two are contemporary. In the latter, now preserved in the Arles Museum, we find as in the epitaph of St Ysarne S's made like reversed Z's, Q's made like reversed P's, pointed O's and square C's. All this makes it evident that the inscription and the tomb date from exactly the time which the documentary evidence would lead us to suppose.

Now when we compare the head of St Ysarne of Marseille (Fig. 2) with the St Emmeram of Regensburg ² we perceive that the two are not without similarity. Without pushing the comparison to extremes, we note that the types of the heads are undoubtedly related, and that the same convention is used for the hair. The Marseille head is undoubtedly finer than the Regensburg St Emmeram. It is indeed one of the supreme productions of French sculpture of all time. The features are modelled with exceeding delicacy; the conception is fresh and masterly. The sculptor has expressed all the mystery and all the poetry of death. The St Emmeram seems somewhat commonplace in comparison. For quality, a better parallel to the St Ysarne is the superb Christ of Regensburg.

As one turns over the succeeding pages of Dr Beenken's book, many unanswerable (at least for me) questions arise regarding the relationship of German monuments to those elsewhere in Europe. The stucco reliefs of Werden, for example, with seated figures in niches, are stylistically related to Avenas in Burgundy; ³ but the motive they typify has an eventful history. It turns up later in the choir-screens of Gustorf, Hildesheim and Halberstadt; but these choir-screens must also be related to the sculptures now in the exterior of La Charité and to the choir-screen of Souvigny.⁴ From Souvigny seems to be derived St Menoux, and St Menoux has uncanny points of similarity to Halberstadt. Halberstadt in turn appears to come out of the Heribertschrein of Deutz.

The Kloster Gröningen rail may also not be without relationship to this group. It throws at any rate an unexpected light upon the puzzling fragments from St Benoît now in the Museum of Poitiers ⁵ which may perhaps have formed part of a similar cycle of the apostles, with Christ seated in the middle. Were the St Benoît sculptures perhaps originally part of a rail or

¹ Illustration in A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1923), II, 1278.

² Porter, *op. cit.*, IX, 1281.

³ See A. Kingsley Porter, 'Spain or Toulouse? and Other Questions,' *Art Bulletin*, September, 1924.

⁴ A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, III, 124, 125.

⁵ A. Kingsley Porter, *idem* III, 1132, 1133.

a choir-screen? Were they part of a tympanum, like the seated apostles of Carennac? What seems certain is, that they are somehow related to the Gröningen and Gustdorf reliefs, with which they are contemporary, and which they resemble also in style. What are we to conclude from such tangled evidence? It at least seems clear that the motive of seated apostles appears to be German rather than French in origin, for it abounds in German ivories. It also appears that essential characteristics of Gothic draperies are already present in the altar-frontals of Aachen and Basel.

The possibility that Germany may have given to France, as well as received from her, even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is suggested by Dr Beenken's doubtless correct dating of the Merseburg font to 1170-90. Here the twelve apostles are shown on the shoulders of the twelve prophets. This iconographic motive would therefore appear to be of German origin; it is developed, it will be remembered, on the portal of Bamberg. In the thirteenth century it appears at Chartres, in the glass of the south transept. Now this glass technically differs from that made usually at the period in France and suggests by its style, as well as by its iconography, a German origin.

One wonders, too, what may be the relationship between the tympanum of Trier, which Dr Beenken dates shortly before 1170, and the nearly contemporary sculptures of Mimizan.¹ Dr Beenken, not knowing Mimizan apparently, derives the sculptures of the Trier cathedral from the Neutor relief, just as I, not knowing Trier, had derived those of Mimizan from Carrión. Either derivation is convincing, but it is disconcerting to observe the close parallel between Trier and Mimizan. Works so alike must be related, but I am far from being certain whether we have a German influence at Mimizan, or a pilgrimage influence at Trier. The latter, however, is perhaps the more probable.

In fact, Dr Beenken does not seem to have fully realized the influence of Spanish sculpture in Germany. Such an influence did, however, exist. A characteristic example of it is afforded by the apostles of Basel. These are arranged in groups of two talking to each other. This detail of iconography Dr Beenken notes as German ("*deutsch und allem Byzantinischen fremd*"). Notwithstanding the Quedlinburg casket, may it not, however, be Spanish? We find it in the Cámara Santa of Oviedo, in sculptures which, stylistically as well, are not without relationship to the Basel works. Moreover, the St Vincent reliefs at Basel, by the same hand, recall the contemporary reliefs of the same subject at San Vicente of Avila.

The Madonna between the symbols of the evangelists from a throne at Siegburg, now in the Schnütgen Museum at Cologne is dated 1160-80 by

¹ A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, III, 499, 491.

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Fig. 4
S. PIETRO DI CIVATE (Como). DETAIL OF CIBORIUM



FIG. 6a

CIVIDALE (UDINE). TEMPIETTO LONGOBARDO

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Dr Beenken, as against Lütthgen's dating to 1120. In this there can be little doubt that Dr Beenken is right.

Besides the other iconographical peculiarities, this Virgin is crowned. This brings up a point recently raised by Dr Cook. In connection with the Virgin of Sahagún in the Madrid Museum, Dr Cook thinks that this sculpture cannot, in spite of the documents, date from 1098, because she wears a crown, and a crowned Virgin, he says, is not found as an isolated major motif in Romanesque sculpture before the mid-twelfth century in the Ile-de-France.¹

As far as the Virgin of Sahagún is concerned, his argument is at once thrown out, for he does not seem to have known that this relief originally was not isolated, but formed part of a tympanum, which probably represented the Adoration of the Magi. But the motive of the crowned Virgin, even isolated, originated not in the Ile-de-France and long before 1150. A crowned Virgin of the fifth or sixth century is found at Santa Maria Antiqua at Rome. A crowned Virgin is found isolated in the eleventh-century frescos of Sant' Angelo in Formis; the motive is indeed characteristic of the frescos of the Monte Cassino school, being found also in eleventh-century work at Ausonia and Foro Claudia. There was similarly a crowned Virgin in the apse of the cathedral of Capua, executed in the first years of the twelfth century by the archbishop Hugo. A crowned Virgin isolated also appears on a seal of Lincoln cathedral of ca. 1100, and in an ivory of the middle of the eleventh century of the Mayer van den Bergh collection at Antwerp. Crowned Virgins are found in frescos of the twelfth century at Lambrate and San Teodoro of Pavia. A crowned Virgin appears in the scene of the Ascension in the eleventh-century Bible of Farfa. In stone sculpture a crowned Virgin is found isolated in the altar of Marseille. In the tenth-century Benedictional of Rouen, a crown is suspended over the head of the Virgin in the scene of the Dormition. It is therefore not true that the crowned Virgin as an isolated motive originated in the sculpture of the Ile-de-France about the middle of the twelfth century. The Virgin of Sahagún was, however, as has been observed, not isolated, but part of an Adoration of the Magi. Crowned Virgins are represented in this scene in the sculptures of Gustorf, ca. 1130, in an ivory of Melk, dating ca. 1065-75, in the other contemporary altar of Melk, and in the celebrated ivory of the South Kensington Museum ascribed by Maskell to the eleventh century.²

¹ W. W. S. Cook, "The Stucco Altar-Frontals of Catalonia," *Art Studies, Medieval, Renaissance, and Modern* (Princeton: The University Press), II (1924), 50.

² It is open to question whether the Virgin in this ivory wears a real crown or some sort of metal head-dress. The same doubt arises in connection with an ivory of the first half of the twelfth century in the British Museum, and indeed with the Virgin of Sahagún herself.

To return to German Romanesque sculpture, one of the facts that is most strongly impressed upon one on turning the pages of Dr Beenken's book, is the predominance of Byzantine influence. There is nothing new about this in Germany. Ottonian art had similarly been impregnated by Eastern motives. We note that the *Hodogetria* type of Madonna appears at St Maria im Kapitol of Cologne before reaching the north portal of Chartres; many other details of iconography and of style bear witness to the persistence of this influence. It is especially strong in the large and important group of stucco sculptures which are so characteristic of German sculpture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Beginning with the reliefs of Werden of the eleventh century, a glorious series of monuments in this medium is preserved for us in Germany, including masterpieces like the Holy Sepulchre of Gernrode, the apostles from Gandersheim, the Erfurt reredos, the Gröningen rail, the Beatitudes of St Michael of Hildesheim, the choir-rails of the same church and of Halberstadt. Indeed it is hardly too much to say that this stucco technique is one of the most significant facts in German sculpture of the twelfth century, and that it determined the forms of works executed in other mediums like the tombs of the abbesses of Quedlinburg. Now the Byzantine influence is especially marked in all this group of stucco sculptures.

Stucco technique may be said to be peculiarly German. The medium indeed seems to have been scarcely known elsewhere during the Romanesque period. Strzygowski has supposed that it was practised also in the East, but if so, no monuments have come down to us. Certain capitals of the eleventh-century St Remi of Reims seem to have been executed in this medium, and there are a few traces of its use here and there throughout Europe. Such are, however, rare. In general it is not an exaggeration to say that, during the Romanesque period, this is a German medium.

The suspicion arises in my mind that the stucco sculptures at Civate, Cividale, and San Ambrogio of Milan, all in northern Italy, may be no exception to this statement. The attribution of this group of works has been widely discussed; they have been believed to be Byzantine of the eighth century. Latterly, considerable doubt has been expressed whether they are really so early, and really Byzantine. The ciborium at Milan seems to be rather definitely documented as after 1196. The three monuments resemble each other so closely that they must all be about contemporary; I even went so far as to suggest in *Lombard Architecture* that notwithstanding their obvious differences they should be assigned to the same atelier. Now no Byzantine works like any of the three are known. On the other hand, from Dr Beenken's book it becomes evident that this group of sculptures closely resembles the stucco work of Germany. I therefore am inclined to believe that the Italian stuccos are of German derivation; this would

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FIG. 6b
CIVIDALE (UDINE). TEMPIETTO LONGOBARDO



FIG. 5

S. PIETRO DI CIVATE (COMO). STUCCOS IN CRYPT



FIG. 7

S. PIETRO DI CIVATE (COMO). STUCCOS IN CRYPT

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explain their obviously Byzantine character, for the sculpture of Germany is strongly under Byzantine influence, and it would explain their isolation in Italian art.

A detailed comparison may make the reason for this suggestion clearer. If we put the ciborium of Civate (Fig. 4) beside the choir-screens of Hildesheim and Halberstadt,¹ we cannot but be struck by the similarity of the style, especially in the treatment of the draperies. A similar analogy of style exists between stuccos of the crypt of Civate (Fig. 5) and those of Gröningen.² That this peculiar manner is thoroughly German is demonstrated by the font of Freckenhorst, which dates from as early as 1129.³ The Cividale⁴ stuccos show similar resemblances to the sculpture of Germany. Thus the lyre motive, formed of two S's placed alternately straight and reversed, recurs in the border of the tomb of the Abbess Adelheid I at Quedlinburg.⁵ Similarly, the other extraordinary motive of an eight-petaled flower, which is so conspicuous a feature of the stuccos of Cividale (Fig. 6), recurs at the angles of the tomb-stone of the Abbess Beatrix at Quedlinburg.⁶ Moreover there is a striking resemblance between the figures at Cividale and those of the Beatitudes of Hildesheim. We notice in both the same elongation, the same characteristic faces, the same influence of Byzantine ivories. The face of the figure to the right of the arch at Cividale is almost identical with that of the Abbess Geva in the church at Freckenhorst,⁷ and the draperies also have points of contact. The board-like garments, decorated with all-over patterns, so striking at Cividale and so obviously Byzantine, are also found in the font of Freckenhorst. The faces of the Civate ciborium are closely analogous to those of the school of Cologne.

Another monument which should be considered in this connection is the St Ulrichskapelle at Münster in Switzerland.⁸ The style of this monument is very close to that of the stuccos of Civate, especially those in the crypt (Fig. 7); but geographically it is situated beyond the frontiers of Italy, on the road that leads to Germany.

¹ Beenken, pp. 225, 227, 229-237.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 136-142.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-85.

⁴ A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, IV, Plate 57, Fig. 6.

⁵ Beenken, p. 71. The same motive occurs on the archivolt of the Porte Papale of the cathedral of Le Puy (*Congrès Archéologique de France, Session tenue au Puy en 1904*, p. 230). This has been considered Carolingian or even Gallo-Roman, but is more probably of the twelfth century. The motive does, however, occur on a Gallo-Roman terra cotta now in the museum of Douai (*ibid.*, p. 234).

⁶ Beenken, p. 71.

⁷ Illustrated by Eugen Lühgen, *Romanische Plastik in Deutschland* (Bonn: Schroeder, 1923), Pl. XLVII.

⁸ Illustration in A. Gaudy, *Die kirchliche Baudenkmäler der Schweiz* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1922), p. 72.

The combined force of all this evidence seems then to give reason for believing that the stucco sculptures of northern Italy were executed by German masters. Moreover, it should be observed that the German works with which these stuccos show analogy generally date from the last quarter of the twelfth century. Dr Beenken assigns Gröningen to *ca.* 1170; the Beatitudes and choir-screen of St Michael of Hildesheim are of about 1186; the tomb of the Abbess Geva is of the second half of the twelfth century according to Lüthgen, and the stuccos of Münster of 1166–70 according to Gaudy. All this seems to indicate that the Italian stuccos are to be dated in the last quarter of the twelfth century, and agrees perfectly with the documentary evidence that the ciborium of Sant' Ambrogio was executed after 1196.

The influence of German stuccos was felt not only in Italy. The tomb at Bruay (Nord) in France belongs to this same group, and also resembles the work at Cividale.

Such are a few of the many reflections to which the reading of the admirable book of Dr Beenken gives rise. His exposition of German Romanesque sculpture renders an inestimable service not only to the special student of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Germany, but to all who interest themselves in the Romanesque of whatever portion of Europe. This is a work the usefulness of which to scholars is destined to remain and increase with the passing years; it is not only something of a revelation on first reading, but will become an indispensable work of reference.

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WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL, *Liber Miraculorum Ninivensium Sancti Cornelii Papae. Ein Beitrag zur Flandrischen Kirchengeschichte.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1925. Pp. 130.

PROFESSOR ROCKWELL deserves the thanks of mediaevalists for this reissue, with notable additions and improvements, of his dissertation, which first came from the press in the tragic month of August, 1914. Not only does it contain the full texts of two very interesting works from the Premonstratensian abbey of Ninove in Belgium, the *Liber Miraculorum* noted in the title and a little treatise *De Fundatione Ninivensis Abbatis*, but an introduction in which the extant documents connected with the history of the foundation are analyzed with equal skill and thoroughness. In short, the monograph is a model of its kind, since the author has set the documentary remains of the abbey in very good order.

The two texts are taken from a manuscript in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, the longer section of which was written at Ninove in 1199, and was probably made by Henricus de Sualma, a sacristan of the

abbey, who seems also to have been the compiler. This *Liber Miraculorum* is noteworthy for the light it throws indirectly on the difficulties of the foundation and on other local occurrences. The brief account of the origins of the monastery, imbedded in the longer work, is equally interesting. In spite of its possession of relics of St Cornelius, the establishment never attained more than regional celebrity, but its records are thoroughly typical and of corresponding value.

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MARC BLOCH, *La Vie d'outre-tombe du Roi Salomon*. Extrait de la *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, IV, 349-377 (nos. 2-3, avril-septembre, 1925).

THIS study of a tale of marvels contained in a Latin life of Edward the Confessor composed between 1161 and 1250 is made with the solid erudition and the grace to be expected of the author of *Les Rois thaumaturges*. The fate in the next world of King Solomon, who merited both rewards and punishments for his deeds in this life, preoccupied both Jewish and Christian minds. Professor Bloch shows that the story with which he is concerned was the outgrowth of much theological speculation and had thus a learned origin, although it would appear at first sight to be a product of what we call vaguely "popular imagination." His investigation has also the incidental value of tracing the history of Solomon *post mortem* in Talmudic writings and Christian iconography.

GORDON HALL GEROULD,
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REGINALD LANE POOLE, *Chronicles and Annals: a Brief Outline of their Origin and Growth*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Pp. 79.

LIKE everything that its learned author writes, this little book is full of solid meat. Its theme is the origin and interrelations of the annals and chronicles of the Middle Ages, as distinguished from the ampler histories of the epoch, down to the thirteenth century. In the genesis of annals from the Easter tables, the author emphasizes the importance of the acceptance of the Dionysian table at Whitby in 664 and the spread of the era of the Incarnation at least from the time of Bede: "It was the discovery of this Era that made the revival of historiography possible, and it was beyond question an English discovery." Two interesting facsimiles are given of Easter-table annals from codices of Einsiedeln. The author finds his way through the tangled controversy respecting the early Frankish annals, concerning which Mühlbacher remarked that too much ink had been spilt; and he is particularly good on the English annals and their continental connections. The more orderly chronicles of the close of the

twelfth century he quite rightly associates with the spread of order and arrangement in the contemporary chanceries. By a slip on p. 61 the continuation of Sigebert by Robert of Torigni is made to stop in 1159 instead of 1186.

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Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines. Publié par Paul Graindor et Henri Grégoire. Tome 1. Paris — Liège, 1924. H. Champion, Vaillant-Carmanne. Pp. viii, 765, with 15 plates. 75 fr.

New periodicals are frequent phenomena in our post-bellum age, but the appearance of a useful newcomer which promises to fill a long-felt gap is always welcome. Such is the case with *Byzantion*. The Byzantine field, which has hitherto been served by German and by Russian periodicals, has suffered above all others from unavoidable restrictions in publishing material and from a corresponding scattering of contributions. The journal, started with the approval of the last Congress of Historical Sciences (at Bucarest) by two well-known Belgian scholars, is planned on broad lines to be an international organ and rallying-point for Byzantinists.

The first issue forms a complete volume: further fascicules are to be published twice a year. It forms a stately tome, to which a goodly number of eminent scholars in this field have made their contributions. Most of the countries of Europe are represented.

The volume is dedicated to the eminent historian of Byzantine art, N. P. Kondakov, who died just as it saw the light. J. Ebersolt gives us a brief sketch of his scholarly work (pp. 1-6). Perhaps for this reason a large part of the articles contained in the first number are devoted to artistic topics. Professor Kondakov himself heads the list with a lengthy study, "Les costumes orientaux à la cour de Byzance" (pp. 7-49), tracing their filiations both eastward and westward. Particularly interesting is his discussion of the σκαρμύγγιον. D. Ajnalov, "Un fragment d'évangélaire du VI^e siècle de la collection V. N. Chanenko" (pp. 59-74), discusses an ivory plaque of Caucasian provenience (now in Kiev), and shows that it formed the cover of a lectionary or a gospel. V. Benešević, "Sur la date de la mosaïque de la Transfiguration au monte Sinai" (pp. 145-172), investigates the chronology of this monument, and establishes that it is to be placed in the years 565-566; he also reconstructs the list of the higoumens of Sinai for the sixth century (p. 171). A. Grabar, "Un reflet du monde latin dans une peinture balkanique du XIII^e siècle" (pp. 229-243), points out that the posture and treatment in the portrait of the Czarina Décislava at Boiana in Bulgaria (1259 A.D.) stands manifestly under western European influence: the ship in a picture of the miracle of

St Nicholas at the same place is of a western type. P. Graindor, "Buste du musée d'Athènes" (pp. 245-250), calls the attention of scholars to a bearded bust in the Athens Museum, which he considers to represent a philosopher and attributes to the middle of the fifth century A.D. Two articles by V. Grecu, "Eine Belagerung Konstantinopels in der rumänischen Kirchenmalerei" (pp. 274-289), and P. Henry, "De l'originalité des peintures bucoviniennes dans l'application des principes byzantines" (pp. 291-303), deal with the interesting Byzantine survivals in Rumanian paintings. Incidentally the date 6035 in the Slavic lemma on p. 288 is of course the Byzantine era (6035 - 5508-09 = 623-24), which is a mistake for 626, the date of the siege of Constantinople by the Avars: Henry's remarks on p. 296, note, are also to be corrected. The tribe of the *I-zyxy* are clearly the Ζίχιοι, a people of the Euxine littoral district east of the Sea of Azov, while the *I-zkyxy* are possibly the Qasig = Circassians. The lemma looks like a note of synaxarial origin, and is certainly connected with the tale preserved in Greek of the attack on Constantinople and the writing of the hymn 'Ακάθιστος, *de quo vid.* Krumbacher, *Geschichte d. byzan. Litt.* (2d ed.), II, 672-673; 251. G. de Jerphanion, "Le cycle iconographique de S. Angelo in Formis" (pp. 341-366), deals with the iconography of this most important monument. A. Munoz, "Alcune osservazioni intorno al Rotulo di Giosuè et agli Ottateuchi illustrati" (pp. 475-483), establishes the artistic stemma of the illustrated manuscripts of this type. J. Puig i Cadafalch, "L'architecture religieuse dans le domaine byzantin en Espagne" (pp. 519-533), gives an interesting account of the scanty remains of Byzantine art which have been found in the Balearic Islands and in Spain, while J. Strzygowski, "Die Kunstgeschichte und die byzantinischen Studien" (pp. 535-555), insists that more attention be paid to northern influences in the study of mediaeval art.

In the field of historical studies, A. Andréadès has an interesting sketch (in substance a revision and enlargement of an appendix of his 'Ιστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δημοσίας οἰκονομίας, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1918, σ. 401-416, entitled "De la monnaie et de la puissance d'achat des métaux précieux dans l'empire byzantin" (pp. 75-115), in which he comes to the surprising (but by no means certain) conclusion that the purchasing power of money, where fundamental products were concerned, differed but little in mediaeval Byzantium from modern times. H. I. Bell, "The episcopalis audientia" (pp. 139-144), publishes an interesting papyrus (*Pap. Lond. Inv. 2217, saec. v*) which forms a welcome addition to the rare documents we possess which illustrate this type of jurisdiction. A. Blanchet, "Une bague d'un comte de l'Opsikion" (pp. 173-176), publishes a gold ring belonging to a certain Leontius, apparently dating from the tenth century. L. Bréhier, "Les populations rurales au IX^e siècle d'après l'hagiographie byzantine" (pp. 177-190), deals

with the social structure of the Byzantine provinces, and shows that at the period in question the aristocracy in no way formed a closed order. H. Delehay, "La vie de sainte Théoctiste de Lesbos" (pp. 191-200), shows that the majority of the details in the *mise-en-scène* in the life of this saint are borrowed from the *vita* of St Mary of Egypt, and are probably unhistorical. Ch. Diehl, "Le Senat et le peuple byzantin aux VII^e et VIII^e siècles" (pp. 201-213), traces the reaction to senatorial independence observable in this body after Justinian's despotic reign. J. Gay, "Notes sur l'hellénisme sicilien" (pp. 215-228), deals with the survival of the Greek element in Sicily after the fall of the Byzantine régime, comparing it with conditions in Italy. J. Laurent, "Des Grecs aux Croisés" (pp. 367-449), traces the history of Edessa during the period 1071-1099, and sketches the general condition in Syria on the eve of the First Crusade. C. Marinesco, "Du nouveau sur Constance d'Hohenstaufen, impératrice de Nicée" (pp. 451-468), publishes some interesting Latin (and one Greek) documents from the archives of Barcelona, illustrating the romantic history of this last scion of the imperial house. V. Valdenberg, "Discours politiques de Themistius dans leur rapport avec l'antiquité" (pp. 557-580), discusses the political theories of the orator; the article is well worth the attention of investigators in this field, as it combats most successfully the prevalent theory that Greek political thought was affected with a cataleptic trance at the death of the Stagirite.

With topography are concerned the studies of F. M. Abel on "Une mention byzantine de Sbalta" (pp. 151-158), which he finds in the text of St Nilus, and of N. A. Bees, "Sur quelques évêchés suffragants de la métropole de Trébizonde" (pp. 117-137).

Into the category of philology and paleography fall: B. Granić, "Der Inhalt der Subscriptionen in den datierten griechischen Handschriften des XI., XII., und XIII. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 251-272), a valuable monograph, which would, however, be much more enlightening if the contemporary Slavic, Armenian and Georgian colophons were taken into account. D. Hesseling, "Notes critiques sur deux poèmes grecs du moyen âge" (pp. 305-316), gives emendations and variants to the Middle-Greek poems *Διήγησις παιδόφραστος τῶν τετραπόδων ζώων* and the *Πουλολόγος* as edited by W. Wagner (Leipzig, 1874). E. Jeanselme and L. Oeconomos, "La satire contre les higoumènes," have translated this pseudo-Prodromitic poem with a commentary (pp. 317-339). On p. 324 *τσαγγίων* is not an Old-English word, but probably of Iranian origin: see Theophanes's *Chron.* ed. de Boor 182,4 (cf. 168,26) *τσαγγαρεῖα*; this text is dated in the year 532. G. Mercati, "Il Plutarco di Bartolommeo da Montepulciano" (pp. 469-474), describes a newly found manuscript (*Vat. Gr. 2175, saec. xiv*), which contains twenty-eight of the lives and three tractates of the *Moralia*. P. Peeters, "Sur la

necessité d'un onomasticon de l'Orient byzantin" (pp. 485-499), points out the enormous value of such a collection to scholars in general. J. Psichari, "Sainte Euphémie ou les tribulations d'un linguiste" (pp. 501-517), gives a most amusing account of tracing the permutation of $\phi > \theta$ in the dialect of the Ionian Islands. It might be observed that this change occurs sporadically in Georgian loan words from the Greek; *t'ebervali* = 'February' (contaminated by the Russian form ФЕВРАЛЬ and *t'elgma* = φλέγμα (this latter in tenth-century manuscripts). Greek words in some cases have come over into Georgian from Greek dialectal forms, e.g., *panasiüdi* from Gr. παννυχίς(-ίδος); χ before ι = š).

A series of reviews of considerable length, and a most useful set of regional bulletins (America, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia), to which should be added the note "*Byzantion et les savants russes*" (pp. 717-727), comprise a most acceptable explicit to a very interesting ensemble.

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SPECULUM

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SPECULUM

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

- ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FIRST ELECTION OF FELLOWS 251
- MEDIAEVAL GLOOM AND MEDIAEVAL UNIFORMITY. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS E. K. RAND 253
- LE LECTIONNAIRE DE SAINT-PÈRE A. WILMART 269
- LIBER DE COLORIBUS ILLUMINATORUM SIUE PICTORUM* FROM SLOANE MS. NO. 1764 D. V. THOMPSON, Jr 280
- ✓ THE MEDIAEVAL CONCEPTION OF KINGSHIP AS DEVELOPED IN THE *POLICRATICUS* OF JOHN OF SALISBURY J. DICKINSON 308

NOTES

- RELATIONS OF THE INQUISITION TO PETER OF ABANO AND CECCO D'ASCOLI L. THORNDIKE 338
- AN UNCIAL FRAGMENT OF THE *LETTERS OF THE YOUNGER PLINY* E. K. RAND 343
- A MANUSCRIPT OF TOURS, No. 286 E. K. RAND 344
- A WELSH BRANCH OF THE ARTHUR FAMILY-TREE . . E. H. WALLER 344
- REVIEWS 347

Maurice de Wulf, *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*, Vol. I (J. H. Ryan); Olgiati-Zybura, *The Key to the Study of St Thomas* (J. H. Ryan); Somerset Bateman, *Simon de Montfort, His Life and Work* (J. F. Willard); G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order* (J. F. Willard); *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot par ses amis et ses élèves* (C. H. Haskins); Recent Publications on Geoffrey of Monmouth (J. S. P. Tatlock); J. H. Pitman, *The Riddles of Aldhelm: Text and Translation* (F. P. Magoun, Jr.); J. R. Reinhard, *Amadas et Ydoine, roman du xiiiè siècle* (F. P. Magoun, Jr.); R. K. Root, *The Book of Troilus and Criseyde by Geoffrey Chaucer* (preliminary announcement).

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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SPECULUM

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES



ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FIRST ELECTION OF FELLOWS

AT THE first meeting of the Council of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, held on April 23, 1926, thirty Fellows were elected. At the first meeting of the Fellows, held April 24, 1926, three more nominations were made, and the persons nominated were elected by postal ballot. The list of the thirty-three Fellows is as follows:

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JAMES FIELD WILLARD

KARL YOUNG

At the meeting of the Fellows held on April 24, 1926, the following fifteen Corresponding Fellows were nominated, and they were subsequently elected by postal ballot:

JOHANNES BOLTE (Germany)
HIPPOLITE DELEHAYE (Belgium)
CHARLES DIEHL (France)
Cardinal FRANZ EHRLE (Italy)
MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES (Gt Britain)
PAUL LEHMANN (Germany)
WALLACE MARTIN LINDSAY (Gt Britain)

FERDINAND LOT (France)
RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL (Spain)
Mgr. GIOVANNI MERCATI (Italy)
KARL NYROP (Denmark)
HENRI OMONT (France)
REGINALD LANE POOLE (Gt Britain)
Pio RAJNA (Italy)

MAURICE DE WULF (Belgium)

The Board of Fellows believes that, in determining the remaining seventeen Fellows, special consideration should be paid to certain fields of mediaeval scholarship thus far inadequately represented, particularly Romance, Germanic, and Oriental philology, and Byzantine studies. The Secretary of the Board of Fellows, George Raleigh Coffman, 1191 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., will welcome nominations of either the national or the Corresponding Fellows to be elected in the course of the coming year. In this connection, attention is directed to the following section of By-Law 9 of the ACADEMY, to the effect that vacancies in the number of the Fellows "may be filled by election by the Fellows from nominations made by at least nine members of the Corporation, the assent of two thirds of the then existing Fellows being necessary for election."

MEDIAEVAL GLOOM AND MEDIAEVAL UNIFORMITY¹

IN THIS cheerful and variegated age of ours, it is a rash undertaking to establish an ACADEMY devoted to so gloomy and so uniform a period as the Middle Ages. Why busy ourselves with an antiquated culture? Why survey that drab and gloomy stretch of monotonous years in which everybody murmured "*memento mori*" morning, noon, and night? Let me quote something typical:

Consider now how slender a thing is fame and glory. For thou hast learnt by astronomical demonstrations that the compass of the whole earth compared to the scope of heaven is no bigger than a pin's point, which is as much as to say that, if it be conferred with the greatness of the celestial sphere, it hath no bigness at all. And of this so small a region in the world only the fourth part is inhabited by living creatures known to us. From which fourth part, if thou takest away in imagination the seas, the marsh grounds, and all other desert places, there will scarcely be left any room at all for men to inhabit. Wherefore, enclosed and shut up in this smallest point of that other point, dost thou think of extending thy fame and enlarging thy name? But thou dost imagine that thou makest thyself immortal when thou castest thine eyes upon future fame. Whereas, if thou weighest attentively the infinite spaces of eternity, what cause hast thou to rejoice at the prolonging of thy name? For if we compare the stay of one moment with ten thousand years, since both be limited, they have some proportions, though it be but very small. But this number of years, how oft so ever it be multiplied, is no way comparable to endless eternity. So when thou diest, no fame shall ever make thee known. But if thou thinkest that life is prolonged by the breath of thy dead name, when length of days shall take this too away, a second death then awaits thee.

Here are words that most modern readers would agree spring from the heart of the Middle Ages. What is more mediaeval than the contempt of earthly fame, the despite of human joy, the perpetual gazing at eternity, the perpetual *memento mori*? The suspicion is correct. The passage comes from Chaucer — I have presented it in more modern language — and he has turned the idea into

¹ Presidential Address, delivered by Edward Kennard Rand at the first meeting of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, April 24, 1926. A report of this meeting will appear in the October issue.

poetry, too. Troilus, after he is slain by Achilles, mounts, or rather his 'light ghost' mounts, to the hollowness of the seventh sphere, where he hears the celestial harmonies,

And down from thennes faste he gan avyse
 This litel spot of erthe, that with the see
 Enbraced is, and fully gan despyse
 This wrecched world, and held al vanitee
 To respect of the pleyn felicittee
 That is in hevene above . . .

Now let us turn to something more human and cheerful; let the preacher give place to a poet, a poet whose delight is in nature and the immediate present. I translate a little work entitled

BATTLE OF THE LILY AND THE ROSE

THE POET SPEAKS

The cycles of the seasons were running their fourfold course, and spring was covering the earth with gay bespangled robe, when a debate began between the milk-white lily and the chaplet-gracing rose. First the rose, opening her radiant lips, aroused discussion.

ROSE

Crimson gives sovereignty, crimson is the glory of kings; kings hold white a cheap and dingy hue. White is the wretched color of sick and pining cheeks; crimson the shade to which the world pays homage.

LILY

Me does the gold-tressed glory of the earth, the fair Apollo, love, and clothes his head with my snow-white honor. Why, Rose, dost make such argument, smeared with the dye of shame, conscious of guilt? Does not thy face blush for it?

ROSE

I am the sister of the Dawn, well known to gods on high. And Phoebus loves me, too. I am the messenger of ruddy Phoebe; the Day-star runneth merrily before my face. 'Tis the tender grace of a *maiden's* countenance that makes *me* blush. (There is a suggestion that Lily is a bit *passée*.)

LILY (catching the point in the innuendo and getting exceeding mad)

Why swell and bluster with such blurting talk, for which thou art well given the penalty of an eternal wound? For thy diadem is pierced with sharpest thorns. Ah me! How piteously is the rose-bed girt with a bush of thorn!

ROSE (taking care not to change the subject)

But what truths have thy words effaced, thou sere antiquity! What thou wouldst call reproaches, are all replete with praise. The all-creating Lord has hedged me with sharp thorns; and he has fortified the rose's face with a fine shelter. (The implication is that Lily's face needs no shelter.)

LILY

An aureole of beauty crowns my seemly head, nor am I cruelly hedged in with a thorn-garland, but milk in sweet profusion flows from my snowy breasts.

THE POET

Then was young Spring a-loitering in the flowery field. A covering he wore embroidered with green grass; with open nostrils he sniffed the fragrant balsam; his lordly head shone with the glory of a flowery chaplet.

SPRING

Dear children of me, quoth he, why, pray, this disputation? Know that ye are twin sisters of the parent earth. Is it right for sisters to quarrel with such pride? Be still, thou beauteous rose (Rose was evidently making ready to answer Lily's last retort). Thy glory shines throughout the earth; but leave the queenly lily, too, her radiant, royal sceptre. 'Tis thus your seemly beauty gains you eternal praise. Let the swelling rose, emblem of modesty, grow in our gardens, and grow ye, too, ye splendid lilies, with faces like the Sun. Thou, Rose, give from thy chaplet the glowing pall to martyrs, and Lily, grace the well-robed troupes of virgins.

THE POET

And then their father Spring, giving the twain the kiss of peace, reconciled those gentle maidens as a father should. Then did the lily give welcome kisses to her glowing sister, while she, in play, bit the other's lips with her thorns. The lily laughed at the ruse of the spring-born maiden, and gave the thirsty rose a drink of her ambrosial milk. But the rose shed gifts, her crimson blossoms, into the lily's cup, and heaped on her snow-white sister this wealth of recompense.

We know where we are now. The shadows of the Middle Ages have cleared, and sensuous delight, the healthy joy of living has returned with the Renaissance. That is, at any rate, what a critic of the Middle Ages might well infer from the texts that I have read. But hold! Let us examine the images and superscriptions of the authors. The first passage is from Chaucer — from Chaucer's translation of a work that precedes the Middle Ages, the *Consolation of*

Philosophy by Boethius. "Ah yes," says the critic at once, "but Boethius was not only the last of the Romans, but the prophet of the Middle Ages; we have often pointed out that the sombre and romantic tone of the words you have read is a harbinger of the age to come." Then let me add that this passage is also an echo of a famous sermon by a Roman consul not generally suspected of the despite of earthly fame. "As Marcus Tullius also says," Boethius remarks, and gives his source away.

At the end of his work on the State, Cicero, in emulation of his master Plato, sets forth his meaning pictorially, in a dream. Scipio dreams that he rises above this "litle spot of erthe," or, as Dante has it, "this little threshing-floor that makes us all so fierce," that he joins the elder Scipio, who explains to him the nine spheres of the universe, teaches him to hear their music, and to note the meanness of the smallest of them, the earth, which, having no part in the universal chorus and the universal procession through space, sticks in the centre of the system and acts as a receptacle for matter, the heaviest of all the elements, the *dregs* of the world. Modern scientists have sometimes objected to the Ptolemaic astronomy as a breeder of human conceit; persons who are located at the hub of a universe, or a part of a universe, now and then acquire an ego-centric point of view. But such was not the effect of the Ptolemaic system on those who accepted either mediaeval theology or ancient science. Nothing could be humbler than the estimate of this little globe that the Middle Ages took over from antiquity. Thus Scipio, as he looks down, becomes ashamed of the Roman Empire, which occupies a tiny point in the tiny earth. What indeed is the significance of earthly fame? It is swallowed up in a second death:

Sermo autem omnis ille et angustiis cingitur iis regionum quas uidet, nec umquam de ullo perennis fuit; et obruitur hominum interitu et obliuione posteritatis exstinguitur.

There is something solemn and liturgical and—mediaeval, shall we say?—in these words of Marcus Tully. I can somehow hear this stately Latin chanted antiphonally at Vespers in the cathedral of Chartres. Cicero finishes his vision by exhorting the statesman and the sage to aspire to the immortality with which the great are re-

warded; they should meditate on death, since philosophy, as our author, after Socrates, remarks, is a meditation on death. *Memento mori.*

The Dream of Scipio is the only unified part of Cicero's *De Republica* that has come down to us through the ages. It was preserved entire because in the fifth century of our era it was made the subject of a subtle commentary by Macrobius, a Neo-platonic scholar much interested in dreams and in the mystic interpretation of numbers. The Dream of Scipio, glossed by Macrobius, became one of the hundred best books of the Middle Ages. Chaucer knew it well; Chaunticleer quotes it to his wife; Guillaume de Lorris begins the *Romance of the Rose* by paying homage to Macrobius as the great authority on dreams. The plan of the *Paradiso* may be traced in its general outline to no more complicated a source than Cicero's facts, Macrobius's gloss, and Dante's imagination, however many details may have been suggested by Aristotle and the Arab philosophers and scholastic churchmen who followed him. If young and old in the Middle Ages saw visions and dreamed dreams, if they sometimes looked gloomily on the pleasures of the present, it was partly because they read the work of Cicero, glossed by Macrobius. They might have felt far less dismal had they not been so well read in the great Classics of antiquity. For the Greeks were not as they sometimes are pictured, — happy children playing under a cloudless sky, — nor was the typical Roman mood a stolid satisfaction in laws and roads and conquests. There are multitudes of attitudes and emotions, and there is plenty of sombre pessimism in the literatures of both nations.

What doth not ruinous time degrade? The age of our sires, worse than that of theirs, has brought us forth more sinful still, soon to give birth to offspring yet more vicious.

This is from the genial Horace, who, imbibing something of his bitterness from Hesiod, thus closes a series of odes addressed to the rising generation and intended to hold aloft for their benefit the great guiding principles of life. Juvenal, correcting Horace, declares that his age is so bad that nothing in times to come could exceed its badness. Plato states that the body is but the prison-house of the soul. Cicero tells us of a lecturer on philosophy in general, and

Plato's doctrine of immortality in particular, who put the case so effectively that his pupils systematically committed suicide. Lucretius, who with a different astronomical system agrees with Cicero in his belittling view of the earth, presents an argument against Plato and the immortality of the soul. In it, he makes the most discouraging remark that I have ever heard — "All things are always the same." Of course when St Thomas à Kempis utters precisely the same words, one exclaims, "How typical!" Still, as we think over such sentiments of the ancients, we are inclined to favor Mr Chesterton — were we makers of the paradox and not plain historians of fact — when he vows that the gay and sprightly virtues are the Christian, the glum and sombre, the Pagan.

But one learned critic of the Middle Ages — I regret to say that he is a Frenchman — declares that in those days one did not read for pleasure: "*On devait se mettre en état de comprendre et de goûter Virgile*" — (it is safely edifying to understand Virgil, to appreciate his observance of the critic's law, but —) "*une fois arrivé là, se bien garder d'y prendre plaisir*" — thus far and no farther — not far enough to enjoy. I am sorry, but I cannot help remembering a mediaeval definition of man that George Meredith, the Master of Comedy, repeats in other words. Transmitted from the Ancients by Boethius, it ran through mediaeval philosophy from John the Scot to Dante. They all define man as an 'animal capable of laughter.' Says Dante: "*Si homo est, est risibilis.*" There is plenty to show, furthermore, that mediaeval man not only was theoretically constructed to laugh, but actually performed the operation, even when reading a Pagan author of a somewhat light and frivolous character.

A certain monk of the eleventh century, who had spent some of his time in Verona, speaks of getting through Juvenal, which he found pretty hard without a commentary, and then of turning with relief to Terence. I must add that, like Freshmen sometimes, he spells Terence's name with two *r*'s, save that he can plead the excuse of poetical licence, as Freshmen generally cannot.

Denique Terrenti post dulcia legimus acta
Saepe suis uerbis iocundis atque facetis
Nos quae fecerunt risum depromere magnum.

'Then would I read old Terence's sweet plays,
His jolly episodes and witty phrase
Which soothed my soul and laughter long did raise.'

In another manuscript of Terence, just before the *Eunuchus*, which is not one of the plays most frequently read in modern schools, the scribe posts a kind of advertisement of what is to come.

Dulcia quae docuit finctor nunc respice verba
Mulceat ut dulcis mentem conscriptio heri.

'Read the sweet tale that gentle Terence wrought
To charm the reader and beguile his thought.'

It is interesting to see how often in these pieces Terence is called *dulcis* — even to the point of tautology. If an anti-mediaevalist feels like suggesting that the present couplet is an ancient affair blindly copied by a mediaeval scribe (who felt edified but not elated during the process), I can point out in it a false quantity that the critic will at once admit could have been perpetrated only in the Middle Ages. Terence was in fact so popular a writer in the dark period that the gentle nun Hrotsvitha of the convent of Gandersheim thought that something ought to be done about it. She had written certain works of a saintly and epic caste, which proved not so popular among her mates as the dubious plays of Terence. She therefore sought to replace these with six *comoediae Terentianae* of her own composition. This title somewhat resembles the term Holy Roman Empire as interpreted by Voltaire; the plays in general suggest neither comedy nor Terence. Still, there is among them one comic scene, that leads me to suspect that the good nun's indignation was flavored with a wee bit of jealousy, and a wee bit of hope that she might beat the evil one at his own game.

I am not going to amass all the available evidence that man was an *animal risus capax* in the Middle Ages. We shall find plenty to cheer us if we will but look, and shall understand why Dante, at the end of his treatise on Monarchy, could recognize the existence of a *mortalis felicitas*, of which the Empire is somehow the symbol, as well as that *immortalis felicitas*, typified by the Church. Why, mediaeval men and women could even go to divine service gaily! In an

ideal plan of the monastery at St Gall, drawn about 820 A.D., showing a much more sumptuous establishment than monasteries are popularly supposed to be, the various parts of the monastic estate are labelled with neat Latin verses, describing their attractions. The path leading to the western portal of the Church bears the words:

Omnibus ad sanctum turbis patet huc via templum
Quo sua vota ferant, unde hilares redeant.

‘Churchward the faithful throng
Here wend their way along,
Their pious vows to pay
And go back blithe and gay.’

But now, what of our other text, the *Battle of the Lily and the Rose*? No doubt about the joyousness of that piece. Here speaks pastoral delight, the delight in spring and the fresh earth, also the scholar’s delight, as you would see if I read the Latin verses, in dignifying his own poetry with reminiscences of the Pagan writers of ancient Rome. The voice is the voice of a humanist of the Renaissance, but — the hand is the hand of Sedulius Scottus, who wrote in one of the gloomiest times of the gloomy age, the last half of the ninth century. Let the critic make of this fable what he will.

We all of us, I suppose, have passed through certain stages in our appreciation of the past. We begin with an appreciation of ourselves, of our own age. As the wise Arabian remarked, — and his remark is recorded for us by a mediaeval writer, — there are three things in which a man takes unfeigned delight, his own voice, his own poems, and his own son. Consequently, we like our own times, and agree with Molière’s heroine that “*les anciens, messieurs, sont les anciens, et nous sommes les gens de maintenant!*” — a sentiment which, curiously, is borrowed from one of the ancients, yet a rather modern ancient, the poet Ovid.

But next, as we live into writers or ages of the past, we wake up to their modernity. We discover that the idea of woman suffrage has been broached before our era, and we exclaim, “How modern is Aristophanes!” An ancient poet, in unforgettable verses, sings of a smiling child, and we find Homer modern. We therefore commend

Homer and Aristophanes for their sudden acquisition of virtue. Their light has been obscured by misunderstandings, and we are the prophets to hold it before the public that has not known. We become patrons of antiquity. Lastly, as we enlarge our acquaintance with the writers of old, we see in them here and there a keenness of thought and a perfection of form that surpass what is done to-day. At that moment, our point of view is once for all reversed. Instead of congratulating the ancients on their modernity, we congratulate ourselves on the widening power of our historical imagination. We swing from a position in a Ptolemaic and ego-centric astronomy to our proper function of revolving about the sun. The heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time falls in with the rear rank, when he looks at human achievement not from the present moment, but from a point of view admittedly mediaeval, *sub specie aeternitatis*. In brief, he has grown from childhood into man's estate, and has become a citizen of the universe. I cannot refrain from quoting Professor Kittredge in his golden little book on Chaucer — although you doubtless have learned the passage by heart:

There is no great harm in the air of patronage with which our times, in their self-satisfied enlightenment, address the great who were of old; but we do use droll adjectives! If these great ancients show the simplicity of perfect art, we call them *naïf*, particularly when their irony eludes us; if they tickle our fancy, they are *quaint*; if we find them altogether satisfactory, both in form and substance, we adorn them with the epithet *modern*, which we somehow think is a superlative of eminence. *Naïf*, *quaint*, *modern*, — a singular vocabulary! . . . For it is we that are naïf; quaintness is incompatible with art; and as for modernity, what we mistake for that, is the everlasting truth, the enduring quality that consists in conformity to changeless human nature. "The ancients," said a wise man, "never understood that they were ancients."

I have referred to Ovid as one of those ancients who were not aware of their antiquity. Ovid's contemporaries, Horace and Virgil, were also of that number. Now the Middle Ages were not more aware that they were "middle" than the Augustan Age thought itself ancient. When the word "modern," *modernus*, was coined, — it was on the eve of the Middle Ages, — people thought it applied to their own day and generation. It is peculiarly discourteous on our

part to crib the term from its inventors and relegate them — not to antiquity, too dignified an epoch for them, but to a chronological and spiritual mediocrity. For all that, they were modern, owing, for one reason, to what seems to present-day critics their childish sense of history. For history was something plastic to the mediaeval imagination. The mind of man cannot be fixed at all points, and at some points it demands fixity. To-day, we are not fixed in theology, which to the mediaeval mind was the most important consideration of all, the top-most science from which all the other sciences flowed. We are fixed, or think we are fixed, in history. The historical spirit, the sense of evolving causes, is our guide; we make past ages know their place. Our feeling for art, by becoming historical, has, we assert, been vastly refined. Take the Venus of Melos. Once we enjoyed it for its absolute beauty; there was no cloud of suspicion that it might be other than beautiful. But nowadays French and German archaeologists dispute the date of the statue. The French in general claim it for the early fourth century B.C.; some Germans hold that it is a product of the Hellenistic age. The dreadful triumph of the latter will be, if they prove their case, that we cannot worship this Venus as much as we should like to, because she is not of the best period. Far be it from me to deride the historical spirit, which has taught us many things; but oh how it has interfered with the blissfulness of our ignorance!

Now the Middle Ages were interested in history, but rather in the full sweep of events than in isolated details. The typical historian wrote his *magnum opus*, not on land-tenure under the Merovingian kings, but on the human chronicle from Adam to his own generation. Vincent of Beauvais was such an historian. He made what he fittingly called *Speculum Historiale*, a “mirror of history” — a precursor of that magazine which is the official organ of our ACADEMY. If one wished to see history, one could find its clear and simple reflection in the mirror. Nowadays, we sometimes see through a magnifying glass, darkly and scientifically, not crudely and clearly, in a mirror. For us, history is fixed; we are trying minutely to observe it. For the mediaeval scholar, history is plastic; he refashions it to suit the needs of his day. An eminent Italian

authority says, of what he calls the chaotic works of Vincent and his tribe, that "they all speak of Caesar, of Arthur, of Tristan, of Alexander, of Aristotle, of Saladin, of Charlemagne, of Merlin without any sort of distinction and with equal gravity." I like better the way that Professor Lowes puts it in *Convention and Revolt*. "Anachronism," he says, "was blithely accepted, and elevated to a virtue; — the translation into the contemporary is complete." Anachronisms committed "with gravity" betray a lack of humor, a leaden uniformity, and a dense ignorance of the past; but "blithely accepted" they become synchronisms; that is conscious art, and from Homer down one of the signs that poetic imagination is not confined to time or space.

On a tapestry in the Château of Langeais near Tours, four mounted knights are pictured — Samson, David, Julius Caesar, and Godfrey of Bouillon. They are armed *cap-à-pie*, all in the same style. "How quaint!" observes the visitor. He ought to say "How modern!" Instead of confining Samson, David and Caesar to their proper epochs, the mediaeval artist invited them to cross the centuries and join the troupe of Godfrey of Bouillon. When we see the face of an Italian peasant woman sanctified as the Madonna in a painting of Raphael, we comment not on the glaring anachronism, but on the magical art. A work nearer to our times that hangs in certain households is Hoffman's painting of the boy Christ among the doctors in the temple. An observer to-day would call it delightfully modern, or vulgarly modern, according to his liking for the picture. A century hence, if it survives, it will neither offend foe nor enrapture friend; like the startling novelties of all the ages, it will have passed into the realm of the quaint.

There is another sort of moulding of the mass of history in which the Middle Ages were engaged. Ancients of renown were made over into other-world, as well as this-world characters. They became the heroes of fairy-stories and romances; they lived in regions of magic and themselves were masters of the art. Virgil and Alexander would not recognize their reflections in the mediaeval mirror. Now some of these marvellous tales eventually acquired the sanction of history, just as the legendary exploits of the early kings of Rome were bed-

rock fact for many a reader in the Augustan Age, and are, for us, in this larger aspect, a part of Roman history. Vincent of Beauvais turns his mirror on the life of Virgil. He gives a creditable account of his poems, and even argues like a higher critic to-day that the *Culex* and the *Aetna* must be spurious, some of his scientific ardor — and this too is a modern trait — being prompted by the desire to down the rival school of Orleans, which, like some benighted modern scholars, accepted the minor poems as Virgil's. But Vincent also records among the facts of the poet's life, the fables of his magical powers, his ability to make a bronze fly that freed Naples from the plague of actual flies, or to invent a marvellous block that kept butcher's meat fresh for six weeks, a miracle long since eclipsed by the art of our modern butchers. Such anecdotes by Vincent's time had acquired standing. To their discoverers or inventors, however, they must have made precisely the appeal that a fairy story of Grimm makes to a mature imagination to-day. There was the fascination of the quaint; there was also the ability in the mediaeval mind to distinguish *Dichtung* and *Wahrheit*, or the awareness that the two had fused, as Livy said of the very beginnings of Roman history, in an indistinguishable mass.

This attempt to accredit the mediaeval mind with the rudiments of a critical sense, or a common sense, may seem so startling that I will support it by a corollary. If writers and artists of the Middle Ages were deliberately, not ignorantly, anachronistic in pulling up antiquity into their own entourage, they should be able to reverse this process, to provide current material with an ancient setting. And this they did, deliberately, effecting a sort of historical novel by a method less subtle than those by which Sir Walter Scott and Walter Pater wrote themselves into the past, yet one of essentially the same kind. Had I time to elaborate this point, I could show that an Arabian or Hindoo subject, similar to the plot of the "Thousand and One Nights," was given a new scene, laid in the Augustan Age, with Virgil prominent among the *dramatis personae*, and that the career of Judas Iscariot, an unpleasant theme in itself and still more unpleasant in the popular tradition of the Middle Ages, was retold with Classical colorings by some humanist of the twelfth century.

Such an undertaking, however crudely carried out, is conscious art; it is the transcendence, not the obliviousness, of historical distinctions.

In any case, history was plastic in the Middle Ages; the mind was its own time. Philology was also plastic, and far from uniform. It had a larger flavoring of imagination than philology to-day. In the eighth and ninth centuries, when mediaeval scholarship began, it usually was displayed in a commentary on some ancient author. For to scholars of that time the association of author and commentator was indissoluble. In the ancient books, texts of the former wore embroideries of the latter. Virgil and Horace stalked into that period with Servius and Donatus, Acron and Porphyro respectfully carrying their trains. 'Love me, love my commentator,' the ancients seemed to say. This interdependence of text and gloss had a curious influence on the literature of the day. Contemporary poets thought it proper that their own works should be expounded, in the good old style, and if no one else thus honored them, they would write the comment themselves. It therefore became natural to compose something that needed a gloss, something where more is meant than meets the eye. There appeared a new purpose for allegory; for he can best explain a mystery who invents it. The device of auto-exegesis thus found a fertile soil for development. When Dante, in the *Vita Nuova*, interprets his own sonnets, he is but continuing a practice which started as early as the ninth century, and is amply illustrated in poetry after his time, reaching an awful zenith in the preface to Wordsworth's *Excursion*. I would suggest, incidentally, that in the present age where the art of self-advertising is no detriment to a career, there may still be a place for auto-exegesis. If some writers of free verse would accompany their productions with glosses in plain prose — or perhaps in plain poetry — one might better appreciate the daring of their art.

But to come more particularly to the plastic philology of the Middle Ages, if it so happened that a great writer like Terence appeared with no embroidery of glosses, some gallant savant, generally an Irishman, sprang into the breach, and prepared a comment for him. He gathered his information from the ancient authors, from

commentators like Servius, and, failing these sources, from his own imagination. The first commentary on Terence in the early ninth century was composed in this fashion; for Eugraphius and Donatus had not yet made their way across the Alps. The author, who deserves something more than the title of Anonymus, found plenty of puzzles to solve. For instance, the introductory notice of the *Eunuchus* states that the music was written for right-hand pipes by Flaccus the slave of Claudius — *modos fecit Flaccus Claudii tibiis duabus dextris*. The commentator, not understanding that *Claudi* was a proper name, and thinking that it formed one word with the *tibiis* — *clauditibiis* — concocted the following:

Claudi tibiis duabus dextris) quasi tympanum, genus musicum, dictum eo quod unam altera breviorē habeat fistulam ad similitudinē claudi. Dextris dicit eo, quod tibiae avium, gruū uidelicet et ceterarum, dextrae aptiores loco fistularum habentur et meliores.

‘A tympanum, a kind of musical instrument, so called because it has one reed shorter than another in the fashion of a lame man. And he calls it a “right” pipe, because the right shin-bone of birds, viz. of cranes, etc. are held to be more suitable for pipes, and better.’

I will cite but one other specimen of plastic philology. Boethius, in his *Consolation of Philosophy*, happens to mention Alcibiades as a type of beauty; not much more information than that may be gathered from the text. Some scholar of the early Middle Ages calmly defines the unknown person as *femina quaedam pulcherrima*, thereby starting Alcibiades on an entirely new and posthumous career. John the Scot in the ninth century knew, I believe, and did not contradict this note. It appears in the commentary on the *Consolation* attributed to St Thomas Aquinas, and is apparently responsible for “Archipiatre,” one of the beauties chronicled by Villon in his *Ballade des Dames du Temps Jadis*.

There is a certain lure in plastic philology. How much time would a scholar gain to-day — and how much more education — if instead of looking up the “literature” of his subject and delving in the scholiasts of old (who sometimes rival their mediaeval brethren in plasticity of information), he could extend his reading in the authors themselves and apply to his problems the imagination that God had

given him? And our students — instead of learning dull facts from lexicons, why might they not contrive fresh lies for themselves? They do it anyway. Not long ago, I asked my Freshmen to comment on that ode of Horace in which he speaks of some stray cask that, bottled in the days of the Marsian war, managed to escape the prowling Spartacus. Among other things I learned from them that the Marsi were a wild tribe of Hibernia whom Augustus had just subdued and that the Spartacan wine is vinted in a small place in Southern Italy. Seeing that we cannot eradicate this sort of thing, why might we not, in mediaeval fashion, legitimize it? Perhaps if imaginative lies were prescribed for them, our students might deviate into fact.

It were easy, in like fashion, to illustrate the plasticity, the anything-but-uniformity in mediaeval forms of verse, mediaeval science and mediaeval geography. In conclusion, I would remark that even mediaeval theology has its plastic elements. Not that the goal was shifting — the conviction that the existence of ultimate theological truth made the quest of the seeker real, and inspired his great attempt. But the ultimate and revealed truth of theology was one thing, and the human solution of the seeker another. His quest was permanent and not static. One gets curious notions sometimes about the philosophy of the Schoolmen, particularly from those who have not read a *tractatulus* of their writings and who characterize the main object of scholastic thought as the calculation of the number of angels who could stand on the point of a pin — a *quaestio subtilis*, I venture to think, that can nowhere be found in the works of St Thomas Aquinas or his confederates.

I once heard a lecturer declare that the Middle Ages represented a parenthesis in the history of human thought. Well, sometimes the parenthesis, like the postscript of a fair lady's letter, contains the gist of the matter. Freedom of thought was not repressed in the Middle Ages. It was fostered by the allegorical method of interpretation, whereby the philosopher could connect his private theory with established truth. "This, too, is what I mean," he could say in the phrase of Mephistopheles, ". . . nur mit ein Bischen anderen Worten." He was aware, likewise, that his instrument was human and fallible.

He did not desire to be heretical, any more than a scholar to-day desires to be unscientific. He did his best, in his own way, with difficult problems, and if the result was not approved by authority, he retracted his solution or took his medicine, sometimes with a wry cast of countenance.

Abelard, in the twelfth century, did not relish his perfectly proper condemnation at the Council of Soissons. In all of his theological writings, Abelard had been utterly free. He wrote a little work entitled *Sic et Non* — “*Yes and No*” — in which he had collected the very divergent views of the Fathers on a number of theological topics. In the charming preface to that work, he recalls that the boy Christ had not laid down the law to the doctors in the temple, but had asked and answered questions. “*Ask and it shall be given you; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you.*” There is a growth of mediaeval thinking; read deWulf. There are diverse schools of mighty thinkers, from John the Scot to St Thomas Aquinas.

I hope that these scattering remarks may help our friends without to modify their idea of the Middle Ages as a stretch of gloom and rigid uniformity. Call them dark, if you will; for the brightest light save One that has ever shone on earth, the light of Greek letters, had gone out. Call them middle; for there is no doubt that they intervened between antiquity and modern times. Call them quaint; for they have the glamor of another and a distant age. But it is particularly our task, as the charter members of this new ACADEMY, to open pleasant vistas to the Middle Ages, that the gloom of our modernists may be tempered and the uniformity of their preconceptions relieved. Naturally the Middle Ages are dark to those who cannot see. As Martial observed to a contemporary pessimist:

Non nostri faciunt tibi quod tua tempora sordent,
Sed faciunt mores Caeciliane tui.

‘You see our age arrayed in gloomy guise
Because you see it with your gloomy eyes.’

It is for us, then, to present the neighbors at our door with a tract for the times, cheerful in temper and varied in appeal, taken from a long-neglected chapter in the history of humanity.

LE LECTIONNAIRE DE SAINT-PÈRE¹

PAR DOM ANDRÉ WILMART, O.S.B.

LE MANUSCRIT qui porte de nos jours le numéro 24 dans la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Chartres est un admirable volume de 212 feuillets (290 mm. × 210 mm.). Son écriture, parfaitement régulière, permet de le rapporter sans hésitation au neuvième siècle; bien plus, on ne saurait douter que cette calligraphie, connue par nombre d'autres exemplaires semblables, ne soit celle de l'école de Tours, telle que Léopold Delisle l'a définie le premier, en faisant remarquer l'emploi d'une semionciale particulière et tout à fait caractéristique. La décoration est assez simple; on note seulement sur les premiers feuillets (fol. 2r et 3r) des encadrements géométriques de style carolingien, peints en rouge, jaune, vert, et violet, et deux grandes lettres ornées (fol. 2v et 4r). Le volume vient de l'ancienne abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée, sise à Chartres même; vraisemblablement, il a toujours appartenu à ce monastère, après sa composition. Le texte nous offre, comme l'indique une préface plusieurs fois imprimée, un *Liber Comitis* ou lectionnaire plénier destiné à la liturgie de la messe, auquel une tradition sans valeur rattache le nom de saint Jérôme.

Tel est, rapidement décrit, le précieux manuscrit, dont un juge excellent, Samuel Berger, a pu dire:² "De tous les manuscrits du Lectionnaire de Charlemagne . . . le plus remarquable sans doute est celui de Chartres . . ." et au sujet duquel j'aurais à présenter plusieurs observations qui intéressent la liturgie, un peu l'histoire, et surtout la paléographie.

I. La première observation est relative à la nature du recueil et, par suite, à son identité littéraire. Une indication équivoque de Jean Mabillon, mal entendue plus tard à Saint-Père, a fait croire à

¹ Que ce mémoire, offert à l'Académie des Sciences et Belles-Lettres et déjà publié en partie dans les *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1925*, pp. 290-298, a pu paraître ici en entier est dû à la permission si aimablement accordée du Professeur Cagnat, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie. Ed.

² *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris (1893), p. 188.

Samuel Berger que le manuscrit conservé à Chartres était conforme au lectionnaire d'Alcuin; de ce prétendu fait, l'historien de la Vulgate a voulu tirer quelques conclusions touchant l'activité littéraire du moine anglo-saxon passé au service du monarque réformateur.¹

Mabillon rappelle en effet confusément, dans les *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*,² qu'Alcuin avait corrigé sur l'ordre de Charlemagne le *Comes* ou lectionnaire plénier qui porte le nom de saint Jérôme, et qu'un exemplaire de cette édition subsistait dans la bibliothèque de Chartres. Il rapporte ensuite une notice qui se trouvait dans le dit exemplaire *post medium*, mentionnant l'entreprise concertée de Charlemagne et d'Alcuin pour mettre le recueil des leçons liturgiques d'accord avec le sacramentaire de saint Grégoire.

Ce passage des *Annales* attira sans doute au dix-huitième siècle l'attention d'un bibliothécaire de Saint-Père, lequel, ne songeant qu'à son magnifique volume carolingien, s'imagina que la référence de Mabillon ne pouvait convenir à aucun autre manuscrit. Or le texte cité ne s'y trouvait point, ni à l'endroit indiqué ni ailleurs. Que penser? L'aveugle et zélé bibliothécaire, poursuivant son idée, supposa que la pièce à conviction avait disparu par la faute de ses prédécesseurs lorsqu'on avait donné une nouvelle reliure au recueil. De quoi, il dressa un acte qui se lit encore à la première page. Le rédacteur du catalogue moderne ne put que reproduire la substance de cette plainte; et, de même, Samuel Berger indiqua de bonne foi que le manuscrit était mutilé.

Il y a derrière tout ceci une simple confusion, dont Mabillon est bien un peu l'auteur, et qui s'aggrava dans la suite.

Le manuscrit de Saint-Père ne s'identifie point avec le manuscrit de Chartres que Mabillon avait en vue et d'où il a tiré la notice relative à la correction d'Alcuin. Celui-ci appartenait à la Cathédrale de Chartres. Il avait été publié, du moins pour ses parties essentielles, en 1691 par le liturgiste romain Tommasi, plus tard cardinal.³ Il subsiste par bonheur. On y reconnaît sans la moindre difficulté le

¹ *Histoire de la Vulgate, etc.*, pp. 184 suiv.

² II (Lucca, 1739), 305 (*ad ann.* 797).

³ *Antiqui Libri Missarum Romanae Ecclesiae* . . . Rome, pp. 1-26 (2^e partie); autre édition dans les *Opera omnia* du cardinal Giuseppe Maria Tommasi, (Rome 1747-54), V, 297-318.



Photo. Yves Delaporte

MANUSCRIT DE CHARTRES No. 24 (32), fol. 2r

(290 mm. × 210-220 mm.)

Noter la signature du copiste dans les segments et dans les angles de l'encadrement
(lire de gauche à droite): AVDRADVS

THE JOURNAL
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témoin allégué plus ou moins clairement par Mabillon, en tout cas le véritable exemplaire du *Comes* d'Alcuin. Car ce *Comes* ne comprenait que les leçons dites 'épîtres' à l'exclusion des 'évangiles.' Le tort de Mabillon est d'avoir parlé de ce lectionnaire authentique comme s'il était formé d'épîtres et d'évangiles, selon le modèle du *Comes* appelé hiéronymien. En ce sens, le bibliothécaire de Saint-Père était excusable de reconnaître dans son manuscrit les traits marqués par Mabillon, bien que la notice déclarant l'origine de la collection fût absente. Cette notice fait défaut, parce qu'elle concerne une autre espèce, et, de fait, on peut s'assurer que le manuscrit de Saint-Père ne porte aucune trace de mutilation. Au contraire, l'actuel manuscrit *lat. 9452* de la Bibliothèque Nationale provient bien de Notre-Dame de Chartres — 'la bibliothèque de Chartres,' rappelée par Mabillon. Il remonte au neuvième siècle et sans doute à la première moitié (820 au plus tôt); il ne contient que les épîtres, et il porte à sa place, *post medium* (fol. 126r), la fameuse notice révélatrice.

En résumé, le manuscrit de Chartres *No. 24* ne doit pas être confondu avec le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale *lat. 9452*.¹ Ils remontent tous deux au neuvième siècle; mais ils n'ont pas la même origine et correspondent à des types différents. L'un est un *Comes* double, l'autre est un simple épistolier; ce dernier seul représente l'édition d'Alcuin, complétée en 816 par Héliaschar, le chancelier de Louis le Pieux. Je ne saurais mieux les définir parallèlement qu'en citant le catalogue de Saint-Riquier rédigé en 831 et conservé par Hariulf;² car on trouve sur cette liste les deux espèces, et l'on peut voir en même temps quel fut leur succès respectif dans le monastère même d'Héliaschar, abbé de Saint-Riquier depuis 822:

. . . *Lectionarii epistolarum et euangeliorum mixtim et ordinate compositi: V.*

. . . *Lectionarius plenarius a supradicto Albino ordinatus: I.*

II. Ma deuxième remarque porte sur le nom du copiste auquel nous devons le manuscrit de Saint-Père.

¹ Je dois dire ici que le premier, D. G. Morin, a indiqué cette confusion; voir *Revue Bénédictine*, X (1893), 437.

² *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, ed. F. Lot (Paris, 1894), p. 93.

Personne, je crois, n'a encore noté que le précieux ouvrage a été signé par son auteur.¹ Dans l'un des encadrements géométriques qui ornent les premiers feuillets, on lit, de gauche à droite, disposées à l'intérieur des segments que forment en se coupant un cercle et un carré, des lettres capitales, toutes menues, qui composent le nom suivant:

A V D R . A D V . S

La décoration du volume étant réduite pour le reste à fort peu de chose, ce nom ne peut être que celui du copiste, et les ornements des premiers feuillets seront aussi son œuvre.

Le rédacteur du manuscrit de Chartres *No. 24* s'appelait donc *Audradus*. Ce nom d'origine germanique, sans être rare,² n'est pas non plus très commun. A l'époque carolingienne, par exemple, les synodes ne l'offrent jamais, et pas davantage durant les siècles précédents; nous serions fort embarrassés, cependant, pour découvrir le personnage réel auquel il appartient dans la circonstance, si l'écriture du lectionnaire n'était par bonheur un indice de provenance indubitable.

J'ai déjà rappelé que le style graphique est, au jugement des gens du métier, celui qui fut créé à Tours vers le commencement du neuvième siècle, peut-être avant la mort d'Alcuin (804), et dont les plus parfaits produits se placent au commencement du règne de Charles le Chauve, entre les années 840 et 850; telle la fameuse Bible dite de Charles le Chauve ou du comte Vivien (notre manuscrit *No. 1* du fonds latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale), tels encore les Évangiles dits de Lothaire (*No. 266* du même fonds).

Or, un document du plus haut prix, qui a déjà rendu d'innombrables services aux historiens, nous fait connaître la communauté de Saint-Martin de Tours — *Fratres de Turonis* — au temps de l'abbé Frédugise, disciple et second successeur (807-834) d'Alcuin.³ Sur cette liste de 219 noms, on trouve en effet un *Audradus*, qui est le 54^e du rôle. On ne peut donc raisonnablement douter que cet

¹ J'ai à remercier spécialement M. l'Abbé Yves Delaporte, archiviste du diocèse de Chartres, qui a bien voulu appeler mon attention sur ce détail et, en outre, m'a mis en mains plusieurs photographies du manuscrit, dont cinq se trouvent reproduites ici.

² Cf. E. Förstemann, *Alteutsches Namenbuch*, I (1900), 99 suiv.: *Audorat*, *Audrada* (racine *Auda*).

³ *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis*, éd. P. Piper (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, 1884), 14, 235.



Photo. Yves Delaporte

MANUSCRIT DE CHARTRES No. 24 (32), fol. 2v

(290 mm. × 210-220 mm.)

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Audradus, religieux (ou chanoine) de Saint-Martin pendant le gouvernement de Frédugise, en soit le même Audradus qui a transcrit les leçons du recueil de Saint-Père, selon les procédés usités à Tours durant cette période.

Récemment, le Professeur E. K. Rand de Harvard, a montré par des arguments extrêmement ingénieux, et non moins sérieux, que la nomenclature des *Fratres de Turonis* avait dû être fixée vers les années 818-820, et qu'elle représentait, en toute vraisemblance, l'ordre de la communauté à cette date, autrement dit la séniorité.¹ Audradus, mentionné cinquante-quatrième, comptait donc parmi les anciens du monastère et devait avoir atteint déjà la maturité en 820. Selon les calculs de M. Rand, les sept copistes tourangeaux — pareillement identifiés — du célèbre manuscrit de Tite-Live (*Reginensis* 762), pouvaient avoir vers 820 de cinquante à soixante ans, comme ils se classent tous entre le no. 42 et le no. 77. Il faut tenir compte, nécessairement, d'une certaine marge. Tous les frères n'avaient pas le même âge, lors de leur entrée à Saint-Martin. Quelques-uns avaient pu être agrégés, étant encore fort jeunes; d'autres, plus âgés; et par conséquent, les plus jeunes pouvaient devancer leurs aînés sur la liste. Quoi qu'il en soit, il paraît sage d'admettre qu'en 820, si telle est la date du rôle adressé à Saint-Gall, Audradus avait au moins une quarantaine d'années.

Ceci, d'ailleurs, n'est pas en rapport immédiat avec la date même du lectionnaire. Avant de discuter de quelque manière cette date, il est opportun de faire plus ample connaissance avec Audradus. Ce sera l'objet d'une nouvelle remarque.

III. Des fragments nous sont parvenus d'un curieux ouvrage du neuvième siècle, formé, dans son état premier, de poèmes et de morceaux en prose — treize au total — dont l'ordre authentique n'a pu être établi d'une manière sûre que vers la fin du siècle dernier, grâce à un manuscrit de Cava.² Cette collection porte, dans l'histoire littéraire, le nom d'*Audradus Modicus*, chorévêque de Sens.

¹ E. K. Rand et G. Howe, "The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, I (1917), 25-34.

² Cf. L. Traube, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, III, i (1886), 67-121; ii (1896), 739-745; et le même dans sa dissertation "O Roma nobilis. IX. Audradus Modicus" dans les *Abhandl. d. kgl. bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Kl., XIX (1891), 374-91.

Modicus est un sobriquet qui peut s'entendre de plusieurs façons, mais aucun des manuscrits de la susdite collection ne l'atteste. Il figure seulement dans un titre factice, en tête de l'édition que nous devons à André Duchesne (1636) des extraits en prose du douzième livre, ou *Révélations*.¹ Duchesne tenait son texte de Sirmond. Cet exemplaire a depuis lors disparu complètement, et fort malencontreusement. Avec quelques citations recueillies par Aubri des Trois-Fontaines en la première moitié du treizième siècle,² les extraits de Duchesne sont tout ce qui reste de ces *Révélations* singulières, sorte d'autobiographie apocalyptique, beaucoup plus intéressante pour l'historien que les parties en vers, mieux conservées. Aubri appelle son témoin 'Audradus' tout uniment. Audradus lui-même, dans la dédicace qu'il fit de son œuvre au pape Léon IV le 29 juin 849, se dénomme, selon la tradition de Cava: *ego Audradus omnium seruorum dei minimus*.³ Cette formule ou d'autres analogues ont pu donner lieu à l'interprétation "*Modicus*." Mais il reste que le nom véritable du personnage était "*Audradus*," sans addition. J'ajoute tout de suite qu'en dehors de son livre, et bien qu'il ait joué quelque rôle sur la scène politique au début du règne de Charles le Chauve, notamment dans plusieurs synodes, aucune mention n'est faite de lui nulle part, si ce n'est dans deux ou trois lignes de la Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif au douzième siècle. Et là encore, il est désigné de la manière la plus simple: ⁴ "*In illis diebus erat Otradus huius urbis corepiscopus, uir honestus et per cuncta laudabilis. . .*"

Les *Révélations* paraissent avoir été rédigées à deux reprises, puisqu'elles faisaient déjà partie du livre porté à Rome en 849, et que les extraits qui nous ont été transmis s'étendent jusqu'à l'année 853.⁵ Ces extraits nous permettent de suivre la carrière d'Audradus

¹ *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, II, 390-393; d'où Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, VII (1749), 289-293, et Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXV (1881), 23-30.

² *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, dans les *Mon. Germ. Hist., Script.*, XXIII (1874), 733-736.

³ *Mon. Germ. Hist., P.L.A.C.*, III, ii, 740.

⁴ *Chronicon sancti Petri Viri Senorensis auct. Clario*, éd. L. M. Duru, *Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne*, II (1863), 473.

⁵ Pour tout ceci, voir L. Traube, "*O Roma nobilis*," *cit. supra*, où tous les fragments sont classés et réédits, pp. 378 suiv. ("*Die Fragmenta des Liber reuelationum*").



MANUSCRIT DE CHARTRES No. 24 (32), fol. 3r
(290 mm. × 210-220 mm.)

Photo. Yves Delaporte

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depuis 840. Le point central est sa consécration comme chorévêque de Sens (847). L'archevêque Wenilo, ou Ganelon (837-865), un ancien chapelain de Charles le Chauve, appréciait sans doute les talents et les vertus d'Audradus; probablement aussi désirait-il ses lumières, au milieu des difficultés d'ordre politique qui résultèrent du passage de l'Empire. En novembre 849, les chorévêques furent destitués en masse dans un concile parisien, au sujet duquel on n'a de renseignements que dans les extraits. Audradus n'en continua pas moins à sonner des conseils véhéments sous la forme de visions au parti royal. On est fondé à croire qu'il mourut peu de temps après 853.

Un trait notable des visions d'Audradus est la place qu'y occupe saint Martin, patron de la France. D'autre part, l'un des poèmes (vii^e livre) est tout entier consacré à l'illustre évêque de Tours. En outre, nous remarquons dans le onzième extrait des *Révélations* une violente tirade contre le comte Vivien: "*perfidus et nefandus Vivianus . . . abbatem se glorians monasterii beati Martini et ceterorum*"; la mort de Vivien est prédite; elle arriva en effet en 851, dans la défaite que Charles le Chauve subit en Bretagne. Enfin, le dernier extrait, selon l'ordre chronologique (853), nous apprend que, le roi ayant manqué à sa promesse de ne pas nommer un abbé laïque à Saint-Martin de Tours et, de plus, ayant fait évêque de Chartres un certain diacre Burchard auquel Audradus s'opposait, les normands arrivèrent de nouveau par la Loire, porteurs des châtiments divins; qu'ils incendièrent le monastère de Saint-Martin et la basilique, et que les clercs durent emporter les saintes reliques à Cormery.

Les fragments de Cava ont donné la clef de ces différents détails, eu nous révélant qu'Audradus, avant de devenir chorévêque de Sens, était un membre de la communauté de Saint-Martin de Tours. L'auteur déclare lui-même sa qualité dans un hexamètre de la préface médiocrement élégant: ¹

De grege Martini magni ecclesiae Turonensis.

Dès lors, le cercle des identifications est clos: le copiste du lectionnaire de Chartres, le *frater de Turonis* mentionné vers 820 sur

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist., P.L.A.C., III, ii, 741.*

la liste de Saint-Gall, l'exalté chorévêque de Sens, mort à Nevers vers 853, sont sûrement un seul et même personnage.

Reste à tirer les conséquences de ce fait particulier pour l'histoire de l'écriture carolingienne.

IV. J'indique tout d'abord qu'Audradus avait vraisemblablement des relations avec l'église de Chartres, pour montrer tant d'animosité envers Burchard, l'évêque nommé de 853. Le prédécesseur de ce Burchard s'appelait Helias (845-853). Il se fit donner par Charles le Chauve l'abbaye de Saint-Père.¹ Parmi les *fratres de Turonis* énumérés en 820, il y a aussi un *Helias*, un peu plus jeune qu'Audradus, puisqu'il porte le numéro 98. Si nous étions sûrs que ce clerc de Tours reçut le siège de Chartres en 845, nous aurions peut-être là un moyen d'expliquer la présence à Saint-Père du *Comes* copié par Audradus. Je n'insiste pas sur cette conjecture, et j'en viens à la question paléographique, considérablement plus délicate.

Les origines et les premiers développements de la calligraphie carolingienne sont un sujet rempli d'obscurité. On a renoncé décidément à donner pour auteur à ce style soit Charlemagne soit Alcuin. Un type d'écriture déjà bien proche de la perfection est celui dont on constate l'existence à Corbie au temps de l'abbé Maurdrampus (772-780).² Mais quelles influences s'exercèrent alors à Corbie? Quels modèles Maurdrampus proposa-t-il à ses moines? Puis, dans quelle mesure ces essais, en se répandant, créèrent-ils une mode? N'y eut-il pas ailleurs, plus au nord et plus au sud, des efforts semblables, qui déterminèrent le triomphe de la réforme? Nous ne pouvons répondre, en l'état des recherches, que par des hypothèses encore incertaines, plus ou moins plausibles. Chaque *scriptorium* carolingien, depuis Saint-Vaast et Saint-Amand jusqu'à Saint-Jean de Lyon et Saint-Martial de Limoges, devra faire l'objet d'études attentives, conduites par des spécialistes. L'École de Tours est sans doute le milieu graphique le plus riche qui s'offre à l'examen. Et pourtant, l'on n'a pas réussi jusqu'à présent à classer la plupart des

¹ Cf. B. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, I (1840), 9 suiv.

² Cf. Ph. Lauer, "La réforme carolingienne de l'écriture latine et l'école calligraphique de Corbie," *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XIII (1924), 417 suiv.

INSCRIPTURIS
SCIS DE FILIO SUO
QUI FACTUS EST ET
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DESTINATUS EST
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Xristi Domini NOSTRI
PER QUEM ACCe
PerIMUS GRatiAM
ET APOSTOLicAM
AD OBEDIENDum

Photo. Yves Delaporte

MANUSCRIT DE CHARTRES No. 24 (32), fol. 4r
(290 mm. × 210-220 mm.)

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manuscris qui en proviennent, faute de points de repère chronologiques. MM. Rand et Howe ont fait naguère de suggestives remarques, dans une monographie qui est un modèle du genre,¹ à propos du *Reginensis* 762. Le *Comes* ou lectionnaire de Chartres ne suffit pas à éclairer tout le sujet; mais il a le mérite, étant désormais rapporté à un personnage connu, de fournir des indications assez précises et, par suite, de permettre d'utiles rapprochements.

L'écriture du lectionnaire représente, sous toutes ses formes — grande capitale, semionciale, minuscule courante — le style nettement défini de Tours. Elle est l'expression déjà parfaite de ce style: aussi parfaite que l'écriture des bibles de Bamberg, de Berne, et de Zurich, qui sont des bibles alcuiniennes typiques; un peu moins parfaite seulement que l'écriture des magnifiques volumes dûs à Adalbaldu depuis l'année 834 environ. Pour se convaincre de ce double fait, on n'a qu'à jeter un coup d'œil sur les facsimilés de ces célèbres ouvrages, après avoir regardé le manuscrit de Chartres.

Or Audradus, en 820, appartient au groupe des plus anciens frères de la communauté martinienne. Lorsque Wenilo le choisit comme auxiliaire en 847, il devait avoir dépassé notablement la soixantaine. Pour dater strictement son manuscrit, nous n'avons aucun indice direct avant 847. Mais il convient de faire observer que ce travail, d'une régularité absolue, ne dénote pas la main d'un vieillard. Il importe bien davantage encore de noter, quelle que soit la date réelle de la transcription, qu'un style de cette espèce, uniforme et impeccable, n'a pas été improvisé. C'est celui-là même qu'Audradus a dû apprendre dès son jeune âge. Car il va de soi qu'un copiste aussi habile n'a pas attendu d'être arrivé à la quarantaine pour apprendre à écrire. Cette conclusion est garantie par l'absence de tout archaïsme, de ces archaïsmes qu'on remarque, par exemple, dans les différentes portions du Tite-Live. Audradus aura donc acquis de très bonne heure les habitudes de l'École de Tours et n'en aura jamais acquis d'autres; il n'a rien eu à désapprendre. Si je ne m'abuse, ceci nous reporte aux environs de l'an 800, c'est à dire, jusqu'au temps même d'Alcuin. Le lectionnaire peut avoir été copié plus ou moins tôt, plus ou moins tard — mais plus vraisem-

¹ *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 40-51.

blement tôt que tard — entre 800 et 830 ou 840; le style duquel il procède et qui représente celui de toute une école remonte à la jeunesse du copiste.

Si l'on admet ce raisonnement qui part des faits, les grandes bibles de Bamberg, de Berne, et de Zurich, ainsi que les autres manuscrits du même type dont le Lectionnaire de Chartres fournit le modèle et la norme, tous ces livres tourangeaux peuvent être ramenés au début du neuvième siècle, tant que rien par ailleurs n'y fait obstacle. En tout cas, le style lui-même, dans son état déjà parfait, coïncide avec ce point de départ.¹

¹ Mais ceci n'empêchera pas que certains copistes de Tours aient pu employer, dans le même temps, un style plus lâche, mêlé d'archaïsmes, comme celui dont le *Reginensis* est le témoin. Je ne vois donc pas qu'il soit nécessaire de placer ce manuscrit, comme le voudraient MM. Rand et Howe, avant la classe du *Bernensis* ou du lectionnaire de Chartres.

FARNBOROUGH,
England.

xxxvi

DOMINICA QUINTA
POST EPIPHANIA
LECT. EPISTOL. BIPAP.
AD COLOSENSES.

FRS. **N**e quis suos decipi
at per philosophi-
am et inanem fallaciā
secundum traditionem ho-
minum. secundum elemen-
ta mundi et non secundū
xpm. quia in ipso inhabi-
tat omnis plenitudo di-
uinitatis corporaliter et
etis in illo repleti. qui ē
caput omnis principatus
et potestatis in quo et cir-
cumcisi etis. Circumcisi

Photo. Yves Delaporte

MANUSCRIT DE CHARTRES No. 24 (32), fol. 22v
(290 mm. × 210-220 mm.)

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August 1911

*LIBER DE COLORIBUS ILLUMINATORUM SIUE
PICTORUM FROM SLOANE MS. NO. 1754*

By DANIEL VARNEY THOMPSON, JR.

THE tract which is here published for the first time *in extenso*, under the title *Liber de Coloribus Illuminatorum siue Pictorum*, occupies fol. 142v–149r in the cyclopaedic *Sloane MS. No. 1754*, in the British Museum.¹

Of the provenance of the manuscript nothing definite is known. The methods described are those of all Europe at the end of the fourteenth century; only in the gilding recipes may we see certain French characteristics, such as the use of *unburnished* leaf-gold as a pigment.²

The specific mention of three French cities, Rouen, Tours, and Paris,³ in the *Liber de Coloribus*, makes it likely that the tract was written in Northern Europe, and probable that it was written in France. Further evidence may be seen in the use of such words as *warancia* and *gorma*; above all, the text is in part closely related to that of the *Liber de Coloribus Faciendis* of Pierre de St Omer (i.e. Petrus de Sancto Audemaro).⁴

The script of the book is pretty surely French. It is written in a good clear hand, with no German characteristics, and obviously dates from the fourteenth century.⁵ Professor Haskins, who has kindly examined the rotograph copy, is of the opinion that it cannot have been written much before the end of the fourteenth century; it is, therefore, one of the latest of the purely mediaeval treatises dealing with the technical art of illumination. It stands in a long line of such manuscripts, beginning, in the Middle Ages, with the *Compositiones ad tingenda musiua, pelles et alia &c.*⁶ and continuing

¹ For an analysis of the contents of this MS., see S. Ayscough, *A Catalogue of the [Sloane MSS] preserved in the British Museum* (2 vols. paged continuously), London, 1782, Index I (following p. 909), sub '1754.' The *Liber de Coloribus* is item No. 22 in the MS. (see *op. cit.*, p. 381). ² See § xvii *infra*. ³ See §§ vi, vii *infra*.

⁴ Printed and translated by Merrifield, *op. cit.*, I, 116 f.

⁵ So Hendrie, *cit. infra*, pp. 55, 99.

⁶ *Bibliotheca capituli canonicorum Lucensium Arm.*, I, Cod. L., ed. L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi*, II, 364–387, Milan, No. 789.

through such diverse works as the *Schedula Diuersarum Artium* of Theophilus (Rugerus),¹ the *Mappae Clauicula*,² the *de Coloribus et Artibus Romanorum* of Heraclius,³ and many others of later date.

For its subject matter the *Liber de Coloribus* is very largely dependent upon these earlier sources, and its greatest interest for the student of the technical manuscripts will perhaps be found to lie in its form rather than in its content; for comparison with the related texts suggests interesting theories about the formation of these extraordinary handbooks. No other extant work in the series shows such complexity of origin as this at such an early date. (The great compilation of Jehan LeBegue was made almost a century later.) The author or, rather, the *editor* of the *Liber de Coloribus* has drawn in some way upon no less than four earlier writers, and perhaps more, for his material. Much of this borrowing undoubtedly took place through intermediate sources which are lost to us; but, however broken the descent, this tract presents to us, in recognizable form, about the year 1400, passages descended from the third book of Heraclius, from the twelfth-century additions to the *Mappae Clauicula*, from the early thirteenth-century *Addenda*⁴ in the Harleian manuscript of Theophilus, themselves almost wholly derived from the *Mappae Clauicula*, and from the treatise of Pierre de St Omer.

¹ Theophilus, *Schedula Diuersarum Artium*, ed. R. Hendrie, *An Essay upon Various Arts . . . by Theophilus . . .*, London, 1847. See Preface, pp. xxvi-vii for an account of the MSS.

² *Archaeologia*, XXXII (1847), 183, "Letter from Sir Th. Phillips . . . addressed to A. Way . . . communicating a transcript of a MS. treatise on the preparation of Pigments, and on various processes of the Decorative Arts practised during the Middle Ages, written in the twelfth century, and entitled *Mappae Clauicula*."

³ In the manuscripts of LeBegue, ed. Mrs Mary Philadelphia Merrifield, *Original treatises, dating from the xiiith to xviith centuries on the arts of painting . . . preceded by a general introduction* (London, 1849), I, 182-257.

⁴ Ed. Hendrie, *op. cit.*, pp. [410] ff.; cf. Preface, pp. xxvi-vii.

[I]

Incipit Liber de Coloribus Illuminatorum siue Pictorum.

Uiride terrestre molendum est cum aqua sicut ceteri colores qui molendi sunt, et postea ponendum est in quolibet cornu; et postquam aqua eius siccata fuerit, ponenda est in eo glarea oui. In eo si ponas auripigmentum, erit uiride croceum. Item si album ponas in eo, erit album uiride.

Uermiculum molendum est cum aqua et in cornu deinde mittendum; et, postquam in cornu positum fuerit, implendum est cornu totum aqua, sicque dimittendum; quousque aqua presit clara, eici. Et postquam eiecta fuerit aqua, poni potest in eo glarea oui; et si(c) de eo inluminari. In eo si misceas album, fiet roseus color.¹ Item si misceas in eo asorium Romanum, erit brunum.

Minium molendum est cum aqua sicut uermiculum, et eiecta aqua de cornu, siccabis, et ita ponenda est glarea oui, et sic ill(um)inatur ex eo. Hoc minium cum nullo colore miscetur nisi cum albo et uermiculo.

Azorium bonum molitur cum aqua, et postea ponitur in cornu argenteo. Talis, enim, nature est ut argentum uelit. Si non habes argenteum, quere stagneum et in illo pone. Postquam autem prorsus siccata uel eiecta fuerit aqua, pones glaream oui, sicque de illo illuminabis. Hoc cauere debes ne glarea diu in azorio moretur, ne forte mutetur. Cum uolueris mixturam facere de eo, poteris miscere in eo album de Apuleya. Item in azorio si ponas indicum Romanum, fiet purpura, fiet nigrum. Item in azorio si ponas brasilium, fiet purpureus color. Item pari mensura si misceas azorium et brasilium et album de Apuleia, fiet faluus color.

Azorium Romanum siue indicum molitur cum aqua sicuti illud de quo iam diximus. In hoc azorio Romano potes miscere album de Apuleya; item in eo potes miscere auripigmentum et erit uiride croceum. Item si ponas brasilium, erit purpureum.

Uiride de Gretia in uase eneo siue electro pone, et superfunde uinum ut uiridescat. Liquorem h(u)ius liquoris in aliud cornu eneo, et in priore cornu de quo liquorem extractisti pones iterum uinum, quo iterum maturato et extracto; tertio pones uinum; sicque cessabis, et de uiride illo tunc operari poteris. Hoc uiride si misceas cum albo² de Apuleya, erit album uiride, ita tamen ut non sit glarea oui in albo sed uinum. Item si ponas in uiride safranum, erit uiride croceum, ita tamen si cum uino safranum distemperatum fuerit. Adde, si uis, album.

Album de Apuleya molendum est cum aqua ut ceteri colores; et sicut iam diximus, misceatur cum azorio solo, et iterum cum azorio et br(a)silio,

¹ roseum colorem, *cod.*

² abbo, *cod.*

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[I]

This is the beginning of a Book on Colors for Illuminators and Painters.

Grind terre-verte with water, as you do the other colors which you have to grind, and then put it into a convenient vessel. And when the water has evaporated, add white of egg.¹ If you mix orpiment with it, it will become a yellow-green; and if you mix white, a pale green.

Vermilion is ground with water, and then put into a vessel; and after it has been placed in the vessel, the vessel is filled up with water, and so put aside. And when the water becomes clear, pour it off. Then, when the water has been poured off, the white of egg may be added; and so use it for illuminating. If you mix it with white, it makes a rose-color; and if you mix it with indigo, it makes brown.

You grind *minium*² with water, like vermillion; and when the water has been poured out of the vessel, you dry the color; and then add white of egg to it, and use it for illuminating. This *minium* must not be mixed with any other color, except with white and vermillion.

Fine azure is ground in water, and then placed in a silver vessel, for it is of such a nature that it desires silver. If you have no silver dish, seek out a tin one, and place it in that. Then when the water has all evaporated or been poured off, add white of egg, and so illuminate with it. You should take care not to leave the white of egg too long in the azure, for it might go bad. When you wish to vary it, you may add Apulian white. Or if you add indigo to the azure, purple will be formed, a dark color. And if you mix azure, brazil,³ and Apulian white in equal proportions, it makes a tawny color.

Roman azure, or indigo, is ground with water like the azure which we have just discussed. You may mix Apulian white with this Roman azure; and if you add orpiment to it, it will make a yellow-green. Or if you add brazil, it will make purple.

Put verdigris in a dish made of bronze or electrum and pour wine upon it, so that the wine may become green. Pour the liquid portion of this mixture into another bronze vessel, and pour wine once more into the first vessel from which you remove the liquid. And when this too has been saturated and removed, add wine a third time. Then you may leave off,

¹ White of egg, i.e. *glair*, prepared from the natural albumen of the egg by beating it, and allowing it to distil over night.

² *Minium* is used throughout this translation for *minium rubeum*, the tetroxide of lead, Pb₃O₄; *minium album* is translated "white lead."

³ A color extracted from Brazil-wood. The spellings are various; see NED. s. v. 'brazil' and this text *passim*.

et iterum cum azorio Romano, necnon et ceteris potest misceri cum uiridi terrestri.¹

Album de ossibus moles sicut ceteros colores, et ideo pictoribus necessarium quod cum auripigmento potest misceri, que mixtura de albo alio fieri non potest.

Lignum brasili accipitur, et cum quodam cultello deque radi in uase, quod postquam totum radendo diminutum fuerit, superfunditur glarea oui, et postquam superfusa fuerit et ceperit maturescere, ponatur i(n) eo alumem iuxta mensuram brasili. Hoc brasilium postquam maturatum fuerit, emittendus est liquor et in quoquilla alia reseruandus; quod postquam completum fuerit, iterum mittenda est glarea, et postquam maturata fuerit, extrahenda. Quod tam diu fiat, quam diu brasilium illud incolorauerit. Hoc etiam distemperator caueat ne brasilium absque alumine² distemperet. Alioquin a percamenno brasilium totum paulatim decidet, sola glarea remanente. Igitur, quociens brasilium suum uoluerit facere clarum rubeum, imponat alumen, sicque optimum erit. In brasilio si misceas album, fiet roseus color. Item cum azorio, fiet purpureus color.

Auripigmentum molendum est cum ingenti labore, quod ut leuius ciciusque expleatur, accipiendum est piperis molendinum, in quo teretur. Quod postquam actum est, ponendum est in marmore et sic deinde cum aqua molendum, et more aliorum colorum qui moliuntur aptandum. In auripigmento potest misceri sicut prediximus azorium Romanum et uiride terrestre et siquid aliud in prefatis mixturis reperiri poterit.

Ocrum si necessarium tibi fuerit in percamenno, moles illud cum aqua diligenter. Quo expleto, pones in eo fortem glarea(m) oui. Hoc scias, quod ocrum non est necessarium nisi pictoribus murorum, excepto hoc, quod cum litteram de auro facere uolueris, prius facies eam de ocro siue de gipso.

Safranum pones in coquilla et superfundes glaream oui, sicque maturescere dimittes et postea opus tuum ex eo facies. Item si uolueris, safranum cum uino distemperare poteris. Safranum cum brasilio miscere poteris et fiet rufus color, et siquid aliud in prefatis mixturis inueneris.

Sinoplum eodem modo moles quo et uermiculum. In eo potest misceri parum albi et erit roseus color. Item si misceas cum albo parum sinopli, erit carominius. Et iterum si misceas cum sinoplo auripigmentum, uincente auripigmento, erit rufus color.

Cum uolueris distemperare gormam, accipies calcem noua(m) et fortem et pones in uasculo; quod postquam peregeris, accipies uinum et aquam et glaream oui pari mensura, et cum hiis distemperaberis calcem. Postea accipies gormam, et cum hac distemperatura moles in marmore. Hoc expleto, cum eadem distemperatura, de gorma illa poteris operari. Et hoc scias, quod cum gorma uetus fuerit accipies aquam et pones in gormam, dimittesque

¹ terrestriui, *cod.*

² alumino, *cod.*

and use the green for your work. If you mix Apulian white with this green, it will become pale green; but in this case, let the white be mixed not with the white of egg, but with wine. And if you put saffron in the green, it will become a yellow-green, provided that the saffron be tempered with wine. Add white, if you wish.

Apulian white is to be ground with water, just like the other colors; and as we have already observed, it should be mixed with azure alone and again with azure and brazil, and again with Roman azure. It may also, moreover, be mixed with terre-verte.

You grind bone-white like any other color; and thus it is indispensable to painters on this account, namely, that it may be mixed with orpiment. And such a mixture is impossible with any other white.

Take Brazil-wood and scrape it down with a knife into a dish. And after it has all been reduced by scraping, cover it with white of egg. And when it has steeped and commenced to grow ripe, let alum be added in proportion to the quantity of the Brazil-wood. When the brazil has saturated it, the liquid should be drawn off and kept in another vessel; and when this has been done, add white of egg again, and when it has become saturated, draw it off. And do this as often as the Brazil-wood continues to color it. But let anyone who would prepare it beware of tempering brazil without alum: for in that case the brazil will fade away from the parchment, little by little, until only the medium remains. Therefore, whenever anyone wishes to make his brazil a clear red, let him add alum, and then it will be excellent. If you mix white with brazil, it makes rose-color; and with azure it makes purple.

Grinding orpiment is most laborious, and in order to accomplish the task more easily and quickly, you had better take a pepper-mill and grind the orpiment in that. When you have done so, put it on a marble slab, and then grind it with water, and treat it like the other colors which are ground. As we have already stated, you may mix with the orpiment both indigo and terre-verte, and anything else which may be found (i. e. prescribed) in the recipes given above.

If you need ochre on parchment, grind it well with water, and when this has been done, add strong white of egg to it. But you must know that ochre is needed only by painters of mural-decorations, except that, when you wish to make a letter of gold, you lay it in first with fine ochre and gypsum.

Put saffron in a dish, and pour the white of egg upon it, and then put it aside to become saturated. Then do your work with it. Moreover, if you choose, you may temper the saffron with wine. You may mix saffron with brazil, and it will make a tawny color; and whatever else you find in the recipes given above.

una die; et caue ne superhabundet aqua, sed cum tali mensura aquam pone, ut tantummodo humorem aque senciat; sicque recens efficietur. Si uolueris, album cum gorma poteris miscere, et erit faluus color.

Brunum sicut uermiculum moles. In eo potes miscere album et iterum nigrum de carbone potes in eo miscere. Item ad azorium et erit faluus color.

Gypsum moles sicut ocrum sed nil e eo facies nisi cum uolueris aurum in libris ponere. Tunc uero suppones aurum sicut de ocro diximus.

Pannum folii scindes et scissuras in coquilla pones. Hoc expleto, superfundes glaream oui et sines maturescere, fietque purpureus color. Si uis miscere cum brasillo, et iterum si uis cum albo, potes.

Pone brasilli fragmen bene minutum in glarea forti et, post duos uel tres dies, pone alumen moderate sicut superius diximus, et dimitte per duos uel tres dies uel quattuor donec maturum sit. Pastellum potes distemperare bis uel ter, sed caue ne totum siccatum sit.

Azorium distempera cum oui albugine fricando in uasculo digito donec satis sit, et postea lauabis illud pro uouo inueterato et nigrefacto, et post 2 uel 3 dies iterum lauabis illud pro uouo inueterato et nigrefacto. Et dimitte donec siccatum sit propter humorem aque, et iterum sic illuminare poteris. Habeto in alio uase de eodem colore ita distemperatum, uel aliter; pone gummam que decurrit de pruno¹ uel de cino in aquam mundam et facies bullire donec mensurate spissata uel tenax fuerit; uide ne bulliendo exeat de uasculo, sed custodi eam et inde distempera azorium. Quociens uideris nigrum, pone nimis parum de lacte.

Uiride nunquam cum acceto distempera. Unum optimum pone in uase eneo uel cuprino et bulies. Quo cocto et mundato de spuma, custodi illud et inde distempera uiridem colorem et pone ad tepidum uel lentum solem donec spissus sit mensurate.² Et posito in eo de croco et de puluere ossis combusti, alterum ei contrahit uirorem et meliorem; uel si miscueris nouum cum ueteri, alteram uiriditatem habebit. Si totum siccatum fuerit uel minus³ crassum, pone parum de aqua.

Pone uiride in uino et frica satis digito; quo sedato, accipe quod liquidum est et pone ad lentum solem uel in loco ubi spissari possit. Quando aptum erit ad scribendum, pone in uase uitreo uel de cera et poteris diu bonum conseruare. Si nigrior fuerit, pone parum de saffran(o) et de puluere ossis combusti. Si cicius uis illuminare, accipe de uitello oui et misce cum eo uiride uinum, et cum hoc liquore mole super petram uiride, et inde distempera; et sic bonum erit.

Sinople rade et pone puluerem in nouo uase de cemento secundum illam quantitatem quam posueris aluminis in brasillo . . .

Auripigmentum tere, prius inuolutum in corio siue in percameno, uel in molendino ubi piper teritur donec sit quasi puluis, et postea mole diutius

¹ prino, *cod.*

² mensinate, *cod.*

³ *Lege* nimis?

You grind sinoper¹ in the same way as vermilion. A little white may be mixed with it, and it will become rose-color; or if you mix a little sinoper with white, it will be carmine. And if you mix orpiment with sinoper, with the orpiment in excess, it will be an orange tint.

When you wish to temper *gorma*,² take strong quicklime and put it in a little jar. And when you have done that, take wine and water and white of egg in equal quantities, and wet the lime with them. Then take the *gorma* and grind it on the marble slab with this composition. And when you have done so, you may work with the *gorma*, using that composition as a medium. And you should know that when the *gorma* is old, you may take water and put it in the *gorma* and leave it for a day; but take care not to have too great an excess of water, but add only enough water for the *gorma* to be affected by the moisture. And it will become as it were fresh. If you wish, you may mix white with the *gorma*, and the color will be tawny.

You grind brown like vermilion. You may mix white with it, or you may mix charcoal-black with it. And if you add azure to it, it will be a tawny color.

Gypsum is ground like ochre, but you will not have any use for it except when you wish to lay gold in books. And then you put on the gold as we have described in speaking of ochre.

Cut up cloth dyed with *folium*, and put the cuttings in a dish. After doing this, pour white of egg on them, let it steep, and it will take on a purple color. If you wish to mix it with brazil or, if you wish, with white, you may do so.

Put a very small scrap of Brazil-wood in strong white of egg, and after two or three days add a moderate dose of alum, as we have described above, and leave it for two, or three, or four days, until the color has developed. You may temper pastel³ two or three times, but take care not to let it evaporate entirely.

Temper azure with the white of an egg by rubbing it in a little dish until it is saturated. And then wash it free of the old, darkened egg, and after two or three days wash it again, on account of the egg which has grown old and dark. And set it aside until the moisture of the water has evaporated, and you will be able to illuminate with it again. Take some of the same color, tempered in this way, or otherwise, in another dish. Put some of the gum which oozes out of the plum or *cinus* tree into clean water, and boil it until it becomes quite thick and sticky; and take care not to let it boil over, but keep it and temper the azure with it. Whenever it seems dark to you, add a little milk.

¹ Sinople? See NED. s. v.

² *Gorma*, to be identified with *garance* or *madder*?

³ See NED. s. v. 1.

cum aqua. Quando siccata, accipe de uitello oui crudi et de puluere ossis combusti et hoc mole similiter, et postea misce cum auripigmento moluto, secundum quod tibi uidetur bene temperatum; et distempera cum oui albagine secundum quod tibi uidetur. Accipe duas partes auripigmenti et unam de uitello oui et ossis combusti et misce simul, et tunc bonum erit.

Colores in percameno clari et spissi: hii sunt azorium, uermiculum, auripigmentum, uiride Grecum, uiride terrestre, sanguis draconis, grauetum,¹ indicum, carominium, crocus, folium, brunum, minium album et rubeum; nigrum optimum ex carbonibus uitis. Nigrum istum distempera cum glarea oui sicut uermiculum.

[II]

De natura colorum et commixtione.

Si uis scire naturas colorum et commixtiones, diligenter attende. Azorium incidet in nigro, maptizabis de albo plumbo. Item misce cum albo plumbo. Incide de azorio, maptizabis de albo plumbo.

Uermiculum incidet de bruno, maptizabis de albo plumbo. Item misce

¹ Grauetus or granetus; probably to be identified (as by E. Berger, *Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Maltechnik*, III, 28) with the *granetus* of Le Begue's *Tabula de uocabulis sinonimis et equiuocis colorum*, etc. Merrifield, *op. cit. supra*, p. 28 s. v.

Never temper green with vinegar. Put the best wine in a dish of bronze or copper, and boil it. When it has been boiled and skimmed, keep it and temper the green with it, and put it in warm or moderate sunlight until it becomes quite thick. And if you put saffron and the powder of calcined bones in it, it acquires a different, handsomer green color; or if you mix it with some of an old mixture some that has been freshly prepared, it will be a still different shade of green. If it all dries up or becomes too thick, add a little water.

Put some green in wine, and rub it well with your finger; when it has settled, take the liquid part and put it in moderate sunlight, or elsewhere, to thicken. When it is fit for writing, put it in a vessel made of glass or wax, and you will be able to keep it in good condition for a long time. If it is too dark, add a little saffron and the powder of calcined bones. If you wish to illuminate more easily, take some yolk of egg, and mix the green wine with it, and grind the green pigment with this mixture upon the stone, and temper it with the same; and thus it will be good.

Scrape sinoper, and put the powder in a new stone vessel, according to the amount of alum which you put in the brazil . . .

Break up orpiment, at first either wrapped up in leather or parchment, or in a little mill for grinding pepper until it is reduced practically to dust, and then grind it for a long time with water. When the water has dried up, take some of the yolk of a raw egg, and some powder of calcined bones, and grind them in the same way, and then mix them with the ground orpiment until it seems to you well tempered; and temper it with white of egg, as you think best. If you take two parts of orpiment, and one of egg-yolk and calcined bones, and mix them together, it will be good.

The following are the colors, transparent and opaque, for parchment: azure, vermillion, orpiment, verdigris, terre-verte, dragonsblood, *grauetus*, indigo, carmine, saffron, *folium*, brown, white lead, and *minium*, and the finest black made from vine-charcoal. You temper that black with white of egg, just as you do vermillion.

[II]

On the nature and mixture of colors.

If you wish to know the natures and mixtures of colors, give close attention. You shade azure with black, and model it with white lead. Likewise mix with white lead. Shade with azure and lighten with white lead.

Shade vermillion with brown, and lighten with white lead. Mix vermillion with white lead, and it makes the color which is called rose; you shade it with vermillion and lighten it with white lead.

You may shade orpiment with vermillion, but there is no lightening it,

uermiculum cum albo plumbo et facit colorem qui uocatur rosa. Incides de uermiculo, maptizabis de albo plumbo.

Auripigmentum incide uermiculo, et illi maptizatura non est, quia deturpat omnes colores. Tamen, si uis facere gladium uiride, auripigmentum misce cum indico. Incides de nigro, maptizabis de auripigmento.

Sanguis draconis incides de nigro, maptizabis de albo plumbo. Item miscebis sanguinem draconis cum auripigmento; incides de sanguine draconis, maptizabis de albo plumbo.

Uiride incides de nigro, maptizabis de albo plumbo. Item misce uiride cum albo plumbo. Incides de uiridi, maptizabis de albo plumbo.

Grauetum incides de uiride, maptizabis de albo plumbo. Incides de graueto, maptizabis de albo plumbo.

Indicum incides de azorio, maptizabis de albo plumbo. Item misce indicum cum albo plumbo; incides de indico, maptizabis de albo plumbo.

Folium incides de nigro, maptizabis de albo plumbo. Item misce folium cum albo plumbo; incides de folio, maptizabis de albo plumbo. Si uis facere simile uiridi Gallico, misce azorium cum albo plumbo, incides de azorio, maptizabis de albo plumbo, et quando fuerit siccum operi de claro croco.

Auripigmentum cum uiridi non concorda.

[III]

Item de naturis et commixtionibus colorum.

Colores in percameno spissi et clari: hii sunt azorium et ceteri ut supra. Hii omnes colores distemperantur cum glarea preter uiride Grecum.

Quod si uolueris scire naturas et commixtiones colorum et que sibi sunt contraria, diligenter actende.

Azorium misce cum albo plumbo. Incide de indico, maptiza de albo plumbo. Purum azorium incides de nigro, maptizabis de albo plumbo.

Uermiculum purum incides de bruno aud de sanguine draconis, maptizabis de auripigmento. Uermiculum misce cum albo plumbo, et facit colorem qui uocatur rosa. Incides de uermiculo, maptizabis de albo plumbo. Item facies rosam de sanguine draconis et de albo plumbo; incides de sanguine draconis, maptizabis de albo plumbo. Item facies colorem de sanguine draconis et de auripigmento. Incide de bruno, maptiza de auripigmento.

Carominium incides de bruno, maptizabis de rubro minio. Item facies rosam de carominio et de albo plumbo. Incides de carominio, maptizabis de albo plumbo.

Folium incides de bruno, maptizabis¹ de albo plumbo. Item misce folium cum albo plumbo; incides de folio, maptizabis de albo plumbo.

¹ paptizabis, *cod.*

because it fouls all colors. Still, if you wish to make a 'corn-flag' (*gladium*) green, mix orpiment with indigo, put in the shadows with black, and hatch the lights with orpiment.

You may darken dragonsblood with black, and model on it with white. Or mix dragonsblood with orpiment, shade with dragonsblood, and put on the lights with white lead.

Neutralize green with black, and model the lights with white lead. Or mix green with white lead. Make the shadows with pure green and the lights with white.

You may shade *grauetus* with green, and hatch the lights with white lead; shade the green with *grauetus* and put on the lights with white lead.

Use azure for the shadows in a field of indigo, and white lead for the lights. Or mix indigo with white lead, and model it with indigo and white lead.

Shade *folium* with black and model it with white lead. Likewise mix *folium* with white lead; shade the *folium*, and lighten it with white lead. If you wish to make a color like French green, mix azure with white lead, shade it with azure, put on the lights with white lead, and when it is dry, cover it with transparent saffron.

Do not blend orpiment with green.

[III]

More about the natures and combinations of colors.

These are the colors, transparent and opaque, for parchment: azure, and the rest, as above. All these colors are tempered with white of egg except verdigris.

But if you care to understand the characters and compositions of pigment-mixtures and to know those which are incompatible, give me your close attention.

Mix azure with white lead, shade it with indigo, and for the lights use white lead. If you use the azure pure, put in the shadows with black, and the lights with white lead.

Shade pure vermilion with brown or dragonsblood, and lighten it with orpiment. Mix vermilion with white lead, and it makes the color which is called rose. Shade it with vermilion, and put on the high-lights with white. In the same way you may make a rose-color with dragonsblood and white lead, modelling it with dragonsblood for the shadows and white lead for the lights.¹ Or make a color with dragonsblood and orpiment; shade it with brown, and touch it up with orpiment.

Darken carmine with brown, and put *minium* in the high-lights. Or

¹ This mode was much in favor among the French illuminators of the fourteenth century.

Auripigmentum incides de uermiculo et ipsi maptizatura non est, quia stercorat omnes alios colores. Tamen si uis facere gladium uiridum, misce auripigmentu(m) cum nigro, incides cum nigro, maptiza cum auripigmento.

Si uis facere simile uiridi Gallico, misce azorium cum albo plumbo. Incides de azorio, maptizabis de albo plumbo; et cum siccum fuerit, cooperi¹ de claro croco.

Uiride Grecum distemperabis cum aceto, incides de nigro, maptizabis de albo quod fit de cornu cerui. Item uiride miscebis cum albo plumbo. Incides de uiridi, maptizabis de albo plumbo.

[IV]

Qualiter debeant fieri colores; primo de azorio.

Si uis facere azorium optimum, accipe ollam nouam que numquam in opus fuerit, et mitte in eam laminas purissimi argenti quantas uis; et sic cooperi illam et sigilla et mitte ipsam ollam in uindemia que proiecta est de torculari, et illic bene cooperi de ipsa uindemia, et serua bene usque ad 15 dies; et sic aperies illam ollam, et illum colorem qui est in circuitu laminarum argentearum excucies in mundissimo uase. Quod si amplius uis, repone ipsas laminas quociens uolueris.

Si uis aliter facere azorium, accipe ampullam nouam uel ollam, et mitte in eam laminas purissimi argenti ut dixi, et prius lini easdem de optimo aceto. Et sic cooperi, et sigilla, et serua usque ad 6tam ebdomadam. Uel si uis, acetum in ollam infunde, et ita dimitte et serua ut dixi. Oportet, autem, ut olla uel ampulla plena sit ne aer uel uentus intrare possit. Postea discooperies et colliges ipsum florem in uasculo argenti, et ad solem exsicca.

Si uis facere aliud azorium, accipe ampullam de purissimo cupro et ipsam ampullam imple usque ad medium de noua calce, et post imple omnino de fortissimo acceto, et sic cooperi ampullam et sigilla, et pone tenacem terram uel pastam circa os ampulle ne aliquid humoris possit exire, et mitte in aliquo calido loco, aut in terram aut in fimum proiectum de stabulo, et sic spacio unius mensis dimitte, et sic aperi ipsam ampullam, et quod in ea inueneris, mitte ad solem siccare. Istud azorium non est tam bonum sicut aliud, tamen ualet ad lignum et ad maceriam.

Item aliud azorium. Accipe flores blauos, et tere et exprime in uas mun-

¹ cooperie, *cod.*

make a rose-color out of carmine and white lead. Shade with carmine and put in the lights with white lead.

Make the shadows in a field of *folium* with brown, and the lights with white lead. Or mix the *folium* with white lead and model it with *folium* in the darks and white lead in the high-lights.

You may make the shadows upon orpiment with vermilion, but it has no modelling in the lights, because it makes all other colors go foul. Though, if you wish to make 'corn-flag' green, you may mix orpiment with black, shade with black, and bring it up to orpiment in the lights.

If you wish to make a color like French green, mix azure with white lead. Shade it with azure, lighten it with white lead; and when it is dry, glaze it with transparent yellow.

Temper verdigris with vinegar; shade with black, and lay the lights with the white which is made from stag's-horn. Or you may mix green with white lead, shade it with green, and lighten it with white lead.

[IV]

How colors are to be prepared: beginning with azure.

If you wish to make the finest azure, take a new pot—one that has never been in use—and put in it as many leaves of very pure silver as you wish; and put the pot into the marc, which has been thrown out of the wine-press, and cover it up well with the marc and keep it carefully for fifteen days. Then open the pot, and scrape out into a very clean dish the color which surrounds the leaves of silver. And if you want more of it, replace the leaves as often as you like.

If you wish to make azure in another way, take a jar or a pot, and put into it, as I have said, some leaves of very pure silver, but smear them first with the strongest vinegar. So cover the receptacle, and seal it, and keep it until the sixth week. Or, if you wish, pour vinegar into the pot, and put it away so, and keep it as I have said. It is desirable, moreover, that the pot or jar be full, in order that no air or draught may penetrate. Later on you may uncover it, and gather up the crust of color in a silver vessel, and dry it in the sun.

If you wish to make a different azure, take a jar made of the purest copper, and fill the pot half full of quicklime, and then fill it up to the top with strong vinegar. And so cover it and seal it, and put some sticky clay or paste around the mouth of the jar, so that no moisture can escape, and put it in a warm place, either underground or in the manure which is thrown out of the stable, and leave it there for the period of one month. Then open the pot, and put what you find in it in the sun to dry. This azure is not so good as the other; nevertheless it will do for woodwork and walls.

dum, et fac prius campum in ligno et in percamento de albo plumbo et mitte desuper, quando fuerit siccum, ipsum colorem, et tantum fac ita usque quo uideas ipsum colorem esse simile azorio.

Azorium mole super petram, postea cole per pannum delicatum ut mundior sit. Quo apurato et siccato, pone glaream nouam et fortem. Postea accipe de uitello oui crudi et misce cum aqua uel cum uino aliquantum, et nimis parum pone in colore et faciet melius de penna exire. Id ipsum propter hoc ipsum ad omnes colores utile est. Quod si nigrior fuerit, bis uel ter uel quociens expedit lauabis aqua, et sic meliorabitur.

[V]

De uermiculo faciendo. Si uis facere uermiculum optimum, accipe ampullam uitream et lini eam deforis de argilla optima tribus uicibus, et sic accipe unum pondus uiui argenti et duo pondera albi sulphuris aut crocei coloris, ita ut due partes sint de sulphure, tercia de argento uiuo, et intus pone supradictas partes ita ut pars sulphuris subtus sit bene diminuta, et pars argenti uiui desuper sit ut ueniat usque ad collum ampulle, et mitte ipsam ampullam super quattuor petras; tunc appone ignem de carbonibus in circuitu ampulle, tamen lentissimum, et sic cooperi os ampulle de parua tegula uel petra, et quando uideris fumum blauium aut crocei coloris exire, cooperi et, quando uideris fumum rubeum quasi uermiculum, tolle ab igne, et habebis uermiculum optimum in ampulla.

[VI]

De uiridi Greco faciendo. Si uis facere uiride Grecum, accipe ollam nouam aut aliut uas concauum, et mitte in uase acetum fortissimum et laminas cupri mundissimi super acetum pones, ita ut non tanga(n)t acetum, et ita cooperi et sigilla, et sic pone illud in calido loco aut in terra, et ita dimitte per 6 menses et tunc aperies illud uas et quod in eo inueneris excute in uase mundissimo et mitte ad solem siccare.

Item si uis facere uiride Rotomagense, accipe laminas purissimi cupri et lini eas de optimo sauone in circuitu et mitte illas laminas in uase mundo ad hoc facto, et imple illud puro aceto et superpone laminas ne tangant acetum, et, cooptum uas, sigilla bis, et post 1 mensem aperies, et quod inueneris in laminis excucies in uase et sicabis.

Item de uiridi. Colorem uiridem qui uult ad usum facere scribendi, in uase cupreo mel cum aceto ualde mixtum equo pondere infundat, ac inde

Still another sort of azure. Take blue flowers and grind and press them out in a clean vessel; and first of all, make a ground upon wood and upon parchment with white lead, and when it is dry, lay the color upon it. And continue to do so until you see that the color is like azure.

Grind azure on the stone, and then strain it through a fine cloth, so that it may be cleaner. When it is clean and dry, add to it some fresh, strong white of egg. Then take some of the yolk of a raw egg, and mix it with water, or with a little wine, and put a very small amount of this into the color, and it will make it flow better from the pen. That same device is useful for all colors, for the same reason. And if it is too dark, you may wash it two or three times, or as often as you like, briskly, with water, and it will be improved.

[V]

On making vermillion. If you wish to make the finest vermillion, take a glass jar and lute it outside with the finest clay, three times; and then take one weight of quicksilver and two weights of white or yellow sulphur, so that there will be two parts of sulphur and a third of quicksilver. And put in the above-mentioned ingredients in such a way that part of the sulphur, finely divided, may be on the bottom, and part of the quicksilver above, so that it may reach right up to the neck of the jar. Put the jar upon four stones, and then build up a charcoal fire around the jar, but let it be a very moderate one. And so cover the mouth of the jar with a little tile or piece of stone. And when you see that the smoke is blue or yellow-colored, as it comes off, put on the cover; and when you see that the smoke is almost as red as vermillion, take it from the fire, and you will have in the jar the finest vermillion.

[VI]

On making verdigris. If you wish to make verdigris, take a new pot, or any other hollow vessel, and put into the vessel some very strong vinegar, and arrange sheets of the purest copper over the vinegar, in such a way that they may not come into contact with the vinegar. And so cover it up, and seal it, and put it in a warm place, or underground, and set it aside for six months. And then you must open the vessel, and scrape off into a very clean dish the material which you find in it, and set it in the sun to dry.

Furthermore, if you wish to make a green of Rouen, take some sheets of very pure copper, and smear them all over with the best soap, and put these sheets into a clean vessel, made for the purpose, and fill it with pure vinegar. But arrange the sheets above it, in such a way that they may not come into contact with the vinegar. And when you have covered the vase, seal it doubly; and at the end of one month open it, and scrape what you find on the copper sheets into a dish, and dry it.

in sterquilinio equorum, ubi plus ualet,¹ illud abscondat, et bis senis diebus transactis illud recipiat.

Item imple peluim de aceto albi uini et inmitte laminas cupri, et quicquid poteris habere cupri intus prohice, et sic spacio unius mensis uel duorum uel trium stare sine, et optimum erit.

[VII]

De minio albo et rubeo faciendo. Si autem uis facere rubeum minium uel album, accipe laminas plumbeas et mitte in ollam nouam, et sic imple illam ollam fortissimo acceto et cooperi et sigillabis et mitte in aliquo loco calido, et sic 1 mense dimitte, et tunc aperies olam et quod inueneris in circuitu laminarum plumbearum mitte in aliam ollam et pone super ignem et semper mouebis ipsum colorem donec efficiatur albus sicut nix, et tunc tolles ab igne, et sumes de ipso colore sicut uis; et iste color uocatur cerusa. Reliquam partem pone super ignem et semper mouebis donec efficiatur rubeum minium. Propterea moneo ut semper moueas, quia si semper non moues, iterum uertitur in plumbum; et sic tolle ab igne et dimitte illam refrigerari.

Azorium bonum est quod Saraceni faciunt. Item azorium Romanum est aliud quod indicum uocatur.

Uiride bonum est quod de Grecia uenit. Item aliud uiride est quod terrestre dicitur eo quod terra sit, et de Monte Gelboe affertur.

Uermiculum bonum est quod de Yspania uenit. Item uermiculum grossum est quod minium uocatur.

Album bonum est quod de Apuleya uenit. Item aliud album est quod de ossibus fit; item aliud album quod de plumbo extrahitur.

Auripigmentum croceus color est et de Monte Gelboe affertur. Hic enim mons ex una parte croceus est et ex altera parte uiridis, et sic in eo uiride et croceum reperitur. Item alius alius croceus color quem ocrum dicunt et in multis locis reperitur, sed illud quod a Turonensi urbe affertur preciosius est ceteris. Ite(m) alius croceus color est qui saffrannum dicitur, et de Yspania affertur.

Brasillum quedam arbor est et est optimus color. Medulla huius arboris non est bona pictoribus seu illuminatoribus, sed tinctoribus pannorum.

Sinoplum quidam color est rubicundus.

Gorma quedam herba est que trahit in purpuram et affertur de quedam regione et hec rosa dicitur.

Brunum quidam color est mortuus, nec niger nec rubeus.

More about green. If anyone wishes to make a green color for the purpose of writing, he should put some honey, mixed up thoroughly with an equal weight of vinegar, into a copper vessel, and then bury it in horse-dung, where it will better keep its strength.¹ And at the end of twelve days it may be removed.

Or again, fill a basin with white-wine vinegar, and put into it sheets of copper, and any bits of copper that you can lay your hands on. And leave it so for the period of one month, or two, or three, and it will be excellent.

[VII]

On making white lead and *minium*. Now if you wish to make either *minium* or white lead, take sheets of lead and put them into a new pot, and then fill that pot with very strong vinegar, and cover it, and seal it, and put it in a warm place, and leave it for a month. Then open the pot, and put the material which you find on the sheets of lead into another pot, and set it on the fire. Then stir that color constantly until it becomes as white as snow; and then take it from the fire, and remove as much of that color as you wish. That color is known as ceruse. Put the remainder back upon the fire, and stir this constantly until it turns into *minium*. And this is why I urge you to stir it constantly; because, if you do not stir it constantly, it will go back into metallic lead. Finally, take it from the fire, and set it aside to cool.

The azure which the Saracens make is good. And Roman azure is another, called indigo.

The green which comes from Greece is good. And there is another green, called terre-verte, because it is an earth, and that is brought from Mount Gilboa.²

The vermilion which comes from Spain is good. And there is a coarse vermilion color which is called *minium*.

The white which comes from Apulia is good. And there is a white which is made from bones; also another white which is prepared from lead.

Orpiment is a yellow color and is brought from Mount Gilboa; for this mountain is yellow on one side and green on the other, and so both green and yellow colors are found in it. There is also another yellow of a different shade, called ochre, and it is found in many places; but that which is brought from the city of Tours is more desirable than the others. Also

¹ For *ualet*, the *Liber Magistri Petri de Sancto Audemaro de Coloribus Faciendis*, § 157, ed. Mrs Merrifield, *op. cit.* I, 126, 127, has *calet*. Mrs Merrifield translates: ". . . bury the vessel in horse-dung, in the hottest part of the heap." This use of the heat, generated by fermenting dung for maintaining a steady moderate temperature, was a common resource of the mediaeval craftsman.

² In Syria; see Hendrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 102.

Gypsum quidam color est qui a Parisiacensi affertur urbe. Iste color non ualet, nisi ad aurum in percameno ponendum.

Morella quedam herba est in terra Sancti Egidii. Ex hac herba tria genera ¹ in semine exeunt, et ex hiis granis tele tinguntur, sicque mirum colorem reddunt, qui color folium dicitur.

[VIII]

De cemento faciendo. Cementum quod semel siccatum nullis umquam rumpitur aquis. Accipe calcem uiuam, puluerem tegule, paleam ferri, sabulum, oleum, aquam, et fac cementum. Item cementum ad solidand(um) marmora et alios lapides. Pone 3 partes pulueris tegule, et 4 partes palee ferri et 2 partes picis et 1 cere, et puluerem ipsius lapidis, et fac cementum, et solida, et uide ut calidus sit lapis et calidum cementum.

[IX]

Ad faciendum uitrum molle. Sanguis hirci et anceris cum amarica et aceto in uase eneo equaliter lento igne commixta uitrum et gemmas molliciat impositum, ita ut ferro scindi possit.

Item uitella oui faba fresa calce mixta, uitrum solidant.

[X]

De lacte facienda. Mense Martio cum herbe ac arbores succum a Matre Terra traxerint et iterum crescendo uirtutem ceperint, subulam accipe et ramos edere locatim perfora, et egredietur gummi liquor ex eis, de quo sanguineus color coquendo efficitur qui lacta uocatur. Dequoque igitur colorem illum cum urina et h(ab)ebis colorem sanguineum qui est utilis scriptoris atque pictoris.

[XI]

De bresillo faciendo ad conseruandum. Accipe bresilis limaturam et in uno uase cum uino rubeo permitte ad ignem bullire; deinde lactam cum urina distempera et cum eo pone ut simul bulliant. Postea alumen accipe

¹ *Lege grana?*

there is another yellow color, called saffron, and it is brought from Spain.

Brazil is a kind of tree, and it is a splendid color. The pith of this tree is not useful for painters or illuminators, but for dyers of cloth.

Sinoper is a reddish color.

Gorma is a sort of plant, with a purple cast, and it is brought from a certain locality, and known as the rosy-plant.

Brown is a certain lifeless color, neither black nor red.

Gypsum is a kind of pigment which is brought from Paris. It is of no use as a color, except for laying gold on parchment.

The morel is a kind of plant which grows in the land of St Giles.¹ And from this plant three grains go out in the seed, and with these three grains cloths are dyed, and so yield up a splendid color, called *folium*.

[VIII]

On making cement. A cement which, once dry, is not affected by any liquid. Take quicklime, powdered tile, iron rust, sand, oil, and water, and make a cement. Or again, for a cement for mending marble and other stones: take three parts of powdered tile and four parts of iron rust, and two parts of pitch, and one of wax, and some of the powder of the stone in question, and make a cement, and do the mending. And see to it that both the stone and the cement are warm.

[IX]

To soften glass. The blood of a he-goat and a goose, evenly mixed with the lees of oil and vinegar in a brazen vessel over a slow fire, softens any glass or gems which you put into it, so that they can be carved with a knife.

Likewise, yolks of eggs mixed with so much as a bean of quicklime have the power of mending glass.

[X]

On making lake. In the month of March, when plants and trees are drawing up sap from Mother Earth and gathering strength once more in growth, procure an augur, and pierce the branches of the ivy-plant here there. And a liquid gum will flow out of them, and from this you can prepare a blood-red color by cooking it. And this is called lake. So boil that color with urine, and you will obtain a color like blood, which is useful to scribes and to painters.

[XI]

How to make brazil so that it may be kept on hand. Take the scrapings of Brazil-wood, and let them boil with red wine in a vessel on the fire. Then temper some lake with urine, and put it with the other, so that they may

¹ More likely Provence than as Hendrie suggests, *op. cit. supra*, p. 59. Athens.

et cum eis in uase misce. Parumper moue, tunc ab igne repone, et in scutella mitte; deinde super lapidem fortiter tere, et collige, et ad solem siccare permitte. Postea in forulo ad seruandum repone.

[XII]

De temperatura azorii. De azorio quid certius dicam non habeo, quia alii cum lacte caprino, alii cum lacte mulieris, alii cum glarea oui molunt et distemperant; et satis utrumque bonum est. Ego uero in primis si uidero opus esse in bacino eum simulque paululum aque mitto, et tam diu cum digito frico quousque totus madefactus sit; ac deinde aquam infundo, et bene mixta, postquam quieuerit eandem aquam sic turbatam ex immundicia in alio uase recipio, reseruaturus colorem preciosum qui in fundo remanet uasis. Nam h(u)ius nature est ut quanto purior est cicius labatur ad fundum; immundicia leuius natat. Quod si neccesse fuerit id ipsum sepius repeto, aquam sepe infundendo et effundendo donec purgetur. Et iam bene purgatum et cum aqua tritum postquam in cornu reposuero, et eiecta aqua cum aliquid inde facere uoluero, glaream oui multum claram immitto, eandem post unius hore spacium eiekturus. Nam diucius si intus manserit corrumpt colorem, ei propriam speciem auferendo. Et postquam glaream egecero, statim illud aqua frigida repleo, eandem postea reiekturus ratione prelibata; hu(n)c colorem in maceria cum aqua et cum uino pones, in ligno uero cum oleo.

[XIII]

De folio. Folii tria sunt genera, unum purpureum, aliud rubeum, tertium saphirinum, que sic temperabis. Tolle cineres et cribra eos per pannum, perfundensque eos aqua frigida, et fac inde tortulas ad similitudinem panis, mitesque eas in igne donec omnino candescant. Postquam diutissime canduerint et postea friguerint, mitte partem in uas fictile, perfunde urina, moue ligno. Cumque resederint, lucide perfunde inde rubeum folium et teres illud modice super lapidem, addens ei 4 partes uiue calcis, et cum tritum fuerit ac sufficienter perfusum, cola per pannum, ac trahe cum pincello. Et si placet in similitudinem pallii in pagina facere, purpureo folio eodem temperamento sine uiua calce perfuso pi(n)ge penna.

boil together. Then take some alum, and mix it with them in the vessel. Stir it a little, and take it from the fire, and put it into a saucepan. Then grind it thoroughly on the stone, and gather it together, and let it dry in the sun. Afterwards, put it away in a box for safekeeping.

[XII]

On tempering azure. I have nothing very definite to say about azure, for some temper it with goat's-milk, others with woman's-milk, others with white of egg; and any of these is good enough. Now as soon as I see that it is necessary, I put the azure, and at the same time, a little water, into a basin, and rub it with my finger until it is all moistened. Then I pour in water, and when it has all been mixed up thoroughly, and the blue has settled to the bottom, I pour off into another vessel the water thus soiled by the impurity, keeping back the precious color, which remains in the bottom of the vessel. For it is of such a nature that, the purer it is, the more quickly it sinks to the bottom; the impurities, being lighter, rise to the top. But if it seems to be necessary, I repeat the operation several times, pouring water in and decanting it repeatedly, until the blue is purified. And when it is well purified and ground with water, I place it in a receptacle. And when the water has been removed, and I wish to do anything with the color, I put some very clear white of egg into it, and this I remove again at the end of one hour. For if it should stay in the mixture longer, it would injure the color, taking away something of its natural brilliance. And after I have removed the egg, I fill the vessel immediately with cold water, and then decant that, in the way I have already described. You apply this color with water and wine on a wall, but upon wood, with oil.

[XIII]

On *folium*. There are three kinds of *folium*: one purple, another red, and a third sapphire. You temper them as follows: take ashes and sift them through a cloth, pouring cold water over them, and then make little cakes out of them, like loaves of bread, and put them in a fire until they glow all over. After they have glowed for some time with the heat and then cooled off, put a portion of them into an earthen vase, drench them with urine, and stir them with a stick. And when they have settled, moisten the red *folium* lightly with them and grind it a little on the stone, adding to it four parts of quicklime. And when it is ground, and strong enough in color, strain it through a cloth, and lay it on with a brush. And if you wish to represent a robe on the page of your book, design it with the quill, using purple *folium* and the same medium, only without the quicklime.

[XIV]

Excetepciones (excerptiones ?) de coloribus distemperandis; de gummi distemperando. Si uolueris opus tuum festinare, sume gummi quod exit de arbore cino uel pruno,¹ et contunde[n]s illud minutissime, et pones in uas fictile, et aquam habundanter infunde, et pone ad solem siue ad carbones in yeme, donec gummi liquifiat et ligno rotundo diligenter commisce. Deinde cola per pannum et inde tere colores. Omnes colores et mixture eorum hoc gummi teri et poni possunt preter minimum et cerusam et carmyn, qui claro oui terendi et ponendi sunt. Uiride Hyspanie non misceatur succo sub glutine, sed per se cum gummi ponatur.

[XV]

Albus et uiridis color hoc modo fiat et distemperetur. In uase aceto acerimo impleto desuper uirgulas, et sic tabulas plumbeas uel cupreas pones. Deinde uas illud diligentissime claudes, illiniesque uel argillosa terra uel de cemento uel cera ne aliquid spiraculum remaneat per quod fiat exalacio. Post dies autem triginta uas aperietur, et ex fortitudine uini uirideum plumbum, uero album inuenietur. Sumptum autem et arefactum, teres album cum uino et pingetur in percamenis, cum oleo uero in lignis et maceriis. Similiter uirideum cum oleo teres et distemperabis in lignis et maceriis cum uino, uel si mauis,² cum oleo. Utrumque enim ualet. In libris uero non teres, sed in uino bono³ albo et clarissimo siue aceto temperare permittes, et sic digito tantum fricabis, et statim totum uinum uirideum erit. Quod si ualde uirideum fuerit uinum illud cum necdum a fece sua sit purgatum, scias quia sufficienter habet puluerem. Si uero turpem colorem et quasi crocei commixtione corruptum, noueris quia parum habet pulueris et aliquantulum adde, quem⁴ quiescere paululum sines et iterum digito fricabis, similiter et tertio. Deinde feces proicies. Clarissimum uero uirideum in uasculo cupreo pones, ex quo si statim scribere uolueris, non poteris nisi ad ignem feruere permisceris, ut spissior fiat. Hac etiam tantum uidelicet ut spiscetur, uel in umbra solis, uel mane et uespere ad auram dulcem, quando scilicet uentus suauiter fiat; ponendus est non autem in sole.

¹ prino, *cod.*³ bone, *cod.*² maius, *cod.*⁴ *cod.* quod?

[XIV]

Selected passages about the tempering of colors; on tempering with gum. If you wish to hasten your work, take the gum which flows from the *cinus* or the plum tree, and break it into very fine pieces, and put it into an earthen vessel, and pour a good deal of water upon it. Then put it in the sunlight or, in winter, on hot coals, until the gum melts and stir it diligently with a round stick of wood. Then strain it through a cloth and grind the colors with it. All colors and all mixtures of colors may be ground and applied with this gum, except *minium* and ceruse and carmine, which must be ground and laid with white of egg. Spanish green is not to be mixed with sap under varnish, but put on by itself with gum.

[XV]

White and green pigments are made and distempered as follows. Put little rods across the top of a vessel filled with very strong vinegar, and lay sheets of lead or copper on them. Then close the vessel up carefully, and lute it with clay or plaster or wax, so that no vent may remain through which evaporation might take place. Then after thirty days the vessel is opened, and the copper will be found all green, but [the lead], white, from the acidity of the wine. When you have taken it up and dried it, grind the white with wine, and paint with it upon parchment. But for woodwork and walls it should be ground with oil. In the same way, grind and temper the green with oil; for woodwork and walls with wine, or if you prefer, with oil. For either is good. But for books you should not grind it, but let it soak in good wine, white and very clear, or in vinegar; and then rub it a little with your finger, and immediately all the wine will become green. And if the wine is very green before all the dregs are dissolved, you will know that there is enough of the powder in it. But if it has a poor color, and looks as if it were contaminated with yellow, you will know that there is not enough of the powder in it; so add a little more, and let it stand for a while, and then rub it again with your finger. And repeat the operation a third time. Then throw out the dregs, and put the very clear green into a little copper vessel; and if you wanted to write with it at once, you could not do so unless you let it simmer on the fire, to thicken it. And that is as much as to say that it must be put to thicken, either shaded from the sun, or in the gentle breeze of dawn or evening, but only when the wind is blowing softly, and not in direct sunlight.

[XVI]

De sinopide faciendo. Si uis facere optimum sinopidem, accipe lactam et waranciam et coque in olla aliquantulum cum aqua. Postea extrahens ab olla aliquantulum refrigerari permitte. Deinde in mortariolo fortiter tere et per pannum extorquendo cola, et in bacinno uel in testa coque cum diligencia, cauens ne bulliat sed tamen fremit, et eo dum coquitur, frequenter cum festuca super unguem tuam pone donec spissum sit. Postea sine frigescere et durescere donec inde possis pastillos facere et in forulo ponere.

[XVII]

Quomodo ponitur aurum. Accipe gipsum et mole eum fortiter cum aqua. Deinde accipe gluten tuum quod sit de taurina pinguedine et misce cum eo pariter de glarea oui et distempera gipsum. Ubi uero aurum ponere uolueris, ibi cum pincello de gipso trahes dimittesque siccare. Hec facies ter; postea rades eum ut sit planum et burnies. Iterum de cola desuper pertrahes, ilicoque aurum pones, et de cotho suauius imprimes eum et ita dimitte siccare. Si uero polire uis eum, de emathe uel dente canino polies eum.

[XVIII]

Item de eodem. Accipe brasillum nouiter distemperatum cum glarea oui optime facta. Pertrahe in percameno uitulino uel alio ubi aurum positum est, statim aurum desuper pone, et de cotho quasi non tangens imprime, dimittesque per dimidium diem siccare. Postea accipe dentem caninum, et burnire incipies, primum quidem suauius ne totum dissipes. Deinde tam fortiter ut frons tua sudore madescat.

Quando aurum in percameno arietino ponis, adde parum de gumma cineae. Gumma uero aliter¹ Arabica mirabilis est ad operandum in utroque percameno. Utrumque etenim¹ gummam sic distemperabis: accipe gummam et ligabis in pannum nitidissimum, ponesque in uase uitreo tota die et nocte in¹ aqua¹ iacere. Uel certe si festinare uis, digito tuo distempera eam cum aqua. Sic in percamenum pertrahe penna quod uis, et ilico pone aurum ut dictum est. Sed uide quia oportet te operari in humido loco propter calidum tempus, quia sepe nocet ad burniendum aurum et colores.

Colores tamen rigidum tempus et siccum expostulant.

¹ Haec uerba quae in codice desunt ex libro Petri de Sancto Audemaro *de Coloribus Faciendis* (ed. Merrifield, §§ 192-193, p. 155) hic suppleta sunt.

[XVI]

On making sinoper. If you wish to make the best sinoper, take lake and *garance*¹ and boil them a little with water, in a pot. Then take it out of the pot and let it cool a little. Then grind it thoroughly in a small mortar, and strain it by wringing it through a cloth; then warm it in a basin or a pot, cautiously, taking care not to let it boil, but only just simmer. And while it is being warmed, try it from time to time with a twig, on your finger-nail, until it thickens. Then let it cool and harden until you can make it into cakes, and put them in a box.

[XVII]

How to lay gold.² Take gypsum and grind it well with water. Then take your glue, which should be made from the gelatinous parts of a bull, and mix with it an equal quantity of white of egg, and temper the gypsum with this mixture. And wherever you wish to lay the gold, spread some of this gypsum with a brush and leave it to dry. Do this three times, and then scrape it smooth, and burnish it. Then lay some of the glue upon it, and on that lay the gold, pressing it down gently with a bit of cotton; and so set it aside to dry. And if you wish to polish it, polish it with a bloodstone or with a dog's tooth.³

[XVIII]

More on the same subject.⁴ Take brazil, freshly tempered with very carefully prepared white of egg. Lay it upon the parchment of calf or other skin, wherever you wish to put the gold. Apply the gold at once, and scarcely touching it, press it down with the cotton, and leave it for half a day to dry. Then take a dog's tooth, and begin to burnish, rather gently at first, so as not to spoil it all; and then so strongly that your forehead becomes moist with perspiration.

When you lay gold on parchment made of ram-skin, add a little of the gum of the *cinus* tree. For that gum, otherwise gum arabic, is wonderful for working upon any sort of parchment. And either kind of gum may be prepared as follows: take the gum, and bind it up in a very clean cloth, and put it in a glass vessel, under water, for a whole day and night. Or if you wish to make haste, rub it up in water with your finger. So draw whatever you wish with the quill upon the parchment, and lay the gold on it, as has been described. But observe that you will do well to work in a damp place, especially in warm weather, which often injures burnished gold and colors.

Nevertheless, colors call for harsh, dry weather.

¹ *Madder*.

² This is the method used for broad fields of burnished gold.

³ In French miniatures of this period, gold was often left *unburnished*, as a sort of yellow color.

⁴ This method is suitable for small, determinate gilded forms.

[XIX]

De temperamento auri. Accipe ocrum et distempera cum aqua sicque dimittas siccare. Interim de percameno uitulino colam facies, postea glaream de ouo facias, tunc colam et glaream insimul misces, et ocrum iam bene siccatum, super marmorem fortiter teres, et ubi uolueris ponere aurum in percameno statim ut molitum fuerit ocrum, super percamenum cum pincello trahes; sicque aurum desuper ilico pones, dimittesque siccare ita sine impressione coti; et postea cum dente fortiter burnies.

Item de distemperatura auri. Accipe gipsum et album de Apuleya et carominium, id est sinobrium, tertiam partem de gipso, et de albo et de carominio duas partes equales, et misce simul, et tere super marmorem, adiungesque cum eis modicum cole, tenue tamen, et de hac distemperatura poteris aurum ubicumque uolueris ponere et diu seruare.

[XX]

Quomodo scribitur auro. Sume tibi uas uitreum et urina tua illud imple, sicque donec appareat clara requiescat; postea accipe glaream oui optime factam, et fac duas partes miscesque cum urina et mouebis insimul et pone in cornu cum auro soluto, et poteris de auro scribere sicut de alio colore.

[XIX]

On tempering gold. Take ochre, and temper it with water, and so set it aside to dry. Meanwhile, make a glue from calf-skin parchment; then prepare the white of an egg, and mix the glue and the white of egg together, and when the ochre is thoroughly dry, grind it well on the marble. And wherever you wish to lay gold on the parchment, spread the ochre on the parchment with a brush as soon as it is ground. And then you may lay the gold upon it, and put it aside to dry, without pressing it with the cotton. And then burnish it well with a tooth.

More about the tempera for gold. Take gypsum and Apulian white and carmine, that is *sinobrium*, a third part of gypsum and two equal parts of white and carmine, and mix them together, and grind them on the marble; and mix with them a little glue, but not too heavy. And with this tempera you may lay gold wherever you please, and you may keep it for a long time.

[XX]

How to write with gold. Take a glass vessel and fill it with your urine, and let it stand until it has cleared. Then take the very well-beaten white of an egg, and make two portions, and mix it with the urine and stir them together, and pour them into the vessel with the powdered gold, and you will be able to write with gold just as with any other color.

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THE MEDIAEVAL CONCEPTION OF KINGSHIP AND SOME OF ITS LIMITATIONS, AS DEVELOPED IN THE *POLICRATICUS* OF JOHN OF SALISBURY¹

By JOHN DICKINSON

THE *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury is the earliest elaborate mediaeval treatise on politics.² Completed in 1159, the date of its composition makes it a landmark in the history of political speculation for two reasons. It is the only important political treatise written before western thought had once more become familiar with the *Politics* of Aristotle. It thus represents the purely mediaeval tradition unaffected by ideas newly borrowed from classical antiquity. It is the culmination, in their maturest form, of a body of doctrines which had developed in unbroken sequence from patristic literature in contact with the institutions of the earlier Middle Ages. In the second place it comes just before the important turning-point in institutional development at the end of the twelfth and at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when legal precision began to be stamped on a great number of previously indefinite relationships, and when feudal independence tended to become consolidated into definite organs of political control. It therefore speaks from a point of view which was about to disappear, but which it is all the more important to understand because it contributed a heritage of ideas whose momentum made them, in spite of the newer influences, the dominant force in political thought down to at least the middle of the sixteenth century.

¹ This article will form a portion of the introduction to a translation of the fourth, fifth, and sixth books, and of certain chapters of the seventh and eighth books, of the *Policraticus*, to appear later under the title of *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, as one of the volumes of "Political Science Classics," edited by Professor Lindsay Rogers and published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

² "The first attempt to produce a coherent system which should aspire to the character of a philosophy of politics." R. Lane Poole, *Illustrations of Mediaeval Thought* (2d ed., London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920), p. 204. "Das Verdienst gebührt ihm als der erste . . . im Mittelalter den Versuch gemacht zu haben über das Wesen des Staates nachzudenken, sich dasselbe theoretisch zurecht zu legen." E. Schuster, *Die Staatslehre Johannis von Salisbury* (Erlangen diss., Berlin 1897), p. 30.

The first half of the twelfth century was in some respects the great age of conscious feudalism. It is therefore striking that there is hardly a trace of contractual feudal theory in the *Policraticus*.¹ It is true that in one passage John of Salisbury accepts the feudal doctrine that public offices are transmissible by descent like private property;² in a second he conceives the relation between the prince and his subjects in terms of the oath of fealty;³ in a third he denies the right of tyrannicide to those who are bound by fealty to the tyrant.⁴ But these passages are exceptional; the whole view of the state which is presented is at variance with the conception that there is anything contractual or voluntary in its composition.

The obvious explanation of this failure to mirror a dominant contemporary tendency is almost certainly the true one — namely, that John represents the standpoint and theory not of purely secular politics but of the Church. But this by no means implies that his point of view is academic or aside from the main currents of practical governmental development. On the contrary, the ecclesiastical theory of the state was a powerful factor in practical politics throughout the feudal period, in opposition to the distinctively feudal theory; and it was precisely this ecclesiastical theory which was at the basis of the pretensions of national monarchy against feudal aggression, and which served to keep alive the conception of "commonwealth" during an era of particularistic disintegration. Luchaire has pointed out that the monarchy of Hugh Capet and his immediate successors was royalty of an ecclesiastical character, inheriting Roman traditions through the channel of church theory, and that at the era of its lowest ebb it was prevented by this theory from ever degenerating into purely feudal suzerainty.⁵ From the standpoint of practical development this body of ecclesiastical-Roman doctrine is ac-

¹ This is noted by C. Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis* (Leipzig, 1862), p. 349.

² *Policraticus*, v, 6. All references in subsequent footnotes which cite merely book and chapter without title are to the *Policraticus*, Webb's edition: *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici siue de Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum Libri VIII*, ed. C. C. I. Webb, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.

³ vi, 25; Lane Poole, *op. cit. supra*, p. 204, goes too far in saying that "there is not a trace even of the terminology of feudalism."

⁴ viii, 20.

⁵ *Institutions Monarchiques* (2d ed., Paris: Picard, 1891), I, 35-59; Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France* (11th ed., Paris, 1869), III, 290 ff., 312 ff.

cordingly vital, in that it was the doctrine which finally emerged triumphant in the triumph of national monarchy; and its statement by John of Salisbury is therefore significant as a stage in the transmission of the idea of organic political unity from antiquity to modern times. The heart of this body of doctrine was its conception of kingship.

I

There is no comparison of the relative merits of different forms of government in the *Policraticus*. The conventional discussion of the respective claims of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy is an academic imitation of classical political theory which comes into mediaeval thought only with the recovery of Aristotle's *Politics* in the following century. Monarchy is the only form of government in which John is interested as a working reality, although he seems conscious that there may be other forms.¹

There is one kind of government, however, which John in several passages sets up as an ideal in contrast to monarchy, to illustrate the shortcomings of the latter. This is rule by judges, as it existed among the people of Israel in the time of Samuel and before the establishment of the Kingdom. John's preference for such a government is closely connected with, and serves to emphasize, his conception of the supremacy of a ready-made body of preëxisting "higher"² law. A king is not really needed by a people who follow this law and submit to its dictates; all that they require is a judge to administer it among them as Samuel did. The beginning of kingship marks a falling away from the purity of obedience to the law, and was a token of God's anger. "The earliest patriarchs," says John, "followed nature, the best guide of life. They were succeeded by leaders, beginning with Moses, who followed the law, and judges who ruled the people by the authority of the law; and we read that the latter were priests. At last, in the anger of God, they were given kings, some good, many bad. For Samuel had grown old, and when his sons did not walk in his ways, but followed after avarice

¹ v, 1.

² For a treatment of the doctrine of "higher law" by John of Salisbury the reader is referred to Section II of the Introduction to my forthcoming translation above referred to.

and uncleanness, the people, who perchance deserved that such priests should be in authority over them, forced God, whom they had despised, to give them a King."¹ "And yet a King was not truly needed, had not Israel after the likeness of the gentiles walked crookedly and showed themselves not content to have God for their King."² "And if iniquity and injustice, banishing charity, had not brought about tyranny . . . perhaps there would be no kingdoms at all, since it is clear from the ancient historians that in the beginning these were founded by iniquity as encroachments against God or were extorted from Him."³

These passages form an interesting link between important earlier and later theories. They reach back to the patristic doctrine that in the state of innocence there was no coercive government, and that it was sin which caused God to set men over one another, subjecting some to the authority of others. In the language of St Augustine, the primitive just men were rather shepherds of their flocks than kings of men.⁴ On the other hand, the same passages reach forward to the important distinction taken by the author of the second book of the *de Regimine Principum* between "political" and "regal" rule. Political rule was that of the judges of Israel. This was suited to man in the uncontaminated state of human nature which was called the state of innocence; but in the state of sin, regal rule is more beneficial. "Therefore the rod of discipline, which all men fear, and the rigor of justice, are necessary in the governance of the world because thereby the people and the rude untutored multitude are the better ruled."⁵ Whether St Thomas wrote this passage or not, the distinction which it drew came to be identified with a similar distinction which he based on Aristotle's *Politics*,⁶ and formed the

¹ viii, 18.

² iv, 3.

³ viii, 17.

⁴ *de Civitate Dei*, xix, 15; Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.*, v, 24; R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* (New York: Putnam, 1903), I, 126-129. St Isidore held that temporal rulership would not be necessary if men would heed the preaching of God's law and did not require to be coerced, *Lib. Sent.*, iii, 51, quoted by Jonas of Orleans (ca. 830), *de Institutione Regia*, iv (in D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, 2d ed., Paris, 1723, I, 324 at 330; also in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CVI, 292); by Hugh of Fleury, ca. 1100, "*Tractatus de Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate*, i, 4, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de Lite*, II, 469.

⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *de Regimine Principum*, ii, 9 in *Opera*, (Parma ed., 25 vols., 1852-1873) XVI, 244.

⁶ *Com. in Aristot. Pol.*, iii, lects. 13, 15 in *Opera* Parma ed., XXI, 489 ff., 496 ff.

groundwork of Fortescue's famous distinction between the English and French monarchies.¹

inst. the law
John of Salisbury, when contrasting monarchy with government by judges, represents the former as essentially despotic in character. "And so Saul was elected with the aforesaid right of a King, namely that he might take their sons and make them his charioteers, and take their daughters to bake his bread and cook his food, and take their fields and lands to distribute at his pleasure among his servants, and in short oppress the whole people beneath the yoke of slavery."² This conception of kingship³ is out of line with the main trend of John's views on monarchy. It represents a direction of thought which, however congenial with his extreme doctrine of the self-sufficiency of law, is not the direction that he chose in the main to follow. On the other hand, the theory of kingship which he developed in detail embraces at least two distinct elements which it is difficult to harmonize.

John insists in numerous passages that the king is the "representative" of the commonwealth.⁴ He is "the minister of the common interest . . . and bears the public person."⁵ He must regard himself as only the servant of the people.⁶ He is an "officer," and his acts are not his own, but those of the *uniuersitas*, or corporate community, in whose place he stands.⁷ This conception of kingship as representative or ministerial is in line with a current of opinion which was emphasized in twelfth-century thought by the revived study of the *Corpus Iuris*. A famous text based the authority of the emperor on a *lex regia* whereby the Roman people had transferred their power to him.⁸ Therefore the glossators explained the position of the emperor as that of a "representative" or "vicar" of the people. It happens that the earliest passages in the writings of the jurists which

¹ "This Diversite is wel taught bi Seynt Thomas in his boke wiche he wrote, *Ad Regem Cipri de Regimine Principum*." Fortescue, *Governance of England*, ch. 1 (ed. C. Plummer, Oxford, 1885), p. 110.

² viii, 18.

³ The identification of kingship and tyranny in connection with the theory of the origin of government, and the resulting inconsistency between this view and the attempt made elsewhere to draw a clear distinction between a king and a tyrant, reproduce themselves in the continuation of St Thomas's *de Regimine Principum*; cf. ii, 9, and iii, 9.

⁴ v, 2.

⁵ iv, 2.

⁶ iv, 1.

⁷ v, 4.

⁸ Dig., i, 4, 1; Inst., i, 2, 6.

develop this view are probably a little later than the *Policraticus*, or approximately contemporaneous with it;¹ but it was a view which was to become the orthodox legal doctrine of the next century,² and for that reason its early statement by John of Salisbury is all the more remarkable and significant.

It does not, however, represent John's dominant conception of the position of the monarch. He regards him for the most part (not as the representative of the people, but as the "image of God on earth.")³ His ministry is conferred on him not by the people but by God. "All power is from the Lord God; the power which the prince has is therefore from God, for the power of God is never lost nor severed from him, but He merely exercises it through a subordinate hand."⁴ The power of the prince is "instituted by God for the punishment of evil-doers and for the reward of good men."⁵ The prince "is placed at the apex of the commonwealth by the divine governance."⁶ Kingship is an honor bestowed by God,⁷ and a criminal attempt against the prince is an attempt against God Himself.⁸ "He is subject only to God and to the priesthood, who represent God upon earth;⁹ and he will be judged by God and held to account for his ministry."¹⁰

The later Middle Ages were troubled by the problem of reconciling the doctrine that, on the one hand, the ruler was the agent or

¹ *Com. ad. Dig. Tit. "de Diuersis Regulis Iuris"* (Dig. L., 17), attributed to Bulgarus, reg. 176, ed. F. G. C. Beckhaus, Bonn, 1856, p. 112; Placentinus, *Summa Institutionum*, i, 2, quoted in Carlyle, *Hist. of Mediaeval Political Theory*, II, 58. (I have been unable to consult the original as there is no copy in the library of Harvard University or of the Harvard Law School.) Tourtoulon places the work of Placentinus after 1166, *Vie de Placentin*, (Thèse pour le Doctorat, Paris, Chevalier-Maresq, 1896), pp. 120, 121. It is impossible to date Bulgarus's commentary accurately; if it was his work, as Savigny supposes (*Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, Heidelberg, 1826, IV, 94 ff.), it might have been written before 1156 and probably before 1159 (*Ibid.*, 86, 87).

² Aquinas, *Summa Theol., Prima Secundae*, q. 90, art. 3; Baldus, *Com. on Code* (Venice, 1586), X, rubr. 1, nr. 12, 13, 18; other citations in Otto Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*, tr. F. W. Maitland (Cambridge: University Press, 1900), p. 122, notes 210-217 incl.

³ Cf. Hugh of Fleury, *Tract. de Reg. Pot.*, i, 3: "rex in regni sui corpore patris omnipotentis optinere uidetur imaginem"; Suger, "*Vita Ludouici*," in *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1867), p. 72: "partum Dei cuius ad uiuificandum portat rex imaginem." See J. Flach, *Les Origines de l'Ancienne France* (Paris: Larose, 1904), III, 236 ff.

⁴ iv, 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ v, 6.

⁷ vi, 26.

⁸ vi, 25.

⁹ v, 2.

¹⁰ iv, 10; iv, 12; vi, 1.

representative of the people, and, on the other hand, that he held his power from God.¹ John does not seem to have felt the difficulty, perhaps because he had a solution for it. "The commonwealth," he says, "stands in the same relation to the prince as a ward to a guardian."² In other words, the prince is responsible for the commonwealth, but not to it; he represents it legally, but his responsibility runs to the legal authority to which he owes his appointment, namely to God. The same idea is differently expressed in another passage: "The prince is the Lord's servant, but he performs his service by faithfully serving his fellow-servants, namely his subjects."³

This solution evades the necessity of taking one side or the other upon an issue which was of immediate practical consequence in the twelfth century — the issue, namely, between elective and hereditary monarchy. In the Carolingian period the conventional formulae of public acts described the Frankish kings as "elected by the whole people."⁴ During the feudal era the baronage had succeeded for a time in France,⁵ and permanently in Germany, in making the election more than a mere formality.⁶ In England, at least the form of election seems to have prevailed down to the time of Edward the First.⁷ At the very era when the *Policraticus* was being written, the French and English monarchs were finally succeeding in making the crown hereditary in their families through the practice of securing the election and coronation of the heir during the lifetime of his predecessor.⁸ "Philip Augustus was the first of his race who felt himself strong enough to dispense with the designation and coronation of his son during his own life-time. It had taken two centuries for the dynasty of Hugh Capet to attain this result."⁹ During the

¹ For efforts to effect a reconciliation see Gierke, *op. cit. supra*, p. 146, notes 140 and 141.

² v, 7.

³ iv, 7.

⁴ Flach, *Les Origines de l'Ancienne France*, III, 238 ff.

⁵ See Luchaire, *Institutions Monarchiques*, I, 61-86.

⁶ Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 7 ed., pp. 226 ff.

⁷ Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England* (4th ed., Oxford, 1906), II, 107.

⁸ Luchaire, *op. cit.*, I, 61, 69. Henry II of England had his eldest son, Henry, crowned twice: first in 1170 (G. B. Adams, *Political History of England, 1066-1216*, London and New York: Longmans, 1905, p. 293), and again with his wife in 1172 (*Ibid.*, p. 303).

⁹ Luchaire, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

whole period when the hereditary and elective principles were contending with one another, current theory sought to evade difficulties by accepting both at the same time, and refusing to see any inconsistency between them. The typical formulae run to the effect that the king is "*rex iure hæreditario, . . . et mediante tam cleri quam populi unanimi consensu et fauore*";¹ or as Ivo of Chartres explained, "*Iure in regem est consecratus cui iure hæreditario regnum competeat et quem communis consensus episcoporum et procerum iam pridem eligerat.*"²

In fact, this mixed theory of election and heredity was not so much the result of a mere failure to distinguish between the two as it was the outcome of a carefully devised argument which formed an important element in that ecclesiastical tradition of political thought which John of Salisbury represents. The full statement of this theory is perhaps the point at which the *Policraticus* sheds the most direct light on the institutional history of its era.

John starts from the position that "the kingly power is not born of flesh and blood, since in the bestowal thereof regard for ancestry ought not to prevail over merits and virtues."³ Again he says that, while ordinarily public offices descend to the heirs of the holder, governance of the people does not so descend as a matter of right, but is bestowed upon one who has in him the spirit of God, and has a knowledge of the law.⁴ The theory of absolute hereditary right is thus rejected. On the other hand, John is equally far from accepting an unrestricted freedom of election by the community. In describing the "ordination" of a Hebrew king, and implying that it is a model to be followed in instituting rulers, he says, "Here is plainly no ac-

¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, ed. Adam Clarke and Fred. Holbrooke (Gr. Britain, Pub. Records Com., London, 1816), I, i, 75. Cf. the account of the succession of Richard I, given by Ralph de Diceto: "*Comes itaque Pictavorum Ricardus hæreditario iure promouendus in regem post tam cleri quam populi solempnem et debitam electionem inuolutus est triplici sacramento,*" "*Imagines Historiarum*," anno 1189, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, LXVIII, ii, 68.

² *Recueil des Historiens de France*, par les Benedictins de Saint Maur (nouv. ed., L. Delisle, Paris, 1869 et seq.), XV, 144. For the combination of hereditary and elective theory in the Empire, see G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* (2d ed., ed. G. Seeliger, Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), VI, 163 ff. Cf. the account of accession of Otto I in "*Annales Quedlinburgenses*," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, III, 54: "Henricus rex obiit . . . cuius filius Otto . . . iure hæreditario paternis eligitur succedere regnis."

³ iv, 3.

⁴ v, 6.

clamation by the people, any more than a title founded upon ties of blood"; but the prince should be chosen in the presence of the people, "so that afterwards no man may have ground for retraction, and no least scruple of uncertainty may remain to cloud his title."¹ John is particularly opposed to the efforts of kings to ensure the succession of their heirs. "Why is it," he asks, "that the poor are crushed beneath wrongs and outrages, made lean with exactions, despoiled by manifold and oft repeated rapine, why are the peoples bidden to clash together in arms and shake the world, to no end but that princes may be succeeded by their natural heirs?"² "To-day all are actuated by the single motive of making their children, no matter what the character of the latter may be, resplendent with riches and honors rather than with virtues. They even neglect and forget that the burden and responsibility of the common weal rest upon them."³

If thus neither election nor hereditary right affords a sufficient basis for the royal title, whence is it derived? John derives it from God, through election or inheritance or such other means as God in the given instance chooses to employ. "The prince is placed by the divine governance at the apex of the commonwealth, sometimes through the secret ministry of God's providence, sometimes by the decision of His priests, and again it is the votes of the whole people which concur to place the ruler in authority."⁴ Having been so chosen, if he then proceeds to discharge his office faithfully and in accordance with divine law, a presumptive right arises in his children to succeed him. "The father is succeeded by the son if the latter imitates the father's justice. Parents will be succeeded by their children if these shall have faithfully followed them in obeying the commandments of the Lord. . . . Since there is nought which men more desire than to have their sons succeed in their possessions, therefore this promise is given to princes as the greatest incentive to the practice of justice. . . . It is the privilege of a prince to have his sons succeed him without any question and in continuance of the original grant from God unless their princely power is subverted as a result of iniquity."⁵ "It is not right to pass over in

¹ v, 6.² v, 7.³ iv, 11.⁴ v, 6.⁵ iv, 11.

favor of new men the blood of princes, who are entitled by the divine promise and the right of family to be succeeded by their own children provided they have walked in the judgments of the Lord.”¹

What the theory amounts to, then, is this: that heredity establishes a presumptive or defeasible title, which, if abused either by the incumbent, his predecessor, or the claimant to the succession, is capable of being divested by human action pursued in execution of the judgment of God, and by virtue of authority derived from Him. This was substantially the form in which a compromise between the hereditary and elective principles was maintained by church theory during the two centuries from the election of Hugh Capet to the end of the twelfth century.² On the former occasion it was expressed by Adalbero of Rheims: “We are not ignorant that Charles of Lorraine has partisans who pretend that the throne belongs to him by right of birth. But if the question is stated in this way we shall reply that royal power is not acquired by hereditary right, and that he alone should be elevated to it who is designated *not only* by his birth and family *but also* by the wisdom of his spirit and who finds his natural support in his faithfulness to religion, his chief strength in his greatness of soul.”³ What is substantially the same view is set forth in the much-disputed speech attributed to Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury on the occasion of the “election” of King John of England. “Let your discretion know,” the Archbishop is made to say, “that no one has a right to succeed another in the Kingship unless after the invocation of the Holy Spirit he is chosen by the unanimous approval of the *uniuersitas* of the kingdom, having been previously designated for the post because of his preëminence in good qualities, according to the example and likeness of Saul whom God set over

¹ v, 6.

² The inconsistency between the two elements of the theory, heredity and election, was already breaking apart in the investiture controversy at the end of the eleventh century. The imperialists were driven to advance a theory of indefeasible hereditary right: Petrus Crassus, “*Defensio Henrici Regis*,” vi (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de Lite*, I, 432 ff); *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conseruanda* i, 13 (*Libelli de Lite*, II, 173). On the other hand, Manegold of Lautenbach for the papalists rested royal authority on delegation by the people: *Liber ad Gebehardum*, xxx, xlvii (ed. K. Franke, *Libelli de Lite*, I, 308 ff.). See A. Fliche, “Les Théories Germaniques de la Souveraineté,” in *Revue Historique* (May-June, 1917), CXXV, 1 ff.

³ Richer, iv, 11, ed. G. Waitz (*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hanover, 1877), pp. 132-33.

His people although he was not the son of a king nor even sprung from a royal stock; and of David likewise, the son of Semey, who succeeded him, the one because he was able and fit for the royal dignity, the other because of his holiness and humanity; thus showing that he who excels all in the kingdom in point of ability should be set over all in power and rulership. But if any of the family of the deceased king so excels others, his election must be consented to all the more readily and promptly."¹

Read in the light of contemporary doctrine as developed in the *Policraticus*, there is no need to see in Hubert's speech the announcement of the principle of election in any modern sense, or to regard it as exceptional in the way that Stubbs seems to do.² It is merely the emergence of the conventional view upon an opportunity and from a source from which it might naturally be expected to emerge.

We should make a serious mistake if we supposed that the elective element was conceived with anything like the sharpness of nineteenth, or the hereditary element with anything like the legitimate absolutism of eighteenth-century, theory. Both were outlined with a hazy informality, which was no doubt all the more congenial to church writers because of the opportunity which was thus left to the Church to intervene in doubtful cases and declare upon the highest authority the will of God.³ But John cautiously refrains from saying that the power of decision rests always with the priesthood; it is true that they always have the power of deposition because they have the power of conferring royalty;⁴ but it is only sometimes that God works through this power, and He frequently employs other equally valid agencies to elevate his chosen candidate to royal office.⁵

The conception of the king's title as derived from God goes hand in hand with the conception of his "office" as a religious one. "Every

¹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, LVII, ii, 454, 455.

² Stubbs, *Const'l Hist.*, I, 454. Election was only a channel through which God manifested his will. See Maurice Prou, in preface to his edition of Hincmar, "*De Ordine Palatii*," *Bibl. de L'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 58 (Paris, 1885), p. xxix.

³ See the very interesting "opinion" handed down by Innocent III when he undertook to decide the case of the disputed election of Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick to the Empire (1201) in J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historica diplomatica Friderici secundi* (Paris: Plon, 1852-61), I, 70-76; also in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCXVI, 1025-31.

⁴ iv, 3.

⁵ v, 6.

office existing under and concerned with the execution of the sacred laws is really a religious office.”¹ A great part of the *Policraticus* is taken up with a discussion of the duties of the ruler conceived from this point of view. The discussion is illuminating as disclosing absolutely no distinction between what we should to-day class as public and private duties.² [The king should be chaste and avoid avarice;³ he should be learned in letters;⁴ he should be humble;⁵ he should banish from his realm actors and mimes, buffoons and harlots;⁶ he should seek the welfare of others and not his own;⁷ he should wholly forget the affections of flesh and blood and do only that which is demanded by the welfare and safety of his subjects; he should be both father and husband to them;⁸ he should correct their errors with the proper remedies;⁹ he should be affable of speech and generous in conferring benefits; he should temper justice with mercy;¹⁰ he should punish the wrongs and injuries of all, and all crimes, with even-handed equity;¹¹ he has duties to the very wise and the very foolish, to little children and to the aged;¹² his shield is a shield for the protection of the weak, and should ward off the darts of the wicked from the innocent;¹³ he must act on the counsel of wise men;¹⁴ he must protect the widow and the orphan;¹⁵ he must curb the malice of officials and provide for them out of the public funds, to the end that all occasion for extortion may be removed;¹⁶ he must restrain the soldiery from outrage;¹⁷ he should be learned in law and in military science;¹⁸ he must in all things provide for the welfare of the lower classes;¹⁹ he must avoid levity;²⁰ he is charged with the disposal of the means of the public welfare,²¹ and is the dispenser of honor;²² he must not close his ear to the cries of the poor;²³ he must raise aloft the roof-tree of the Church and extend abroad the wor-

¹ iv, 3.

² Augustine, still living in the classical tradition, had recognized such a distinction. *Ad Bon., Ep. 50*, v, § 19. This letter appears as No. 185 in Migne's edition, *Pat. Lat., XXXIII*, 801.

³ iv, 5. *Letter to the Pope*.

⁴ iv, 6. Hugh of Fleury would have the king learn to read, “*ut acuat cotidie eius ingenium lectione diuinorum librorum.*” *Tract. de Reg. Pot.*, i, 6.

⁵ iv, 7.

⁶ iv, 4.

⁷ iv, 8.

⁸ iv, 3.

⁹ iv, 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ iv, 2.

¹² iv, 3.

¹³ iv, 2.

¹⁴ v, 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ v, 10.

¹⁷ vi, 1.

¹⁸ vi, 2.

¹⁹ vi, 20, 25.

²⁰ vi, 23.

²¹ vi, 24.

²² vi, 26.

²³ vi, 27.

ship of religion; ¹ he must protect the Church against sacrilege and rapine; ² and finally, he must ever strive so to rule that in the whole community over which he presides none shall be sorrowful.³

This patriarchal-ecclesiastical conception of monarchy and government forms part of a tradition which had become dominant sometime before the reign of Justinian and was destined to govern western thought until almost the end of the sixteenth century.⁴ It emerges with especial emphasis in the Carolingian period,⁵ and writes itself into coronation oaths and official documents. Thus Otto the First, when crowned King of the Franks, swore that he would "drive out all the enemies of the Christ by the divine authority committed to him, and would stretch out the hand of pity to the ministers of God and to all widows and orphans, and never be wanting in the oil of mercy."⁶ Barbarossa seems to have sworn "to defend the Church and the clergy of God, to keep peace and order, and to protect the widows and the fatherless and all his people, to the end that those who obeyed and trusted him might rejoice, and that he might win glory in the sight of men and eternal life with the King of Kings."⁷ Bishop Adalbero at the election of Hugh Capet told the assembly, "You shall have him for a father; for who of you when in trouble shall not be able to take refuge with him and find in him a patron and protector?"⁸ It is interesting to note that in two treatises on royalty written during the Carolingian period,⁹ there is quoted the same passage from a work certainly not earlier than the fifth century,¹⁰ in which this ecclesiastical-patriarchal con-

¹ vi, 26.

² vi, 13.

³ vi, 6.

⁴ See Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, Everyman's ed., pp. 39, 40, for substantially the same conception of kingship as that of John of Salisbury; so also Bodin, *Six Livres de la République*, ii, 3; George Buchanan, *de Jure Regni apud Scotos* (appended to Buchanan's *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, ed. J. Man, Aberdeen, 1762), xxxviii, xxxix, also *Epigram*, ii, 27; see P. Hume Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer* (Edinburgh: Douglas, 1890), p. 254.

⁵ Seeliger, *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, II, 656.

⁶ Widukind, ii, 1, ed. Waitz. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, III, 438.

⁷ P. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1864), I, 513; Wibaldi Epp., no. 382.

⁸ Richer, *Chron.*, ed. Waitz, p. 133.

⁹ Jonas of Orleans, *De Inst. Reg.*, iii; Hincmar of Rheims, *De regis persona et regio ministerio*, c. 2 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXV, 833, 835).

¹⁰ The passage is from a work entitled "*De Duodecim Abusionibus Saeculi*," ix, wrongly attributed by mediaeval writers to St Cyprian, and printed among his works (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, IV, 870, 877 ff.).

ception of royalty is very fully developed; and the passage as an obviously important source of much of the later theory deserves comparison with the statement of the ruler's duties in the *Policraticus*: "The justice of a King is this: not to use his power to oppress any one; to judge between a man and his neighbor without respect of persons; to be the defender of pilgrims and orphans and widows; to prevent thefts; to punish adultery; not to exalt the wicked to power; not to nourish unchaste persons and actors; to destroy the wicked from the face of the earth; not to permit parricides and perjurers to live; to defend churches; to sustain the poor by alms; to place righteous men in charge of the business of the realm; to have old men and wise men and sober men for his counsellors; not to give ear to the superstitions of magicians, soothsayers and forecasters; to put away anger; to defend the land bravely and righteously against foes; to live in God in all things; to hold the Catholic faith in God; not to permit his sons to act wickedly; to attend prayers at regular hours; not to take food before the appointed hours."¹ This passage practically sums up all that John of Salisbury has to say on the duties of the prince. He has nothing to add to it.²

¹ This passage is adopted by Abbo of Fleury (ca. 990) as expressing his view of monarchy. *Recueil des Historiens de France*, X, 627. The way in which it reached him is interesting. He attributes it to the Sixth Council of Paris, canons ii, 1. The second book of canons of this Council incorporates practically in its entirety the treatise of Jonas of Orleans referred to above, including, of course, Jonas's quotation from the *de Abusionibus*. (P. Labbé, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, Venice, 1729, IX, 746 ff.; J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Amplissima Collectio*, Venice, 1769, XIV, 574 ff.). Prou thinks that the treatise of Jonas is a mere copy from the canons, rather than that the canons are taken from the treatise; see his preface to Hincmar's "*de Ordine Palatii*," *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 58, p. xxv.

² For a similar conception of monarchy in Justinian's Novels, see Bussell, *The Roman Empire* (London: Longmans, 1910), II, 50 ff. The duties of a king are set forth as follows by Hugh of Flavigny (ca. 1100): "The duty of a king is to rule the people of God in justice and equity; to be the defender of churches, the protector of widows and orphans, to deliver the poor man from the mighty and the needy man whom there is none to aid; and, like blessed Job, to break the jaws of the unjust man and bear away his prey from his teeth; to be the father of the poor, an eye to the blind and a foot to the lame." (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, VIII, 436.) The passage is copied by Hugh of Fleury, *Tract. de Reg. Pot.*, i, 6 (*Libelli de Lite*, II, 473). For a collection of passages from contemporaneous writers setting forth the same view, see G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* (2d ed., ed. G. Seeliger, Berlin, Weidmann, 1896), VI, 469 ff. A familiar type of treatise consisted of a list of the virtues proper to a king, and a moral discourse on each. Such is the *Via Regia* of Abbot Smaragdus, a Carolingian writer (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CII, 931 ff), and the first book of the *De Principis*

The patriarchal-ecclesiastical conception of monarchy thus looked upon the relations between the monarch and his subjects as purely personal. Its ideal was Job sitting in the gate and rendering judgment in favor of the widow and the poor man,¹ an ideal which was actually realized in St. Louis's well-known practice of doing justice under the oak at Vincennes.² It ignored altogether the question of the organization of an administrative mechanism for establishing an impersonal contact between government and the individual. There is no hint of this problem in the *Policraticus*. From the theoretical standpoint it thus omitted some of the most important problems of the science of government. [From the practical standpoint it was at once the cause and the reflection of the condition of affairs which resulted in the administrative disintegration that we know as feudalism.] The relation of the prince to his subjects being conceived as not essentially different from their relation to one another, there follows naturally the disintegration of public law into private law which characterizes the Middle Ages. The relation of the subjects to one another being conceived as not different from their relations to the prince, there resulted the establishment by the more powerful subjects of what practically amounted to political power over their lesser neighbors. The same tendency was furthered by the conception of princely power as paternal; every lord of a large household was necessarily regarded by John of Salisbury³ as in some sort a prince. The patriarchal conception of authority thus worked toward the same result as the conception of a preëstablished higher law.⁴ Furthermore, the existence of only a personal, as distinguished from an institutional, bond between the prince and his subordinate offi-

Instructione of Giraldus Cambrensis at the end of the twelfth century (*Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner, Rolls Series, XXI, viii). Cf. also Sedulius Scotus, *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CIII, 291).

¹ v, 6, 8.

² De Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1874), p. 35.

³ vi, 22, 27.

⁴ "The mediaeval view of government admitted and indeed required that wealth and social influence should be accompanied by political power. . . . Every householder had some jurisdiction under his roof-gutter and within the hedge. Personal authority over domestic servants and slaves took among other things the shape of criminal and police jurisdiction." P. Vinogradoff, *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, II, 651.

cials operated on the one hand to make efficient supervision of the administrative system impossible, and on the other hand to place their relations on a footing of private law which lent a color of legality to claims of feudal independence. Feudalism was thus bred in part from the very ideas of personal absolutism which superficially seem most strongly opposed to it. Its persistence was to some degree due to the fact that its presuppositions were accepted by its opponents.¹

The absence of any sense of the need for organizing on an institutional basis the relations between the prince and his subordinates no doubt accounts for the scandalous venality of the bureaucracy which so much of the *Policraticus* is devoted to castigating.² It is a result which always follows from such a cause; it did so in the Byzantine Empire,³ and in the Renaissance monarchies of the sixteenth century.⁴ The restraining influence of purely personal supervision is entirely inadequate to control a large body of officials functioning over a wide territorial area; an institutionalized system of responsibility can alone develop the tradition and enforce the practice of honest efficiency. It has been well said that, when more power is conferred upon the people than they are able to exercise, effective control is really taken from them;⁵ and similarly, when more power is left in the hands of the prince than he can humanly exercise, effective power passes really to an irresponsible bureaucracy.

John is innocent of any idea of correcting the abuses of administration by an institutional organization of public functions under the prince. Everything rests in his personal pleasure. Everything is "guided solely by the determinations of his own mind."⁶ And this absolutism is tinctured with elements which enable us to see the patriarchal origins of the feudal point of view. The prince is in a

¹ When the French kings by the middle of the fourteenth century had succeeded in getting possession of the greater feudal principalities which they had been striving to control for more than two centuries, they could think of nothing better to do with them than to parcel them out as 'appanages' among younger members of the royal family in whose hands they became the basis of a new feudalism. See R. Lodge, *The Close of the Middle Ages*, 46.

² v, 10, 11, 15, 16; vi, 1.

³ Bussell, *The Roman Empire*, II, 53 ff., 93 ff.

⁴ L. Einstein, *Tudor Ideals* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921), pp. 56-62.

⁵ Henry Jones Ford, *Rise and Growth of American Politics* (New York: Macmillan, 1911), p. 299.

⁶ v, 6.

sense the owner of all the goods of his subjects. Private law is again called into play, and the subjects are conceived as mere tenants by *superficies*; and "when the advantage of the ruling power so requires, they are not so much owners of their possessions as mere custodians. But if there is no pressure of necessity, then the goods of the provincials are their own, and not even the prince himself may lawfully abuse them."¹ On the other hand "the prince will not regard as his own the wealth of which he has the custody for the account of others, nor will he treat as private the property of the fisc, which is acknowledged to be public. Nor is this any ground for wonder since he is not even his own man, but belongs wholly to his subjects."² This is a view which can easily degenerate into the claim of the overlord to ownership of all the goods of his vassals;³ while in its essence it seems to approach quite nearly to the modern conception of trusteeship. The king can take and use the goods of his subject when necessary for the common advantage; and he is accountable not to their judgment but only to the "higher law." Implicit belief in the certainty of this law and its enforcement serves to conceal the danger of entrusting such power to an individual. On the other hand, a power of "eminent domain" had obviously to be vested somewhere; and John and his contemporaries were incapable of conceiving it as vested in the state itself because they could not yet conceive of the *universitas* as acting except through the prince, or as having a *persona* of its own, apart from the *persona* of the prince. In other words, they had to think in terms of trusts and not of corporations; and they could do that without difficulty because they had the "higher law" to fall back upon. John's inability to conceive of community action against, or otherwise than through the agency of, the prince stands out with especial clarity in his doctrine of tyranny, and of the means to be pursued in dealing with it.⁴

¹ vi, 1.² iv, 5.³ See More, *Utopia*, Everyman's Library, p. 38.⁴ For a treatment of the power of the Church as a limit upon the monarch's authority, the reader is referred to Section IV of the Introduction to my forthcoming translation, above referred to. In contrast to the view of Gierke and Schaarschmidt, I incline to the opinion that John's theory of ecclesiastical supremacy cannot be strictly interpreted in terms of constitutional law because John recognized no clear distinction between constitutional and merely moral considerations. See Ernst Schubert, *Die Staatslehre Johannis von Salisbury* (Erlangen diss., Berlin, 1897), pp. 36, 49.

II

The doctrine of the *Policraticus* is that there can be "tyranny" wherever there is rulership. "Tyranny exists not only in the case of princes, but everyone is a tyrant who abuses power that has been granted to him from above over those who are subjected to him."¹ "In common speech the tyrant is one who oppresses a whole people by rulership based on force; and yet it is not only over the people as a whole that a man can play the tyrant, but he can do so, if he will, in the meanest station."² . . . "It is not only kings who practice tyranny, but among private men there are a host of tyrants, since the power which they have, they turn to some forbidden object."³ [These passages illustrate the absence of any clear distinction in John's thought between the moral and the political; abuse of public power is conceived simply in terms of a breach of personal morality.] ✓✓

So there may be tyranny on the part of persons holding ecclesiastical as well as temporal offices;⁴ and "of the two kinds the ecclesiastical tyrant is worse than the temporal."⁵ Much of John's discussion of the behavior of tyrants has reference to the ecclesiastical variety;⁶ but his theory of temporal tyrants is far more complete and well defined. ✓

In the sphere of temporal rulership the difference between a prince and a tyrant is that the prince obeys "the law," while the tyrant "oppresses the people by rulership based upon force, and regards nothing as accomplished unless the laws are brought to nought and the people reduced to slavery."⁶ John then quotes the traditional etymology of "*rex*," which derived it from "*recte*," and gave a basis for the argument that he alone is entitled to the name (1)

¹ viii, 18. "Tyrant" is a name frequently applied, from the Carolingian period onward, to the feudal magnates who were forcibly extending their authority. Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ii; Suger, *Vita Ludouici*, xxiii, *Oeuvres*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, pp. 92, 93. ✓

² viii, 17.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ viii, 23.

⁵ See especially vii, 17; viii, 17, 23.

⁶ viii, 17. The idea that the difference between a prince and a tyrant consists in the fact that the one rules in accordance with law, and the other not, goes back in ecclesiastical tradition to Gregory the Great, *Com. on Job*, xv, 20 (in *Moralia*, xii, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXV, 1006).

of king who rules rightly.¹ This leads to the further inference that the will of the prince cannot be unjust or opposed to the law, because when it becomes so he then ceases to be truly a prince and becomes a tyrant instead. "The will of the true ruler depends upon the law of God . . . but the will of a tyrant is the slave of his desire."² It is therefore quite proper to say that the will of the prince has the force of law, because, in so far as he is truly a prince, his will cannot fail to be in accordance with the law.³ "Who, indeed, in respect of public matters can properly speak of the will of the prince at all, since therein he may not lawfully have any will of his own, apart from that which the law or equity enjoins, or the calculation of the common interest requires? For in these matters his will is to have the force of a judgment; and most properly that which pleases him therein has the force of law, because his decision may not be at variance with the intention of equity."⁴ (= Gal)

Having by this sleight-of-hand reconciled the doctrine of a "higher law" with the text "*Quod principi placet*," it would no doubt have been possible for John to proceed to the conclusion later reached by Bartolus that some or all of the acts of the tyrant are legally void, and that his rule is without authority;⁵ but he does not do so; for his way is here blocked by another current of authority to which he could hardly have dared to refuse deference. This is the tradition proceeding from the scriptural texts, "The powers that be are ordained of God,"⁶ and "Servants, obey your masters."⁷ The tyrant must be regarded as holding his power from God no less than the true prince, for "all power is from the Lord God. . . . It is not the ruler's own act when his will is turned to cruelty against his subjects, but it is rather the dispensation of God for His good pleasure to punish or chasten them." Power is worthy of veneration even when

¹ Hor., *Ep.*, i, 1, 59, 60. The definition seems to have come into serious political thought with St Isidore of Seville, *Etym.*, ix, 3, 4 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 342).

² viii, 22.

³ Dante attempted to show realistically that one who was sole monarch of the world *must* have a will directed toward good, for there is no object of selfish ambition left for him to desire — *de Monarchia*, i, 11, 5.

⁴ iv, 1.

⁵ See Bartolus, *de Tyrannia*, trans. in E. Emerton, *Humanism and Tyranny* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), especially c. vii, pp. 134 ff.

⁶ iv, 1.

⁷ vi, 27.

it comes as a plague upon the elect.”¹ “Even tyrants of the gentiles who have been damned unto death from eternity are yet the ministers of God and are called the anointed of the Lord.”²

In other words, tyranny is a part of God's providential ordering of the universe, and, as such, it must be met with due submission. “Every power is good since it is from Him from whom alone are all things, and from whom cometh only good. But at times it may not be good, but rather evil, to the particular individual . . . upon whom it is exercised, though it is good from the universal standpoint, being the act of Him who uses our evil for His own good purposes. Therefore the rule of a tyrant is good, although there is nothing worse than tyranny.”³ “Because of the wickedness of our generation, who are continually provoking against ourselves the wrath of God, it more frequently happens that power comes into the hands of bad, than of good, men.”⁴ “For tyrants are demanded, introduced, and raised to power by sin,” and “are properly deserved by a stiff-necked and stubborn people.”⁵ And just as God inflicts a tyrant upon a sinful people, so when they turn from their wickedness, God frees them from the oppressor.⁶ A wicked king cannot escape the judgment of God. “Run through the sequence of all the histories, and you will see in brief the successions of Kings and how they were cut off by God, like threads in the warp of a web.”⁷ Therefore the best way to get rid of tyrants “is for those who are oppressed to take refuge humbly in the protection of God's mercy, and, lifting up undefiled hands to the Lord, to pray devoutly that the scourge wherewith they are afflicted may be turned aside from them.”⁸ For “the end of tyrants is confusion, leading to destruction if they persist in malice, to pardon if they repent and return to the way of righteousness.”⁹ Therefore a tyrant should be borne with in patience until he either suffers a change of heart or falls in battle, or otherwise meets his end by the just judgment of God.¹⁰

¹ iv, 1.

² viii, 18.

³ *Ibid.* This is a commonplace of the 12th century: “*De bonis et de malis bene facit Deus qui omnia iuste facit atque disponit. Et sic fit ut et malus angelus et malus homo diuinae militent providentiae.*” Hugh of Fleury, *Tract de Reg. Pot.*, i, c. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ viii, 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*; also iv, 11.

⁷ iv, 12.

⁸ Cf. Hugh of Fleury, *loc. cit. supra*, note 3.

⁹ viii, 21.

¹⁰ viii, 20.

The notion that in God's good time tyrants are certain to meet a bad end is part of the conventional tradition of ecclesiastical political theory. It is found in the early work *de Duodecim Abusionibus Saeculi*,¹ from which it is taken over by the Carolingian writers. According to this text if the King fails in his duty, many evils will come upon him and his land, his children will die, enemies will invade the provinces, there will be storms and tempests, wild beasts will devour the flocks, and his children will not inherit his throne.² In other words, his ruin will be brought about through causes wholly beyond the control of his subjects. They are encouraged to pray and to wait passively in the faith that God is just and will do justice. It is the strictly logical conclusion of the doctrine that tyrants are ministers sent of God.

From this conclusion, John of Salisbury strikes off at an inconsistent tangent into one of the most interesting and characteristic of his contributions to political thought. His point of departure may have been the situation presented when the tyrant commands the Christian subject to perform an act which is contrary to the divine law. Here John's theory of the "higher law" compels him to say that the subject is bound to decline obedience. God must be preferred before man.³ "Loyal shoulders should sustain the power of the ruler so long as it is exercised in subjection to God and follows His ordinances; but if it resists and opposes the divine commandments, and wishes to make me share in its war against God; then with unrestrained voice, I answer back that God must be preferred before any man on earth."⁴

Whether in such a case John advocates active opposition by the subject, or merely passive resistance, as Luther was afterwards to do on practically the same premisses,⁵ he does not make entirely clear. He appears to feel that as a matter of policy passive resistance is ordinarily best. "If princes have departed little by little from the

¹ See above, p. 324, note 10.

² *de Duodecim Abusionibus Saeculi*, ix; Jonas of Orleans, *De Inst., Reg.*, iii; Hincmar of Rheims, *de Regis Persona et Regio Ministerio*, ii.

³ vi, 9, 12.

⁴ vi, 25.

⁵ Cf. J. W. Allen, "The Political Conceptions of Luther," in *Tudor Studies*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (London: Longmans, 1924), pp. 98-100.

true way, even so it is not well to overthrow them utterly at once, but rather to rebuke injustice with patient reproof until finally it becomes obvious that they are stiff-necked in evil-doing.”¹ But there may come a time when active resistance is necessary: “Better would it be by far were the diadem torn from the head of the prince than that the good order of the chief and best part of the commonwealth, which is the part concerned with religion, should be destroyed at his pleasure.”²

The right of resistance thus established, the transition is almost inevitable to the thought that here is one of the instruments which God can use in executing His judgment upon tyrants. Why should He be confined to resorting to the use of the inanimate forces of nature or the attacks of foreign enemies rather than the arm of the tyrant’s oppressed subjects? Since God must have an intermediary in the physical world through which to administer His vengeance, why is not a subject justified in becoming such an intermediary? “Malice is always punished by God; but sometimes it is His own, at others it is a human hand which He employs to administer punishment to the unrighteous.”³ This is apparently the chain of inference which resulted in John’s famous doctrine of tyrannicide,⁴ a doctrine which perhaps more than any other part of the *Policraticus* engaged the attention of later mediaeval thinkers, and which emerged into practical prominence during the period of the Counter-Reformation.⁵

John bases his theory of tyrannicide on the authority of examples drawn from scriptural, classical, and ecclesiastical history. Many times, he says, the Children of Israel were in bondage to tyrants in accordance with the dispensation of God, “and then, when they cried aloud to God, they were set free. And when the allotted time of their punishment was fulfilled, they were allowed to cast off the yoke from their necks by the slaughter of their tyrants; nor is blame

¹ v, 6.

² vii, 20.

³ viii, 21.

⁴ John of Salisbury was the first mediaeval writer to erect tyrannicide into a doctrine and defend it with reasoned arguments. See Paul Gennrich, *Die Staats- und Kirchenlehre Johanne von Salisbury* (Gotha; Perthes, 1894), pp. 106 ff.

⁵ See A. Douarche, *de Tyrannicidio apud Scriptores xvi. Saeculi* (Univ. Paris thesis, Paris: Hachette, 1888).

attached to any of those by whose valor a penitent and humbled people was thus set free, but their memory is preserved in affection and honor by posterity as the servants of God."¹ By the example of Sisera and Holofernes he "establishes" that "it is just for public tyrants to be killed and the people set free for the service of God."²

These stories show that the use of "pious dissimulation" to lure tyrants to their ruin "is not treachery because it serves the cause of the faith, and fights in behalf of charity." "Even priests of God repute the killing of tyrants as piety, and if it should appear to wear the semblance of treachery, they say that it is consecrated to God by a sacred mystery." But as for the use of poison against tyrants, John says that he has not read that it is ever permitted by any law.

"Not that I believe that tyrants ought not to be removed from our midst, but it should be done without loss of religion and honor."³

Similarly, "the histories all teach that none should undertake the death of a tyrant who is bound to him by an oath or by the obligation of fealty."⁴ With these limitations, "it is as lawful to kill a tyrant as to kill a condemned enemy." All these passages go merely to show that tyrannicide is not unlawful and not that it is a positive duty; indeed it is in connection with them that John expresses the opinion, already quoted, that usually the safest and most useful method of destroying tyrants is for those who are oppressed to pray to God that their scourge may be removed; and he praises the forbearance of David, who, "although he had to endure the most grievous tyrant, and although he often had an opportunity of destroying him, yet preferred to spare him, trusting to the mercy of God within Whose power it was to set him free without sin."⁵

Elsewhere, however, John represents tyrannicide as amounting to a public duty. "To kill a tyrant," he says, "is not merely lawful but right and just. For whosoever takes up the sword deserves to perish by the sword. And he is understood to take up the sword who usurps it by his own temerity and who does not receive the power of using it from God. Therefore the law rightly takes arms against him who disarms the laws, and the power of the public rages in fury against him who strives to bring to nought the public force. And

¹ viii, 20.² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*⁴ *Ibid.*⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

while there are many acts which amount to *lèse-majesté*, none is a graver crime than that which is aimed against the body of Justice herself. Tyranny therefore is not merely a public crime, but, if there could be such a thing, a crime more than public. And if in the crime of *lèse-majesté* all men are admitted to be prosecutors, how much more should this be true in the case of the crime of subverting the laws, which should rule even over emperors? Truly no one will avenge a public enemy, but rather whoever does not seek to bring him to punishment commits an offence against himself and the whole body of the earthly commonwealth.”¹

John of Salisbury, it seems plain from this passage, had fundamentally no clear conception of the difference between private individual action and public collective action to rid the community of a tyrant. Or, rather, he seems to have been completely unable to conceive of the community as capable of so ridding itself except by private action; the need for, or the possibility of, organized collective action is not suggested.² It was the obvious danger latent in the irresponsibility of private tyrannicide which caught the attention of later thinkers and caused them to repudiate John's position. St Thomas points out that it would be subversive of all civil order if private individuals should claim the right to murder their governors on the ground that they believed them tyrants.³ Coluccio Salutati undertakes to answer John specifically and denies that a single person or even several together can properly take justice into their own hands; the tyrant must be removed, if at all, only by the collective

¹ iii, 15. This passage does not fall within the part of the *Policraticus* covered by my translation. Unlike the references to tyranny in other parts of the work, it seems to emphasize usurpation of authority as the essence of tyranny. This suggests a possible foreshadowing of the later distinction between “tyrants by defect of title” and “tyrants by abuse of power.” See Bartolus in Emerton, *Humanism and Tyranny*, p. 132. The notion that usurpers — i.e., “tyrants by defect of title” — might be lawfully resisted, although it was never lawful to resist a legitimate hereditary ruler no matter how he might abuse his power, was advanced by an imperialist writer at the end of the eleventh century: *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda*, i, 13 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de Lite*, II, 173 ff.). See A. Fliche, “Les Théories Germaniques de la Souveraineté,” *Revue Historique* (May-June, 1917), CXXV, 1, 14. ✓

² In the next generation after John of Salisbury, the doctrine of tyrannicide is stated as a commonplace by Giraldus Cambrensis, *de Principis Instructione*, i, 16, Rolls Series, XXI, viii, 56: “*Percussori tyranni non poena sed palma promittitur.*”

³ *de Reg. Prin.*, i, 6.

action of the community.¹ The question came to the attention of all Europe in a vivid and dramatic way at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the Council of Constance was called upon to condemn a book written by one Jean Petit in which the murder of Louis of Orleans at the instigation of the Duke of Burgundy was defended on the ground of the right of tyrannicide. Petit cited the *Policraticus* as an authority.² Gerson replied by arguing that to vest the right of tyrannicide in a subject would be to make him the legitimate judge of his ruler; and a legitimate judge, even the king himself, may not condemn an accused person without summons, trial, and conviction. "Certainly no mere private individual can have greater authority over one not lawfully subject to him than a king has over his own subjects."³

John of Salisbury had based his doctrine of tyrannicide on the conception that a private individual may lawfully act in his private capacity to enforce "the law" against his legitimate ruler. What later thought brought out was that law can be enforced only by an agent holding a legitimate mandate from the community. The difference between these two conceptions registers the most momentous advance in political thought during the interval; and it isolates and emphasizes the cardinal element which was missing from the political thought of the *Policraticus* and the whole tradition which it represents. John of Salisbury does not seem to have conceived that the community, or *uniuersitas*, could act except through the prince.⁴ If action was to be taken against him, it had therefore to be taken as private individual action.⁵ This seems to stand out clearly from the last passage quoted from the *Policraticus*. The

¹ *de Tyrannia*, ii, in Emerton, *Humanism and Tyranny*, p. 92. But Coluccio apparently holds that a private individual may assassinate a "tyrant by defect of title." *Ibid.*, p. 85.

² See his *Assertio Propositionum aduersus magistrum Ioannem de Gersono*, Gerson, *Opera* (Antwerp, 1706), V, 397.

³ *Reprobatio nouem Assertionum Ioannis Parui*, *Ibid.*, V, 363.

⁴ This view is definitely expressed by Baldus in the fourteenth century: "imperator est ipsum imperium," *Com. on Cod.*, X, Rubr., 1, no. 13; see also Baldus, *Consilia*, III, clix, nr. 5.

⁵ For a survival in the seventeenth century of the notion that there was no agency save the conscience of individuals to judge whether a monarch had broken the "fundamental laws," see the passages from Philip Hunton's *Treatise of Monarchy*, pp. 17 and 28, quoted and criticized in Sir Robert Filmer's *Anarchy of Mixed Monarchy in The Freeholder's Grand Inquest* (ed. 1680), pp. 265, 272.

action there contemplated against the prince is public action; but public action not taken through the prince cannot be organized action; it can only be action by all or any, that is to say, action by separate individuals. This is the natural outcome of the patriarchal conception of society as an organized hierarchy; it is the same conception which no doubt lay at the bottom of Bodin's denial that a representative assembly could do more than offer good advice to the prince.¹

But meanwhile in John of Salisbury's own generation another idea was taking form, which was to supply this missing element to later thought. It was an idea which seems to have had its source among the Roman lawyers, and it consisted in identifying the corporate or organized community with the whole membership of the group — the *uniuersitas* with the *populus*. Once this idea had taken hold, it is no longer necessary to think that the community can act as a community only through the prince who is set over them by God; from now on they can act through whatever organization they choose to shape for themselves. The idea of the King's trusteeship gives way before the idea of an autonomous corporation. The *uniuersitas* ceases to be a mere inert thing whose *persona* is permanently delegated to and "borne by" the prince; it becomes an active unity, bearing its own *persona*, and capable of speaking and acting for itself, against the prince if need be. This is the idea which is already emerging in the speech of Archbishop Hubert at the coronation of King John of England, above referred to; Hubert says that it is the *uniuersitas*, not merely the *clerus et populus*, which must assent to the choice of a King. In other words the *uniuersitas* can act independently of, and even against, the King. The importance of the idea for establishing a check on the King and eliminating the necessity of resort to tyrannicide comes to a head in Bracton. Bracton, like John of Salisbury, says that the King is the vicar of God and as such is subject only to God; so that if he abuses his power, there is room only for supplication that he should amend his ways, and if he will not do this, he must be left to the judgment of God. But Bracton no more than John is content with this result; and by the

¹ *Six Livres de la République*, i, 8.

same sort of sudden inconsistency with which John had advanced the doctrine of tyrannicide, Bracton turns about upon himself and adds that the *universitas regni* and *baronagium*, acting through the King's court, may restrain his tyranny.¹ Here is the beginning of a conception which men were more and more to grasp during the thirteenth century, but which they were not to transform into effective political practice until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²

Meanwhile the doctrine of individual action in the form of tyrannicide was, apart from the self-limitation of their own power by rulers,³ the only conceivable check upon despotism; and at the same time it was the almost necessary inference from the doctrine of a "higher law." For, after all, Kings and governments and organized communities had no peculiar prerogative to know and enforce that law; it was binding upon them no less than upon private individuals, and knowledge of it was the result of grace and wisdom, and not of official position. If this view was honestly and fully accepted there was nothing inherently objectionable in the idea that a private individual might enforce the law by private action; for its precepts were definite and uniform and were as accessible to private persons as to officials. The doctrine of a higher law carried with it an inevitable implication of what to-day would probably be called philosophic anarchism.⁴

It is not hard to see that this philosophic anarchism forms an important strain running through the thought of the *Policraticus*. It emerges in John's yearning for a condition of society where there would be no princely rule, but men in a state of innocence would live together under "the law" in Christian love. "For if iniquity and injustice, banishing charity, had not brought about tyranny, firm

¹ Bracton, iv, 10.

² The idea first takes a firm hold in G. Buchanan, *de Iure Regni apud Scotos*, xxviii, and in the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, ed. Laski (London: Bell, 1924), pp. 127-136.

³ viii, 20.

⁴ For John's individualism, see Paul Gennrich, *Die Staats- und Kirchenlehre Johannis von Salisbury*, p. 14; E. F. Jacob in *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers* (ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, New York: Holt, 1923), pp. 61 ff. Gennrich, *loc. cit.*, points out the significant absence from John's thought of any consideration of the connection between individual and social life, or of the "transition" from one to the other.

concord and perpetual peace would have possessed the peoples of the earth forever, and no one would think of enlarging his boundaries. Then kingdoms would be as peaceful, according to the great father Augustine, and would enjoy as undisturbed repose as the separate families in a well-ordered state, or as different persons in the same family; or perhaps, which is even more credible, there would be no kingdoms at all, since it is clear from the ancient histories that in the beginning these were founded by iniquity.”¹ Here comes to the surface that combined current of Christian and Stoic thought which church tradition was to carry forward from the days of the Apostles to the days of Godwin and Shelley. The same thought lies behind John’s reiterated assertion that it is the function of the prince to reign and not to rule² — the true prince says, “I will not rule over you, but God shall rule over you”;³ under a good prince, it is not the prince himself who governs, but the law.

In other words, the existence of a complete code of intelligible laws of divine authority practically eliminates the necessity of government except as a purely ministerial instrumentality of enforcement; and in so far as men are good, they will obey without being forced. There need not be, there must not be, any subordination of one merely human “will” to another; for men can find agreement and harmony in their contacts only by being shaped, or by shaping themselves, to the passionless reason of the divine law. It is better that they should shape themselves than that they should be shaped by the power of government.

III

It is the very inconsistencies in the political thought of the *Policraticus*, and its blending of apparently incompatible elements, which give it its principal value; for it discloses still in combination a number of separate strains of thought whose later dissociation was to form the main currents of opposing doctrine for many succeeding centuries. It presents the patriarchal theory of monarchy which, in union with ideas derived from Renaissance Italy, was to culminate

¹ viii, 17.

² viii, 20, 22.

³ viii, 22.

✓ in the seventeenth-century conception of personal absolutism. It foreshadows the doctrine of the divine right of kings in its derivation of the ruler's title directly from God. In its insistence on the superiority of spiritual over temporal rulers and on the primacy of the Apostolic See it contains the elements of the theory of universal papal supremacy. In its emphasis on a "higher law" supreme over all governments it has its place in the tradition leading up to Coke's doctrine of judicial supremacy. In its insistence that men insofar as they are free from sin can live by the law alone and need no government, it anticipates the Christian communism of the more advanced Reformation Sects and modern doctrines of philosophic anarchism. ✓ The one outstanding current of thought of which absolutely no trace is present is that which was to prove ultimately the most fruitful of all — the thought, namely, that the community can organize itself for the accomplishment of its common purposes by developing institutions for pooling the ideas and harmonizing the ends of its members.

X It seems a futile question to ask which of these various strains of thought was dominant in the *Policraticus* or to seek some way of harmonizing their divergent tendencies. The very point for emphasis is that their diversities are the product of the distinctness which was to be given them by centuries of subsequent controversy. They were able to live together side by side in the *Policraticus* simply because they were not conceived with modern distinctness. Early thought, Maitland has somewhere said, is confused thought. "Simplicity is the outcome of technical subtlety, it is the goal, not the starting point. As we go backward, the familiar outlines become blurred; the ideas become fluid, and instead of the simple we find the indefinite."¹ It is from this point of view that we must read the *Policraticus*. We must not ask exactly where John of Salisbury would have drawn the line between princely power and priestly supremacy; or between royal discretion and the "higher law." ✓ The point is that he draws no clear line. Every important idea is deeply tinged with much of what we conceive to be its opposite; and it

¹ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 9.

carried this tinge with it into its later history. The significance of the *Policraticus* for students of the political ideas of after times consists precisely in the fact that it discloses the more or less confused mass of contradictory ideas in which they were originally embedded, and which served to limit and correct them.

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NOTES

RELATIONS OF THE INQUISITION TO PETER OF ABANO AND CECCO D'ASCOLI

THE purpose of this note is to call attention to some additional evidence bearing upon the relations of the Inquisition in the early fourteenth century to the famous philosopher, astronomer, and medical authority, Peter of Abano, and the poet and astrologer, Cecco d'Ascoli — evidence unnoted in the treatment of this point in my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*.

Sante Ferrari¹ has noted an important passage embedded in the 48th *Differentia* of the *Conciliator* in which Peter writes: "And so it is evident that the Jacobites labored under a misapprehension, in persecuting me on the ground that I held that the intellectual soul was educed from the potency of matter, with fifty-four other errors ascribed to me, from whose hands by the grace of God and an apostolic mandate I have laudably escaped."² Ferrari seems justified in identifying these 'Jacobites' with the Dominicans who occupied the convent of St James in Paris, and they are apparently the same as the 'mischief-makers' to whom Peter refers

¹ Sante Ferrari, *I tempi, la vita, le dottrine di Pietro d'Abano*, published in *Atti della R. Università di Genova* (pubbl. per decreto ed a spese del municipio di Genova), XIV (1900), xvi + 490 pp., Genoa, Tipog. R. Istituto Sordomuti.

This first work was concerned chiefly with Peter's life and doctrine, and the relation of the latter to the learning of his times, on the basis of printed materials. It was supplemented by the following study, in which Ferrari gave more attention to MSS of Abano's works, limiting himself, however, to those in Italian and Parisian libraries. But of these he notes a number which are not included in my "Bibliography of Abano's Writings" *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II (1923), 917-26.

Sante Ferrari, *Per la biografia e per gli scritti di Pietro d'Abano* (Note ed aggiunte al volume *I tempi, la vita, le dottrine di Pietro d'Abano*), published in *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche, e Filologiche, Serie Quinta, XV, vii (1918), 629-727.

I much regret not having been able to refer to these elaborate studies in my chapter on Peter of Abano, but owing to their publication in periodicals they are very hard to come at, even the largest libraries not cataloguing them under their author's name. I shall refer to them henceforth as *Ferrari* (1900), and *Ferrari* (1918).

Sante Ferrari published another paper, entitled, "Intorno ai libri astronomici di Pietro d'Abano," *Rivista Ligure di scienze, lettere ed arti*, Genoa, 1916. I have not seen it but presume that it is largely identical with the section, "I libri astronomici," in Ferrari (1918), pp. 692-715.

² "Et ideo apparet hic erroneus intellectus Jacobitarum me persequentium tamquam posuerim animam intellectiuam de potentia educi materiae cum aliis mihi 54 ascriptis erroribus, a quorum manibus gratia dei et apostolica mediante laudabiliter euasi."

in the 9th *Differentia* of the *Conciliator*.¹ The passage also helps to explain Michael Savonarola's account of Peter's trouble with the Dominicans of Paris, and his assertion that Peter induced the king and university to call a council of doctors of theology, whom he convinced by forty-five arguments (45 instead of 54?) that the Dominicans were the heretics and not he. In going on to assert, however, that, as a result, the Dominicans were driven from Paris as heretics and exiles for thirty-two years, Michael Savonarola has probably confused this affair with the later disputes at Paris concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin and the Doctrines of the Dominican, Jean de Monzon, in 1384 and 1387, as a result of which the University of Paris deprived the Dominicans of their chair of theology and of academic degrees for a space of seventeen years.²

Sertorio Orsato, in his *Historia di Padova* (1678), quoted a document of May 22, 1307, now lost, in which the Commune of Padua, in receiving under its protection the abbey of Praglia, referred the matter to "*sapientes electi ex uigore reformationis factae in fauorem Petri de Albano tempore Domini Ponzini de Pizenardis olim potestatis Paduae*." This has been taken by Ferrari³ and others to imply that by a previous decree the Commune had taken Peter under its protection against the Inquisition, but the words "*ex uigore reformationis factae in fauorem Petri de Albano*" suggest rather that the authorities had found it necessary to make some change in the University Statutes (*reformatio* is the word regularly used for this), presumably in connection with some special arrangement with Peter of Abano or with an offer of unusually high salary in order to lure him away from Paris.

Biscaro, however, in his recent study of the activities of the Inquisition in Lombardy from 1292 to 1318, based upon manuscripts in the Vatican Archives, notes that in 1312 the accounts of the inquisitor, Friar Rogerius de Petriolo, record the expenditure of a small sum on wine at a consultation held by the inquisitor of Padua with the doctors and learned men concerning the affair or fate of Master P. de Albano,⁴ by whom Peter of Abano is

¹ Indeed, in the edition of the *Conciliator* (Venetiis mandato et expensis nobilis uiri domini Luceantonii de Giunta Florentini: Anno domini. 1522. die.17. Februarii.) which I consulted to verify Ferrari's quotation the words "*differentia 9*," occur between "*materiae*" and "*cum*," so that the translation would run, "... on the ground that I held in my ninth chapter that the intellectual soul was educed from the potency of matter.

² See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXIV, 241 and 263.

³ Ferrari (1900), pp. 117 ff.

⁴ Gerolamo Biscaro, "Inquisitori ed eretici lombardi, 1292-1318," in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, third series, XIX (1921), 445-558. This particular passage is given at p. 542 from fol. 143 of Archivio Vaticano, *Reg. Ellect. N. 133*, and reads: "(xi) Item eodem mense quum habitum fuit consilium per inquisitorem paduanum cum doctoribus et sapientibus de facto magistri P. de Albano, in vino — 4s."

presumably meant. Whether this conference led to the taking of any action, we are not informed, but it seems to show that the Inquisition still had its eye on Peter after he left Paris and came to Padua.

Biscaro's study further serves to correct the following statement which I made upon the basis of previous works upon the Inquisition: "If Peter's property were confiscated as that of a heretic, it would naturally be confiscated by the Commune of Padua, the same secular power to which he would be handed over for execution in case he were condemned to the stake." But from the financial records of receipts and expenditures kept by several inquisitors in Lombardy at this time and preserved in the Vatican Archives, it appears that the Holy Office took a large part, if not all, of the deceased person's effects, and also frequently imposed severe fines upon heretics during their lifetime. Even so, the inquisitors often failed to pay their way.

The persecution of Peter of Abano and the execution of Cecco d'Ascoli have often been ascribed to the jealousy of rival physicians or officious colleagues or the machinations of personal enemies. That there may have been some truth in such reports is seen from the case of one Angelo da Arezzo, noted in Biscaro's monograph.¹ Of this very Angelo, Cecco says in his *de Principiis* (ed. P. G. Boffito, 1903), p. 36, "*Quando somniauit comedere ficus, semper inerit sibi angustia.*" Angelo was professor of philosophy at Bologna at a salary of 100 lire,² and was condemned for heresy and fined 250 lire by the inquisitor, Nicolaus da Ripatransonis, in 1311. But Angelo thereupon brought accusation of calumny against two men, one of whom was Master Giuliano dei Preverti, doctor of medicine and astrology, and in March of the following year Giuliano was fined 350 lire and the other calumniator 125 lire by the new inquisitor, Fra Roger, while Angelo was declared innocent. When Roger made his financial report, the culprits had thus far been able to pay only 175 and 35 lire respectively of their fines, while a third master, Bettino da Castello, who also had been fined 125 lire, was so poor that he could only turn over some books, which Roger still had on his hands. Despite this very discreditable incident in his early career, Giuliano, the aforesaid doctor of medicine and astrology, appears to have become a university lecturer from 1321 to 1342.³

Peter of Abano was often mentioned with high praise in citations, lists of physicians, and other contexts by writers of the two following centuries, either scientific or medical or historical, and usually without reference to a trial or death at the hands of the Inquisition or the least hint of any stigma resting upon his name. There are, of course, exceptions, such as the

¹ Biscaro (1921), pp. 493, 494.

² C. Ghirardacci, *Historia de Bologna*, II (1657), 56.

³ F. Cavazza, *Le scuole dell'antico Studio di Bologna*, Milan, 1896, p. 157.

accounts by Thomas of Strassburg and Michael Savonarola which I have already noted in my book, but I have in mind now the general run of passages that I have seen since. These eulogistic allusions of later writers are, it is true, usually brief and rather general. Even so, some suggestion of so sensational a fact as death for heresy or while under trial or awaiting trial for heresy might be looked for in them, had this been the case. The following passage from Coluccio Salutati's *Tractatus de Nobilitate Legum et Medicine*, composed in 1399,¹ is perhaps a fair example of the general run of such references, although it is fuller than many of them. In his ninth chapter, after listing various other famous Italian physicians of the past century or so, — Thaddeus Florentinus, Turisianus, also of Florence, Dino del Garbo and his son Tommaso,² Gentile da Foligno, Christofanus de Honestis of Bologna, — Salutati continues, "But to be placed above all I firmly believe is Peter of Abano of Padua who published in medicine a book of the greatest divinity which is called *Conciliator*, also expounded the Problems of the Philosopher, a universal genius indeed rather than a medical man, and a true philosopher, than whom you hardly have any more illustrious among men of medicine."³

But to this general failure of subsequent writers who cite Peter of Abano to refer to his trial for heresy I have run across one further exception in the case of the work of John Michael Albert of Carrara, *de Constitutione Mundi*. This John was born in 1438, as he himself tells us, and lived to 1490. He wrote the aforesaid work for Boniface, the marquis of Montferrat. It appears never to have been printed and to be little known; I have read it in a manuscript at Florence.⁴ After stating that Peter of Abano ascribed Noah's flood to a conjunction of the planets in the *Conciliator*, John Michael Albert adds that he was accused of heresy on this account before (or perhaps simply 'in the time of') Pope John XXII, and defended his position before a council of ecclesiastics, contending also that the con-

¹ I have read Salutati's work in two manuscripts in the Laurentian Library at Florence, both of the fifteenth century: *Laurent. Plut. 78, cod. 11* and *Strozzi, MS. 96*. It also was printed in Venice, 1642, but this edition is rare; the British Museum, for example, does not have a copy of it, although there is one in Florence which I consulted.

² Tommaso, who died in 1370, was Dino's son, of course, and not his father, as incorrectly stated in my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 967, note 1.

³ "... sed omnibus anteponendum ferme censeo Petrum de Hebeno Paduanum qui maxime diuinitatis librum qui *Conciliator* dicitur edidit in medicina quoque problemata philosophi declarauit, uirum quidem uniuersalem plusquam medicum uereque philosophum quo forte non habetis inter medicos clariorem."

⁴ *Ashburnham MS. 198*, fol. 1r: "Ioannis Michaelis Alberti Carariensis excellentissimi philosophi ad praestantissimum principem Bonifacium Marchionem montis ferrati opus nelytum de constitutione mundi feliciter incipit."

Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertationi Vossiane* (Venezia, 1752), II, 31, mentioned a fifteenth-century MS. of our work in the library of Turin.

fusion of tongues was under the empire of certain stars, although he granted that the amount of water in the flood might have exceeded that which the influence of the conjunction and the forces of nature would account for.¹ John does not say whether Peter's defense was acceptable to the ecclesiastical assembly or no,² but his dating it under John XXII is an interesting confirmation, though perhaps not worth much, of the evidence that Peter dedicated his *de Venenis* to John XXII and so lived beyond 1315 or 1316, the dates commonly given for Peter's death.

This same John Michael Albert, as it happens, also has a brief allusion to the heresy and condemnation of Cecco d'Ascoli which seems not to have been hitherto noted and which offers a new specific suggestion, not made by Villani and the manuscript copies of the inquisitorial sentence or relations of Cecco's death,³ namely: that the feature in Cecco's astrological teaching and writing which was regarded as heretical was his impugning the miraculous character of the Virgin birth. The passage reads: "Cecco d'Ascoli reached such a point of insanity that he said that it was natural that a virgin (or, the Virgin) conceive, for which error he was condemned to be burned. And, indeed, unless he has changed his opinion for the better, he now sighs in hell."⁴ But we do not find such an opinion supported in the works of Cecco as they have reached us. Furthermore, John Michael Albert writes considerably more than a century after the event; his utter-

¹ *Ashburnham 198*, fol. 121v: "Et conciliator quidem propter hoc apud Joannem XXII maximum presulem heresis accusatus est quia ex stellarum potestate id futurum procognosci non posset quod nulli nature hoc est debito uniuersi ordine repugnaret ipse in ecclesiasticorum concilium accersitus disputauit non modo diluuium sed et linguarum diuisionem que similiter omnem nature ordinem transcendit sub quorundam astrorum imperio contigisse asserens naturale esse ut diluuium contingeret, augmentum tamen eius tam immensum nature uires excessisse quum et si tota terre ipsius moles resolveretur fieretque inde aqua uix posset spatium illud ingens aque medique aeris occupare quod tamen esse non uerum constat cum sit decies tanta."

² He himself, however, goes on to give (at fol. 122v) four causes of floods, all of which are astrological.

³ In this connection I may add to the MSS noted at II, 951, 952, of my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, a notice of two MSS given by Jacopo Morelli, *I codici manoscritti volgari della Libreria Naniiana*, Venezia, 1776.

Naniiano cod. volg. 114, 17th century: I. Vita e morte di Cecco d'Ascoli, *Incipit* "la morte di Cecco d'Ascoli . . ." II. Sentenza di Frate Accursio di Firenze dell' Ordine de' Minori contro Cecco d'Ascoli, pronunziata in Firenze a' xv settembre MCCCXXVII. *Incipit* "Noi frate Accursio . . ." The first item consists chiefly of stories of feats of magic ascribed to Cecco. A more correct text of the second item or inquisitorial sentence was contained in *Naniiano cod. volg. 115*, *saec. xvi*.

These MSS I have not seen, and I do not know where they are at present to be found.

⁴ *Florence MS. Ashburnham 198*, fol. 33v: "Franciscus Esculanus in tantem insaniam creuit ut dixerit naturale fuisse ut uirgo conciperet propter quem errorem damnatus est ut igne cremaretur. Et profecto nisi sententiam mutarit in melius nunc et in herebo suspirat."

ance is very brief, though specific enough; and he gives no authority for his assertion. It may be added that John Michael Albert was very favorably inclined to astrology in the broad sense himself, although he occasionally maintains his orthodoxy by such passages as that quoted concerning Cecco. I hope to treat of the contents of his work and its relation to those of Ristoro d'Arezzo and Paul of Venice in another paper.¹

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THE UNCIAL FRAGMENT OF THE *LETTERS OF THE YOUNGER PLINY*

THE uncial fragment of the *Letters of the Younger Pliny* — one of the many treasures of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York — contains at the top of one of the pages a note in French, transliterated by Dr Lowe and myself,² with an improvement by M. Omont.³ The note reads:

A tous ceulz qui ces presentes lettres verront et orront Jehan de Suavenieres garde du scel de la provoste de Meaulx & Francois Belon clerc Juré de par le Roy nostre sire à ce faire, salut. Sachient tuit que par.

Assuming, with Dr Lowe's agreement, that the note was added in the fifteenth century, I used it as evidence that the manuscript, written, we thought, most probably in Italy, was in France at least in the latter part of the Middle Ages, and was preserved not far from Paris. I tried to show that it had once formed part of the ancient manuscript used by Aldus Manutius in his epoch-making edition of the *Letters* in 1508. At least it is clear that like Aldus's *codex*, which was brought down to him from Paris by the Venetian ambassador, it was reposing somewhere near Paris before 1508. We did not attempt an exact dating of the note, being satisfied that the script was surely earlier and not later than 1508 — the main point with which I was concerned. On that matter any possible doubt is dispelled by information kindly sent me in a recent letter from M. Omont. He states that his friend, H. Stein, calls his attention to two documents in the Royal Belgian Archives at Brussels (*Chartes de Brabant et de Limbourg*, Nos 5800, 5819) which are the work of "Jean de Sauvénieres, garde du sceau de la prévôté de Meaux," and that they are dated September 19, and November 4, 1381. Whether the note in the Morgan fragment was written before or after that year I have no means of telling. That it was done before the Aldine Edition appeared, I think everybody will concede.

E. K. RAND.

¹ To appear soon in *The Romanic Review*.

² *A Sixth Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger*, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1922, p. 21.

³ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1922, p. 474.

A MANUSCRIPT OF TOURS, No. 286

IN tracing the history of abbreviations in mediaeval manuscripts we are coming more and more clearly to suspect a continuity of practice from the Roman Empire down into the early Middle Ages. Nobody has done more to illuminate this dark period than Mr Lindsay who, in his *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge, England, 1915) and in an article in *Classical Philology*, XI (1916), 270 ff., has brought into prominence several manuscripts most important as sources of ancient symbols of abbreviation. To this list one significant addition should be made, I believe, namely, a manuscript of Tours, No. 286, containing the *de Musica* of St Augustine. *SPECULUM* will publish before long an extended account of this manuscript and the systems of ancient abbreviations which it contains.

E. K. RAND.

A WELSH BRANCH OF THE ARTHUR FAMILY-TREE

IN the Welsh stories of Arthur, many of the *Triads* and the three published *Bruts* we find the counterpart of Gawain referred to constantly as Gwalchmei ap Gwyar, "Gwalchmei [Gawain] the son of Gwyar." In the French romances, however, as well as in Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Latin chroniclers, Gawain is the son of King Lot and Arthur's sister, Anna. Who, then, is Gwyar? The subject is complicated, as will be seen from an examination of the views expressed about the identity of Gwyar by various Arthurian scholars.

In a note on Gwalchmei the late Professor Bruce wrote: "Gwalchmei's father in *Kulhwch and Olwen* is named Gwyar."¹ In an earlier article Loth expressed the opinion that Gwyar is probably not Gwalchmei's father but his mother:

La version galloise de Gaufrei transforme Loth en Llew, fils de Cynvarch . . . L'Auteur du Brut Tysilio, voulant concilier Gaufrei qui fait de Loth [Llew] le père de Walgainus [Gwalchmei], et la tradition galloise qui le qualifie de fils de Gwyar, le donne bien comme beau-frère d'Arthur, mais ajoute *et de Gwyar, mère de Gwalchmai l'empereur* (cf oedd vrawd yngyfraith y Arthyr ac y Wyar, mam Walchmei amherawdwr. *Myv. Arch.*, p. 464).²

¹ J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1923), I, 41, note 8. The same name, it may be noted, is given Gwalchmei's parent in the *Peredur*, *Gereint and Enid*, *The Dream of Rhonabwy*, the *Triads* and the *Bruts*. For the appearances of Gwalchmei ap Gwyar in these stories see the indexes to Sir John Rhys and Dr J. G. Evans, *The Text of the Mabinogion and Other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1887), and to J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion* (2d ed., Paris, 1913). San-Marte, too, assumes that Gwyar is Gwalchmei's father. See San-Marte (i.e., A. Schulz), *Gottfried's von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae . . . und Brut Tysilio* (Halle, 1854), p. 380, note 7.

² J. Loth, "Le roi Loth des Romans de la Table Ronde," *Revue Celtique*, XVI (1895), 86.

Loth does not appear to take account of the fact, however, that in this same version Llew [Loth] is said to be the husband of Arthur's sister, Anna,¹ although it would not, of course, be an unparalleled instance were we to find Llew's [Loth] wife given two different names in one version of the *Brut*.²

Sir John Rhŷs takes the feminine sex of Gwyar for granted and suggests that in an early version of the story there was an incestuous union between Arthur and his sister, Gwyar, of which Mordred was one offspring and Gawain possibly another.³ He also assumes that Gwyar was the wife of King Llew [Loth]⁴ and suggests that the etymology of the name Gwyar, which seems to mean blood that has been shed, "places the bearer of it on the level of the Irish Morrigu as a war-fury."⁵ Miss L. A. Paton in citing this passage says of the name Gwyar, "But, if it belongs to Gwalchmei's mother at all when put beside Geoffrey's words it places its bearer on a nearer level with the war-goddess Ana."⁶ This is an interesting suggestion.

In the Welsh stories of Arthur mentioned above (p.344) and in the *Triads* no information whatever is to be obtained about Gwyar; for there is never any indication as to which parent is meant in the appearances of "Gwalchmei ap Gwyar." In the numerous references to Gwalchmei in the three published *Bruts*⁷ we find exactly the same situation with the single exception of the passage cited by Loth (see p. 344 *supra*). This passage in full reads:

Ac o dyna ydaeth Arthyr hyt ynghaer Efrog y gynnal y lys erbyn nadolic. Ac yna tost vy gan Arthyr weled yr eglwyssau wedy distryw or Saeson a lad y maibion llen. Ac y roes Arthyr y Aron ap Cynvarch Ysgottlont ac y Elw ap Cynvarch iarllaeth Lindessi cans of oed vrawd yngyfraith y Arthyr ac y Wyar mam Walchmai amherawdr. Ac y Yrien ap Cynvarch y roded Reged.—'And thenceforth Arthur came to the city of York to hold court about Christmas time. And there it was difficult for Arthur to see the churches destroyed by the Saxons and the young clerics

¹ *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales* (2d ed., Denbigh, 1870), p. 464, right-hand column.

² For example, in the *Serglige Conculaind* (*Sick-Bed of Cuchulain*), ed. E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I (Leipzig, 1880), 197-234, where two versions have been pieced together, Cuchulain's wife is called Ethne Inguba at the beginning of the story and Emer further on.

³ J. Rhŷs, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), p. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁶ L. A. Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, Radcliffe College Monograph No. 13 (Boston, 1903), p. 14. Miss Paton gives in a note a reference to the passage in which San-Marte refers to Gwyar as Gwalchmei's father:

⁷ *Ystoria Brenhined y Brytanyei*, ed. J. Rhŷs and J. G. Evans, *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1890) (this will be hereafter referred to as *Red-Book Brut*), pp. 40-256; *Brut Tysilio* in the *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales* (2d ed., Denbigh, 1870), pp. 434-75; *Brut G. ab Arthur*, *ibid.*, pp. 476-554.

killed. And Arthur gave to Aron ap Cynvarch Scotland and to Elw ap Cynvarch the earldom of Lindsey, for he was brother-in-law to Arthur and to Gwyar, the mother of Gwalchmei the emperor, and to Urien ap Cynvarch he gave Reged.' ¹

This, then, is all that we can learn about Gwyar, simply that she was "the mother of Gwalchmei the emperor."

"Gwalchmei ap Llew" is referred to in the *Bruts*; ² and in each one of the versions it is directly stated that Anna is Llew's [Loth's] wife.³ There is never any attempt by the Welsh authors to reconcile or to explain the two Gwalchmei's; but it is evident that Gwalchmei ap Llew follows the tradition of Geoffrey of Monmouth, while Gwalchmei ap Gwyar of the *Brut Tysilio* must come from native sources.

Moreover, Gwyar is not the only character unknown to Geoffrey of Monmouth. That Llew [Loth], Urien [Urianus], and Arawn [Auguselus] were all sons of a certain "Cynvarch" is emphasized in all three of the *Bruts*.⁴ Yet this genealogy of Cynvarch is unknown to Geoffrey. Howel [Hoelus], who, according to Geoffrey, is the son of Arthur's sister and Dubricius, King of Armorica, is in the Welsh *Bruts* always "Howel ap Emyr Llydaw."⁵ However closely the authors of the Welsh *Bruts* may have followed Geoffrey of Monmouth for their histories, it is certain from these genealogies that they were also making use of independent Celtic tradition.

¹ *Brut Tysilio*, pp. 463-64.

² *Red-Book Brut*, p. 196; *Brut Tysilio*, p. 464, left-hand column; *Brut G. ab Arthur*, p. 535, left-hand column.

³ *Red-Book Brut*, pp. 180, 181; *Brut Tysilio*, p. 461, right-hand column; *Brut G. ab Arthur*, p. 529, right-hand column.

⁴ *Red-Book Brut*, p. 194; *Brut Tysilio*, pp. 463, 464; *Brut G. ab Arthur*, p. 534, left-hand column.

⁵ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ix, 2; *Bruts*, *passim*.

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REVIEWS

History of Mediaeval Philosophy, by Maurice de Wulf, translated by Ernest C. Messinger.
Vol. I, "From the Beginnings to Albert the Great." Pp. xvi, 416. Longmans, Green and Company.

THAT students of philosophy will welcome with open arms this new volume of Professor de Wulf goes without saying. It will receive an especially warm reception in the United States, where so little is known of mediaeval philosophy and what is known is too often a curious compound of prejudices, half-truths, and errors. During the last fifty years European scholars have been working the rich deposit of the philosophical theories of the Middle Ages with truly amazing results. One has only to mention the *Bibliotheca* of Ehrle, the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* of Baeumker, the critical publications of the Franciscans of Quarrachi, the *Philosophes Belges* of Louvain, the writings of Grabbmann, Pelzer, and a host of other admitted authorities, to know how extensive and serious has been the work of reconstructing the genuine philosophy of the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, most of what has been accomplished on the Continent has remained a sealed book to the great body of American readers, especially to students of philosophy who have failed, until recently, to appreciate the manifold possibilities for contemporary philosophy contained in Scholastic thought. The *History of Mediaeval Philosophy* of Professor de Wulf supplies the needed link with the past. Henceforth it cannot but be looked upon as an unforgivable fault for any thinker to write in any but an exact way about the teachings or opinions of the Scholastic philosophers. Moreover, this volume should help to correct some of the curiously false impressions current in certain circles both regarding the nature and extent of the philosophical activity of the Schoolmen.

The general impression which one takes away from the reading of this book is of amazement at the fertility of these old philosophers and at the almost perfect liberty which they enjoyed in the expression of their views. If there ever existed an institution where *academische Freiheit* was a reality, it was the University of Paris in the thirteenth century. Here Thomist warred with Scotist, Aristotelian with Platonist, philosopher with theologian, and scientist with both of them, to produce an intellectual atmosphere vibrating with life and which extended its influence into every corner of the Western world, and into every aspect of mediaeval living and thinking.

Professor de Wulf in this new edition — it is really a new work, not a new edition — has not changed materially the method of presentation which he employed in the first edition which appeared almost twenty-five

years ago. Undoubtedly many prefer to see a book of this type ordered in the fashion which the present volume follows. Its reference value certainly is greatly increased by the division of subject-matter into logical sections, clearly marked off and easy to be found. To others, however, the formal textbook appearance will be a bit disconcerting since they much prefer to have subject-matter handled somewhat in the manner which Professor Gilson adopted in *La Philosophie au Moyen Age*.

There is one feature of the present work beyond all compare — the bibliographies. Exact, scientific, practically complete, they demonstrate the wide acquaintance with every aspect of mediaeval philosophy which de Wulf possesses. Particularly valuable is his list of sources (pp. 31–43) which is intended to supplement and complete the list mentioned by Baumgartner in the last edition of Überweg's *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*. Each chapter of the *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*, too, is followed by an extensive, well-chosen bibliography. The present reviewer very carefully went over every list of references and can testify that, as far as he is aware, no important work in any language seems to have escaped the industrious search of Professor de Wulf.

The translation at times is bad and in general lacks both clarity and precision, to say nothing of distinction. Such phrases as “to put in disgrace” (p. 87) and “when he became a Master, he officially accomplished the scholastic acts” (p. 252), to cite only two examples at random, are inexpressibly poor. The faults of translation are probably due to the haste with which the work was pushed, a fact which is evidenced as well by the great number of typographical errors. One may excuse a faulty translation; there is no possible excuse for slovenly proof-reading.

I find myself in perfect agreement with Professor de Wulf on the two main theses of his book. In the first place, he contends that there existed in the Middle Ages systems of philosophy in the technical sense of the term. Secondly, the system known as Scholasticism was the chief one and represents a common fund of principles accepted by the great majority of Western thinkers, despite the fact that they differed from one another in many, and often important details. In no other way can we explain the economic, political, artistic, and religious tendencies, all of which exhibit in a surprising way the notes of unity and universality, of those centuries. Philosophy was recognized quite universally as the highest pursuit of the human mind and, despite the exaggerations to which over-emphasis on metaphysical speculation often led, the net result of the almost feverish philosophical and theological activity of the Scholastics was to develop an outstanding civilization. The Scholastic synthesis was not a mere working over or harmonizing of Platonism with Aristotelianism; it represents an effort to create, in a series of solutions dependent on one another and linked up with a few master

ideas, an answer to all the great problems of philosophy. As de Wulf points out, "there are three doctrines the unifying function of which are above all easily recognized, and which are found everywhere, as the pointed arch is ground in all the corners of a Gothic cathedral. These doctrines are: intellectualism, the value of personality, and the idea of God" (p. 311).

The presence or absence of these doctrines makes a philosophy Scholastic and by the use of this criterion de Wulf divides the different systems and writers into their several groups. Thus he classes Scotus Eriugena amongst the non-Scholastics. Some historians might object to this designation since Scotus is generally looked upon as the first of the Scholastics. There can be no question of the fact that in many of his teachings he is Scholastic and that in point of time he antedates the Scholastic system-makers. He has also deeply influenced many Scholastics, particularly Irish thinkers, the history of whose pantheistic leanings yet remains to be written. The monism of the *de Divisione Naturae*, however, is so prominent a characteristic of the thought of Scotus and so essential to an understanding of his metaphysics and psychology that it seems impossible, because of these tendencies, to bring him under the classification "Scholastic," the principles of which were fundamentally dualistic and realistic.

The first portion of the *History of Mediaeval Philosophy* which treats of philosophy in the ninth and tenth centuries does not compare in interest with the later sections; in fact it is the weakest part of the book. Little, of course, is known about that early period. What is presented is given in so concise a fashion that its true significance cannot be grasped and its influence on subsequent thought is not fully pointed out. Neither does Professor de Wulf give us a complete picture of the utter ruin of everything intellectual which preceded the birth of Scholasticism. He is much more fortunate when later on he describes the civilization of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which ushered in and accompanied the construction of the philosophical syntheses of Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. The new Latin translations, the foundation of the Universities, the rise of the mendicant orders, are finely evaluated, although their relations to the reigning Scholasticism are not brought out as clearly as we might desire. One would have expected more than a chapter (chap. viii) to have been devoted to Byzantine and Arabian philosophy, although it must be admitted that de Wulf is careful at all times to trace in each philosopher he studies the influence of such thinkers as Avicenna and Averrhoes.

A considerable amount of attention is given to the problem of universals, which was the central one of Scholastic philosophy, as it is and always will be of every philosophy. De Wulf is careful to note that despite the fact that this problem played so prominent a role in early Scholasticism, it

must not be regarded as the only problem which the Scholastics attacked, as some writers continue to assert. It is true that in the twelfth century Scholastics bestowed upon it an exaggerated importance, so much so that John of Salisbury was led to utter his famous complaint that the problem of universals was one "*in qua laborans mundus iam senuit, in qua plus temporis consumptum est quam in acquirendo et regendo orbis imperio consumpserit Caesarea domus.*"

The attempt to solve the problem, however, made necessary a workable logic and an acceptable metaphysics, to both of which tasks the philosophy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries devoted its efforts and both of which it succeeded in achieving.

It is scarcely necessary to state that on several points the conclusions which de Wulf reaches are open to debate. This is particularly true with reference to his assigning definite positions and doctrines to certain philosophers. For example, the estimate of Abelard made by Professor Gilson differs in many ways from that of de Wulf. Likewise, one might prefer Gilson's picture of St Bonaventure to the one drawn by de Wulf, although both agree in this, that Bonaventure was a true philosopher and not merely a mystic as he is so often represented to have been.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the merits of the *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*. It is now regarded as a standard work on the period, and is likely to remain so for a long time. Professor de Wulf merits well of all lovers of mediaeval philosophy, so well that it will be next to impossible to repay in any adequate way the debt of gratitude which the learned world owes this famous son of Harvard and Louvain.

The Key to the Study of St Thomas, from the Italian of Msgr Francesco Olgiati, trans. by John S. Zybura. St Louis, Mo. and London: B. Herder, 1925. Pp. viii, 176. \$1.25.

THIS monograph in its Italian form is entitled *L'Anima di San Tommaso* and is the work of Francesco Olgiati, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Milan. The thesis is that the philosophy of Being underlies the Thomist system and offers the only sound explanation of the positions successively taken by St Thomas on the problems of logic, psychology, ethics, and natural theology. That the Thomist philosophy is fundamentally ontological is beyond all controversy; that one has grasped the full import of this philosophy when he understands its ontological base is stretching a point, admirable in itself, too far. At any rate, the essay only pretends to be a 'key.' Many will find it a rather ornate key, not the soundly analytical and discerning critique one has the right to look forward to, judging the contents of the book by its title.

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SOMERSET BATEMAN, *Simon de Montfort, His Life and Work*. Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1923. Pp. 292. 7/6.

AN interesting account of the life of Simon de Montfort, but one that throws no new light upon the activities of the great earl. Mr Bateman is an ardent admirer of Simon and has read widely in chronicles and modern books that deal directly or indirectly with his hero. He has an eye for the picturesque, and has woven into his narrative many quaint, though sometimes irrelevant, incidents from the chronicles. There is, however, a lack of discrimination in the use of authorities, and no attempt has been made to solve any of the serious problems of the period of baronial rule. Thus, while the book is pleasant reading, it fails to meet the need of an adequate biography in English of Simon de Montfort.

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G. R. GALBRAITH, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216 to 1360*. Manchester: University Press, 1925. Pp. xvi, 286.

THE evidence that St Dominic has been justly called a great organizer lies in the book under review. Though the broad outlines and a few of the details of the organization of the Dominican Order during its early days have been known, it has remained for Mrs Galbraith to fill in the picture. The book is a model of clearness of arrangement and of sound learning. The chapter headings indicate its scope: 'The Ancestry of the Dominican Constitutions'; 'The Chapters'; 'The Officers'; 'Origin and Development.' Of the several appendices the most valuable contains the *constitutiones* of 1358-1363.

The outstanding characteristics of the organization set forth in the *constitutiones* left by St Dominic and modified in later years are its centralization and its representative basis. To these may be added the ease of revision. From the smallest convent to the master-general and the *generalissimum* chapter there were no loose ends. What is more, the friars belonged to the order as a whole and not to the houses in which they lived. Throughout the organization the system of representation prevailed. Each conventual chapter elected the prior of the convent and a representative to sit in the provincial chapter. The provincial chapters, in which sat the conventual priors as well as the representatives, elected the provincial priors and the representatives to go to the general chapter. The latter made up the general chapter for two successive years; during the third year this chapter was composed of provincial priors alone. The alternation of representative and official elements was a stroke of genius. The general chapter was normally the final legislative and electoral body in the Order. Only the *generalissimum* chapter had greater power and it met but twice within

the period, in 1228 and 1236. Even in it the representative element held the balance of strength.

The elasticity of the *constitutiones* was one of their great merits. St Dominic, wise in this as in other matters, provided for change in the organization he framed. His followers, while keeping most of what he left them, made revisions needed to preserve the democratic spirit of the Order and to smooth out the rough places. To bring about a change three readings in successive general chapters were required, but this did not block beneficial legislation. Mrs Galbraith has shown, for example, how the chapters successfully prevented the development of autocracy and how jealously they guarded their power over the high officers.

The book is strictly a study of the Dominican constitution, and as such will appeal primarily to those who are interested in mediaeval institutions. To anyone so interested it will prove a mine of exact information.

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Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot par ses amis et ses élèves. Paris: H. Champion, 1925. Pp. xli, 740.

THE eminent scholar and teacher whose work at the École des Hautes Études and the Sorbonne is here commemorated represents a many-sided scholarship which is all too rare in the mediaeval field. The one hundred and nineteen mediaeval items of the annexed bibliography of M. Lot's writings cover not only his chair of history, political, institutional, and economic, with diplomatics and toponymy, but also a wide range of literary and philological subjects, Celtic as well as Romance. Some are well-known volumes like the *Hugues Capet* and the *Lancelot*, but most are special articles. In the aggregate they constitute a very remarkable contribution to our knowledge of the Middle Ages, particularly the obscure and difficult aspects of the period, and are distinguished by an exceptional critical faculty, wide and exact learning, and fresh solutions of many tough problems — an admirable ideal to set before the numerous students whom the author has inspired and guided.

The forty-one studies here offered to M. Lot deal mainly, though not exclusively, with the French Middle Ages. Besides many younger scholars, the list of contributors includes such names as Bédier, Bémont, Chatelain, Jeanroy, Lesne, Pirenne, Powicke, Prou, and Roques. Space forbids a complete analysis, and, at the risk of appearing to slight several excellent local studies, we must limit ourselves to a bare enumeration of the articles possessing chief interest for American readers. On the side of history, Bémont reexamines the problem of the bull *Laudabiliter*, emphasizing the importance of the three undisputed bulls of 1172; Miss Levett studies Eng-

lish baronial councils; Arquillière considers the origins of the Roman theocracy; Jordan takes up the relations of Henry VI and Celestine III. Topics of rural and agrarian history are treated by Bloch, Netzer, Perrin, and Pirenne. Lesne writes on the internal organization of Corbie in the ninth century. Spain in the same period is touched by Calmette and Barrau-Dihigo. Byzantine relations are discussed by Iorga, Marinesco, and Millet. Of the chroniclers there are studies on Gregory of Tours (Halphen), Ingomar (Fawtier), William of Poitiers and William of Jumièges (Marx), and Lambert of Ardes (Ganshof). Mediaeval Latin is represented by Chatelain's edition of the verses on Lantfrid and Corbon; Powicke's paper on Master Simon of Faversham (with new evidence on Siger de Brabant); Miss Mackay's sketch of the *de Conscientia*; and the reviewer's note on the Neapolitan grammarian, Walter of Ascoli. Contributions to vernacular literature are: Bédier's commentary on twenty passages of the *Chanson de Roland*; Roques's discussion of a line of *Aucassin et Nicolette*; Jeanroy's new edition and dating of a *sirventes* of 1230; Champion's notice of the *Livre des trois Eages*; Pauphilet's examination of the prose *Perceval*; and Mme Lot's note on the unity of the prose *Lancelot*. On the Celtic side there is a paper on Pharamond in Irish literature by Vendryes. The only archaeological contribution is that of Deschamps on the early marble altars of the Midi. Under palaeography should be noted Lauer's monograph on the Bouhier *Psalter*, and Mme Rojdestvensky's notes on the origin of the so-called Gothic hand, a memoir which contains interesting suggestions concerning mediaeval *scriptoria*.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH

JOHN JAY PARRY, *The Vita Merlini* (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, vol. X, no. 3), Urbana, 1925.

THE REV. ACTON GRISCOM, *The "Book of Basingwerk" and MS. Cotton Cleopatra B.V.: A Study of Early Welsh Manuscripts*. Reprinted from *Y Cymmrodor*, vols. XXXV-XXXVI. London, 1926.

DR PARRY and the University of Illinois Press have followed and confirmed a good precedent. Many works important and even fundamental for the study of mediaeval literature are accessible only with difficulty and in an unreliable form simply because they are in Latin, and because now Mediaeval Latin is felt to be nobody's business. The presentation of an accurate text, with a summary of established facts about it, a guide to the bibliography, and an index of names in the text (which last, unfortunately, Dr Parry fails to give) would be enough to rouse our gratitude—sometimes even

the printing of one good MS., with no attempt at restoring the original text. Many university presses and men are in a position thus to advance learning by providing its tools.

Dr Parry has done much more than this minimum. He has for the first time accurately printed the earliest and only complete MS. of the *Vita Merlini*, with variants from the others, has provided a translation, summarized opinion, and drawn his own conclusions as to authorship, date, and sources, produced a genealogy of the MSS, and (continuing his own earlier-published studies) made numerous highly valuable observations in his notes and appendix, though in a style a trifle lacking in final distillation. It might have been as well to punctuate the text and correct unquestionable mistakes, rather than print quite so diplomatically, since as yet the poem is hardly the centre of keen debate; but no doubt the editor erred on the right side. The translation is rough and fluctuating, but nearly always essentially accurate. Perhaps he is unduly forbearing in his treatment of his careless and blundering predecessors, and would be justified in stating his conclusion, that Geoffrey is the author, with more positiveness. The last five lines, naming the author, may be spurious, for the second of them contains two dubious quantities, observed by the editor and the reviewer nowhere else in the poem; but, to say nothing of other evidence, at any rate the lines show that Geoffrey was believed to be the author soon after it was written. The editor says but little concerning Geoffrey's use of Latin authors, for example, of Ovid's mannerisms and mythology (e.g. vv. 157, 424; in two other places he does note Ovidian parallels); but he was naturally more interested in Geoffrey's relation to Celtic tradition, which he shows was even closer than was formerly realized.

The *Vita Merlini*, especially in this edition, is of special interest in connection with the belief, to which many scholars are less averse than formerly, that, whatever its scope, the *liber vetustissimus* alleged by Geoffrey as the main source of his *Historia* was not wholly a myth. For this later work he assuredly had a rich Celtic background. Even aside from the Celtic parallels to this or that episode pointed out by Dr Parry and his predecessors, the interests and predilections, the peculiar tinge of the romanticism, are undeniably Welsh. The wanton collecting of *mirabilia* for their own sake is exactly in the Welsh taste. Telgesinus and Merlin recite lists of fish, waters, and birds, with their strange properties (drawn from Isidor, with possibly some use of Pliny), much as Arthur in the *Historia* (ix, 7) tells of marvelous lakes. The *Vita* was well adapted to charm the Welsh. Though Geoffrey does not retire here from the anti-Welsh position so clear in the *Historia*, where he exalts the Bretons and belittles the Welsh, he makes it less conspicuous.

The Rev. Mr Griscom attacks the outworks of a much more difficult problem, in collaboration with Canon Jones of the New York cathedral. Literary and historical scholarship in America is so largely in the hands of college professors that one welcomes to it with enthusiasm members of another learned profession. A man with a knowledge of Welsh and of paleography can render vast service where it is vastly needed, in the field of Mediaeval Welsh and Latin.

Mr Griscom seems to have two main purposes: to show that previous studies of the Welsh *Bruts* are confused and inaccurate; and that the two texts mentioned in his title have been misrepresented and unduly overlooked. The first point he abundantly proves (if proof is needed); fresh examination of the MSS shows many cases of ignorance, misunderstanding, and misstatement on the part of nearly everybody. No subject is more pervaded with such stumbling-blocks for the later student; even Gross in his *Sources and Literature of English History* makes several misstatements in speaking of these works. Mr Griscom's plea for a return to the MSS is absolutely justified; we shall never get anywhere without reproduction, study, and translation of the principal texts by competent Welsh scholars. With the new centre for Welsh culture at Aberystwyth, and the racial patriotism and comparative wealth (at least in some parts) of Wales, this seems not too much to hope for.

The argument on the second point is less easy to grant and even to follow. The authors hold with Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, the eminent Egyptologist, that the so-called *Brut Tysilio* contains material independent of Geoffrey and derived from or cognate with the *liber vetustissimus Britanici sermonis*. Though Mr Griscom disclaims (p. 2) any attempt "to estimate in any way the rightness or wrongness of Professor Petrie's main contention," he devotes much space to defending it, especially with the help of the Basingwerk and Cleopatra MSS. That these MSS are important is true, and enforces the need of return to the MSS, but he adds little to Petrie's argument as to the *Brut Tysilio*, and the validity of some of his arguments can easily be impugned.

To ascertain exactly what the views of Messrs Griscom and Jones are, and to appraise their value except in the most general way, is made difficult by their method. One finds ambiguity in their own and their quoted use of such crucial terms as manuscript, text, version, work, "Walter's book," *Brut Tysilio*, *Brut y Brenhined*. It would be well, with so confused a subject, to define such terms at the outset, whether used of hypothetical works, printed editions, or particular MS.-texts, and never use them in any other sense. The reader would be aided all through by greater precision and accuracy, and by a more orderly plan and clearer arrangement. One often mentally asks, "What?" "Where?" "What is the bearing of this?" A more

extensive use of foot-notes and appendices would preserve irrelevant points which the authors deem valuable, but which perplex the reader, who cannot tell at once whether such points bear in some hidden way on the main argument. Numerous misprints increase the troubles and uneasiness of the reader, apparently the fault of the editor of *Y Cymmrodor*, who disclaims responsibility for anything else, but accepts responsibility for seeing the volume through the press. Not only would any person on earth have difficulty in following the authors' thought, but one inevitably conceives doubt of its validity. The subject is complicated in itself, the evidence is difficult of access, and earlier writers on it have introduced great confusion; the first requirement in a fresh treatment is to make clear just what the writer is undertaking to do, just what bearing each succeeding point has on it, and just what conclusions are reached.

These criticisms are made in no faultfinding spirit, but with the earnest desire that we may profit to the utmost from Mr Griscom's studies, for which he has obviously unusual qualifications. We shall look forward with great hopes to his further studies of Geoffrey and his edition of the *Historia*. Our best present text being mainly a second-hand reproduction of a bad text of 1587 (as Messrs Chambers and Griscom have shown), and very much out of print at that, the latter promise is most welcome. An accurate and readable reproduction of the best available MS., with variants from others, will lay mediaeval scholars under a heavy debt, and will accelerate the study of Geoffrey and his followers.

Encouraging signs of its present vitality are seen in a number of important shorter articles of the last twelvemonth. Mr Griscom's own paper in the last issue of *SPECULUM* gives new and significant information about the texts and dedications of the *Historia*, and helps to confirm its date as 1136-98. Dr Parry has a highly capable observation on the date (1150) of the *Vita Merlini* in *Modern Philology*, XXII, and an excellent and cautious study of "Celtic Tradition and the *Vita Merlini*" in the *Philological Quarterly*, IV. Here he might have mentioned the Jewish parallel to Merlin's feats of prophecy cited by Kölbing and others (*Altengl. Bibliothek*, IV, cvi). There is also a certain interest in a similar story, though lacking the fulfilment, told of Edward the Confessor in Higden's *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), vii, 218, and cf. 166. Professor E. K. Chambers, in the *Review of English Studies*, I, argues ingeniously for revision or interpolation in the text of the *Historia* about 1142, and for a reflection of contemporary conditions in it, a stimulating and far-reaching idea. Mention should also be made of the article on Nennius by Professor Felix Liebermann in the *Essays in Mediaeval History Presented to T. F. Tout* (Manchester, England, 1925).

The accumulation of background and detail now going on so vigorously shows Geoffrey of Monmouth to the world more and more as, not a lone figure at the beginning of things, but a widely-connected and brilliant personage in a great and flowering period of Latin culture. Of no less value than increased knowledge of Geoffrey is increased knowledge of the Latin culture of the twelfth century. Geoffrey was on the top of the wave without knowing it. The English before the Norman Conquest had persisted in writing in their own language. They had their own traditional culture, modified and enriched by what they had learned from the south. Latin was at best a foreign language to them; some of the more learned wrote in it, but others infused what broad cultivation they had into what they wrote in the vernacular. To their French and Italian contemporaries, on the other hand, Latin was not foreign; it was their own national or racial language, in a *patois* form for the affairs of daily life, more or less perfectly in a careful conservative form for writing. If one wrote at all, one wrote Latin. About the twelfth century came a change on both island and continent. Political changes degraded the English language, and gradual linguistic changes were finally recognized as exalting French to a position of independence. Late in the eleventh century, vernacular culture declined in England; well on in the twelfth, the revolutionary idea was fully established in France that literary work aiming at either utility or diversion for the people or the aristocracy might use the vernacular. In Italy the exaltation of the vernacular came a century or so later than in France. In the twelfth century, therefore, in England and on the Continent, Latin was at its height; it had come into supreme position in England, and had not lost it in France and Italy. That language for a time was almost free from literary rivals which had conveyed the main current of culture from the days of Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome, and was to convey it to near the end of the Middle Ages.

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK,
Harvard University.

The Riddles of Aldhelm: Text and Translation, by James Hall Pitman. Yale Studies in English, LXVII, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1925. \$1.

IN his suggestive and important monograph, "The Possible Begetter of the Old English *Beowulf* and *Widsith*" (*Trans. Conn. Acad.*, XXV (1922), 281 ff.), as well as in numerous other papers, Professor A. S. Cook has in recent years shed much light upon, and gone far to awaken a somewhat overdue interest in, the cultural life and Latin literature of England in the seventh and eighth centuries. Now under his general editorship appears a most convenient and attractive edition of the *Aenigmata* of Aldhelm of Malmesbury, text and translation, by Professor Pitman.

The Introduction discusses briefly the previous history of enigmatic literature and likewise contains a short account of Aldhelm's life and literary activities; in the footnotes, however, the attention of the reader is directed to the literature on these subjects. Bede's esteem of Aldhelm is mentioned; here the attention of the reader might conveniently have been directed to Professor Charles Plummer's edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, v, 18, and to 'Aldhelm' in the Index, *ed. cit.*, II, 407. In the Introduction, p. ii, Professor Pitman refers to Aldhelm's Irish teacher, founder of the school at Malmesbury, as 'Maildulf'; is this not a slip for 'Maildubh,' or 'Mailduib' (cf. Plummer's *Bede*, II, 309, and especially 493, *s.v.* 'Maildufi urbs')? Note might also have been made of the fact that Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* is but one of a number of such collections by seventh- and eighth-century Englishmen; see A. J. Wyatt, *Old English Riddles*, Boston: D. C. Heath, 1912, Introduction, pp. xvii-xix.

In the Prologue or *Praefatio*, at times almost Miltonic in its grandeur, the poet humbly yet impressively solicits divine inspiration for his poems to follow, rejecting at the same time the *Castalidas nimphas*. One hundred riddles, ranging in length from four to forty-six hexameter lines (average length about ten lines) follow, in which the interest of the reader is consistently maintained by the extraordinary diversity of the subjects treated: the forces and manifestations of nature, animals, birds, and insects jostle shoulders with homely inanimate objects, spiced here and there with an admixture of the more exotic, such as an ostrich (No. 42), a unicorn (No. 60), a palm tree (No. 91), and a tall light-house (No. 92). The concluding piece (No. 100), 'Creatura,' is to all intents and purposes a beautiful cosmic ode — cast in riddle form — to eternal, restless Nature, represented not only by all space but by the tiniest of living creatures. It conveys a very unusual sense of motion. The fundamental spirit of the whole is didactic, but moral lore is tempered by a great love of nature's kinds, keenness of observation, and a wide variety of subject. The translation, in more than readable blank verse, adheres with fidelity to the original and commends itself not only to students of ancient England and Old-English literature (especially, of course, of the Old-English *Riddles*), but to the layman as well, who would taste the literature of the 'ages of darkness.'

The Notes are selective and are based to a considerable extent, as the author notes, on those (in Latin) of Dr Ehwald's edition of Aldhelm in the *Monumenta*. It might have been noted (p. 71) that the Old-English *Riddle No. 35 (36)* appears to be a translation of Aldhelm's *Lorica* (No. 33) (see Wyatt, *ed. cit.*, pp. 92-93). For No. 100, 'Creatura,' see Wyatt, *ed. cit.*, pp. 98-102, for an analysis of the relation of Aldhelm's riddle to the Old-English *Riddle No. 40 (41)*, together with Professor Wyatt's literal translation of Aldhelm's text; from this last, by the way, the reader to whom

Aldhelm's esoteric vocabulary presents too serious obstacles may readily estimate the adroitness of Professor Pitman's translation and its closeness to the original. In connection with No. 96, 'Elefans,' and its relation to English ivories, one thinks at once of the Franks (or Clermont) Casket; see G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, Indexes, sub 'ivories' and 'ivory,' for an up-to-date discussion of this aspect of Old-English art.

In form this volume, pleasing to the eye, lives up to the usual high standard of the series in which it appears. The use of the ligatures *æ* and *œ* for *ae* and *oe* gives a slightly old-fashioned cast to the Latin text and does not seem to the reviewer to represent an improvement over the style in the *Monumenta*. The desirability of using the symbol *v* at all raises the perhaps too delicate question of pronunciation. Professor Pitman has set an admirable example to translators of Mediaeval Latin verse, and more such translations are needed. Miami University is to be complimented for subsidizing the costs of publication.

The reviewer takes this occasion to remind the reader that the original text, reproduced here as printed in *Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 97 ff., in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiquiss.*, XV, ed. in 2 parts by Dr Rudolf Ehwald (1919, 1914), may be obtained from the Weidmann Verlag, Berlin, for 36 (or 24) Marks.

F. P. MAGOUN, Jr

Amadas et Ydoine, roman du XIII^e siècle, édité par John R. Reinhard. Paris: Champion, 1926 in "Les Classiques français du moyen âge." Pp. x, 299. Fcs. 16.

STUDENTS of mediaeval English literature and students of Shakspeare will welcome a new edition of *Amadas et Ydoine*, the one because, like the other great mediaeval love-story, *Tristan*, it was originally written by an Anglo-Norman; the other because of the Paris-Romeo-Juliet scene at the tomb. One wishes that such matters might have been treated in the introduction; but no doubt such a material will be included in Mr Reinhard's *Introduction to Amadas et Ydoine*, now printing at the Duke University Press.

Sixty-three years ago Célestin Hippeau edited this romance for the first time from the only MS. then known. Mr Reinhard's edition is enriched by fragments of two other MSS; in this respect it is superior to the edition of 1863. It is to be regretted, however, that Mr Reinhard's edition sins almost as grievously as does Hippeau's on the score of misprints. Mr Reinhard's edition of *Eledus et Serene*, Austin, University of Texas, 1923, although suffering from an inadequate introduction and glossary, fared far better in this respect. Instances of wrong font and broken type are too numerous to mention, but these blemishes reflect upon the series in which this edition appears.

The reviewer is glad to append additions to the 'Errata' (p. [297]), kindly communicated by the editor:

In text 'P': p. v, footnote 1, for (1414) read (1914); p. vi, line 15, for *Reesten* read *Feesten*; p. vi, line 16, for *Magriete* read *Margriete*; p. vii, line 1, for *Three* read *Thre*; p. vii, line 2, for *Munai* read *Mundi*; p. 6, v. 92, add semicolon after *couvoita*; p. 27, v. 393, for *désiré* read *desiré*; p. 79, v. 1337, for *Qu il* read *Qu'il*; p. 80, v. 1381, add comma after *Vimeu*, delete comma after *Ponthieu*; p. 81, v. 1422, for *D enseignement* read *D'enseignement*; p. 100, v. 1912, add period after *mont*; p. 105, v. 2041, for *mauvairs* read *mauvais*; p. 109, v. 2195, delete comma after *soer* and add period; p. 110, v. 2203, for *n avra* read *n'avra*; p. 110, v. 2205, for *n a joie* read *n'a joie*; p. 122, v. 2627, add comma after *tendre*; p. 133, v. 2978, for *delivres* read *delivrés*; p. 146, v. 3413, for *d Ydoine* read *d'Ydoine*; p. 164, v. 3995, for *l'on* read *l'ont*; p. 168, v. 4144, for *E li* read *Et li*; p. 175, v. 4354, delete *un*; p. 208, v. 5466, for *cvel* read *celle*; p. 208, v. 5467, for *en eie* read *envie*; p. 225, v. 6017, for *derverieet* read *derverie et*; p. 242, v. 6590, for *oy* read *oÿ*; p. 245, v. 6681, for *al' aventure* read *a l'aventure*; p. 266, v. 7378, for *grand* read *grant*; p. 270, v. 7490, for *otroie* read *otroi*; p. 279, v. 7795, for *Le* read *La*; p. 286, v. 85, for *priss'a* read *pris'a*; p. 299, for *AMADAS ET IDOINE* read *AMADAS ET YDOINE*.

In text 'V': p. 16, v. 267, for *demaise, la* read *demaisele*; p. 22, v. 403, delete the apostrophe in *le' esteüst*; p. 63, v. 1112, for *semblan* read *semblant*.

Mr Reinhard's volume is, despite minor defects, a welcome addition to convenient editions of Old-French texts and will be eagerly read by students, especially by those already interested in its editor's capital study on the themes of *Amadas* in the *Romanic Review*, XV (1924), 179-265.

F. P. MAGOUN, Jr

The Book of Troilus and Criseyde by Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited from all the known manuscripts by Robert Kilburn Root. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1926. Pp. xc, 573. \$6.

AT THE moment of going to press there is only time to announce the publication on May 12, 1926, by the Princeton University Press of Professor Root's edition of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. The October issue of *SPECULUM* will contain a full review of this important work.

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

- INLAND TRANSPORTATION IN ENGLAND DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY J. F. WILLARD 361
AUGUSTINE'S JOURNEY FROM ROME TO RICHBOROUGH. . . A. S. COOK 375
THE POEMS ASCRIBED TO KING ENZIO H. H. THORNTON 398
THE ROMANCE TEXT OF THE *STRASSBURG OATHS*. WAS IT WRITTEN IN THE NINTH CENTURY? J. W. THOMPSON 410

NOTES

- 'TABLES' IN MEDIAEVAL CHURCHES. G. H. GEROULD 439
A NOTE ON THE SCHOOL PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN IN ENGLAND H. M. ATRES 440
AN ANGULAR FORM OF A RARE ABBREVIATION FOR -S
W. A. OLDFATHER 443
YET ANOTHER NOTE IN REPLY TO A FURTHER NOTE ON A NOTE L. THORNDIKE 445
IOANNES SARESBERIENSIS SILLABIZAT E. K. RAND 447
LIBER DE COLORIBUS: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA D. V. THOMPSON, JR. 448
ERRATA IN "LE LECTIONNAIRE DE SAINT-PERE" A. WILMART 450
REPORT ON THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA R. A. CRAM 451
REVIEWS 454
J. S. Zyburg, *Present-Day Thinkers and the New Scholasticism* (J. H. Ryan); E. H. Sehr, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur altsächsischen Genesis* (T. Starck); A. S. Cook and C. B. Tinker, *Select Translations from Old English Poetry* (F. P. Magoun, Jr); R. K. Root, *The Book of Troilus and Criseyde*, by Geoffrey Chaucer (F. N. Robinson).
ANNOUNCEMENTS OF BOOKS RECEIVED 467
NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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INLAND TRANSPORTATION IN ENGLAND DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By JAMES FIELD WILLARD

FROM the towns of England in the fourteenth century went travellers on horseback on business or pleasure bent. As they moved along the highway, they would meet pack-horses, carts, and wagons bearing to the towns the produce of the manors or returning with goods purchased in the markets. When in due time they reached a bridge or ferry, they would see boats on the river with their oarsmen, or larger craft, towed or under sail, passing with their cargoes to ports or distant towns. Paying the man at the bridge a farthing or the ferryman his modest charge, they would pass over the river and sooner or later reach their destination. At night in an inn they could sleep in peace; for, unless they carried large sums of money, the dangers of the morrow's journey were not so great as seriously to disturb their rest.¹

Everyone who owned a horse or could afford to hire one travelled on horseback. The great might occasionally use for their womenfolk the large and elaborately decorated carriages that were pictured at the time, but such vehicles must have been rare at best. Travel on horseback has been made much of in modern books and need not be discussed here. It may be added, however, that horses were considered so necessary for moving about the country that they appear in the *corrodies* granted to men who had retired from the king's service to pass their later days within the precincts of a monastery.

¹ J. J. Jusserand, in his *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* (London 1889), has given a vivid picture of mediaeval roads, bridges, and wayfarers, but he has not attempted to describe the transportation of goods by land and water.

To these old or incapacitated men there was often granted, in addition to food and shelter for themselves, provender for one or two horses and attendant grooms.¹

When rivers were at hand they were at times made use of by travellers. There was evidently a good deal of travel on the Thames at or near London. The king and queen, in the king's barges or in hired boats, not only crossed the Thames, but also used the river to pass between Westminster or Windsor and London.² The duke of Lancaster, and presumably other magnates, employed barges for a similar purpose.³ It is noted that the clerks of the chancery were accustomed to go from the Temple to Westminster by water.⁴ Early in the century it was ordered that no boatman should cross the river at night, and in 1391 a city ordinance provided that no boatman should bring passengers into the Stews between sunset and sunrise.⁵ There are incidental references to the use of boats in other districts for the conveyance of passengers. The sacrist of Ely, for example, commonly went in a boat on the Ouse and Cam on his way to and from synods at Barnwell.⁶ He also journeyed to and from Lynn in the same fashion. In the well-watered region about Ely such trips by river and stream may well have been frequent. There is an interesting story told in the return of an inquest held near Norwich in 1343.⁷ A large boat on the Yare, immoderately loaded, according to the jurors, was accidentally sunk, and carried down with it forty passengers, both men and women, as well as a considerable quantity of goods. Examples such as these are rare and must be so; for, aside from the fact that travel by boat was slow and horses were plentiful,

¹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1301-07*, p. 188; *Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1502-07*, p. 80; *Ibid.*, 1307-13, p. 580; *Ibid.*, 1313-18, pp. 97, 191. Henceforth these series will be referred to as *C. P. R.* and *C. C. R.*

² *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobiae* (London, 1787), pp. 53-54, 90, 96.

³ *John of Gaunt's Register* (ed. S. Armitage-Smith, *Camden Society*, London, 1911), II, 155.

⁴ *C. C. R.*, 1330-33, p. 102.

⁵ *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London* (ed. R. R. Sharpe), Letter Book C, p. 85; *ibid.*, Letter Book H, pp. 371-72. Cf. *Calendar of Coroners' Rolls of the City of London* (ed. R. R. Sharpe, London, 1914), p. 273.

⁶ *Sacrist Rolls of Ely* (ed. F. R. Chapman, Cambridge, 1907), II, 94, 169, 179.

⁷ *Records of the City of Norwich* (ed. W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, Norwich, 1906-1910), I, 223.

notices of the employment of boats for local journeys would seldom find their way into the records of the time.

Concerning the means of transportation of goods by land and water in the fourteenth century there is abundant information. The cart was ubiquitous. When, however, rivers and large streams were near, the boat disputed and probably overthrew the supremacy of its rival. Wagons, which were four-wheeled vehicles, and pack-horses supplemented, rather than competed with, the work done by the cart and boat.

The mediaeval cart was clumsy but efficient. There were carts and long carts, carts bound with iron and carts not so bound. A strong ^{cart} bound with iron was one whose wheels were protected from wear by iron bands called strakes and heavy headed nails. Such strong carts are mentioned in various classes of records and seem to have occupied an important place in the transportation of heavy goods across country. Wagons or wains, with their wheels similarly protected, are also referred to. Carts were drawn by horses whose number varied from one to six, though in one instance, as noted below, eight-horse teams were used. One may safely conjecture that the latter drew wagons. In the majority of cases where carts were used for cross-country traffic, the team was three. Thorold Rogers, however, in his estimate of the cost of the carriage of grain, adopted the two-horse team as standard.¹ For heavy loads from four to six horses might be employed, whereas for short hauls and light loads within the manor one or two horses might suffice. Very little information is forthcoming as to the size of the teams that drew wagons; the largest to which reference has been found was the one demanded of the prior of Durham in 1333 for the carriage of tents and army stores for the expedition against Scotland. It was to be a team of ten sufficient oxen.² The heads of other religious houses were at the same time ordered to send carts and wagons bound with iron and drawn by five horses.

At the basis of mediaeval transportation lay carriage on or off the manor. Among the duties of the tenants was that of carriage

¹ James E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices* (Oxford, 1886), I, 657-58.

² *C. C. R.*, 1333-37, p. 100. See also *C. P. R.*, 1313-17, p. 136.

in carts, either short hauls within the precincts or long hauls beyond the boundaries of the manor to markets and elsewhere. The peasant hauled manure to the fields, corn to the grange, brushwood and other articles to the manor house. When he did not possess a horse, he was at times forced to carry produce on his back. The tenant might also be required to carry goods long distances from the manor. Miss Neilson has noted in the case of the manors of Ramsey Abbey carriage duties involving trips to London, St Albans, Cambridge, Colchester, Ipswich, and Bury St Edmonds.¹ The carts and wagons of the demesne, of which there were many, played their part in manorial and extra-manorial carriage alongside of those of the peasants.

How and where the peasants disposed of the crops they wished to sell is another matter. That they frequently had considerable quantities of grain and other produce on hand for sale is clear from the returns of the assessment of the taxes upon personal property. In the disposal of this surplus they presumably used the same carts in which they hauled the grain of their manorial lord, and went to the same markets. A portion of their grain for sale might be taken off their hands from time to time by the king's purveyors seeking victuals for the army or navy, by purveyors of victuals for the household, the chancery, nearby castles, and the like. Some of these men were given the right to requisition the carts they needed for carriage, though there is frequent mention of the king's carts and of carters engaged in his service. There were also the travelling merchants, traders in corn and victuals, who came into the local districts with their carts; these men bought the grain and took it to the ports along the coast from which it could be shipped to London and other towns, or to foreign lands. Unless some such buyer appeared, the peasant would transport his grain in carts or boats to the larger towns that were near at hand. That this was expected will be shown in the discussion of tolls.

Transportation from quarries, forests, and other bases of supplies to the towns was normally in carts unless a river offered a convenient highway. When, early in the fourteenth century, the

¹ N. Neilson, *Customary Rents* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 61-62.

mayor of Leicester rendered his account of the expenses incurred on the North Bridge, he set down in detail the cost of carrying gravel, sand, and stone in carts.¹ The same is true of the accounts dealing with the repair of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, and of buildings in other places.² In these and other documents there are references also to the cross-country carriage, in carts and wagons, of lead, weapons of war, army stores, cloth, peat, timber, brushwood, fish, beds, wine, wool, sea-coal, glass, hay, grain, and other articles. Now and then we meet with descriptions of the conveyance of loads of a different character. In this connection may be cited the seven nuns of Watton carried in a covered cart,³ the criminals who were taken from York to Scarborough in wagons,⁴ the sick man who travelled in a covered cart to Louth Park only to die there,⁵ and, finally, the body of a man who had been hanged, taken in a cart to the cemetery for burial.⁶

When tolls were levied either by royal grant or by town ordinance upon goods brought into a town for sale, certain articles were rated by the cartload. These were usually heavy or bulky goods. In the grant of pavage to be levied at Newark, fish, meat, iron, tin, timber, hay, rushes, heath, faggots, coal, and brushwood were listed in terms of the cartload.⁷ In other schedules of goods liable to toll, salt, tan, bread, plaster of Paris, cloth, peat, stone, horseshoes, baskets, oysters, and grain were described in the same terms. There are also a number of instances in which tolls were levied by the week upon carts laden with victuals coming into the towns, an indication that the men of the neighborhood were expected to come in with supplies with a certain degree of regularity. On the bridges in the rural districts the victuals and merchandise subject to toll were charged by the cartload and horseload.

¹ *Records of the Borough of Leicester* (ed. M. Bateson), I, 350, 353; II, 8, 28, 78.

² E. W. Brayley and John Britton, *The History of the Ancient Palaces and Late Houses of Parliament at Westminster*, pp. 152, 189, 200; *C. C. R.*, 1333-37, p. 109; *C. P. R.*, 1348-50, p. 183; *Ibid.*, 1354-58, p. 439.

³ *C. P. R.*, 1313-17, p. 501.

⁴ *C. P. R.*, 1317-21, p. 358.

⁵ *C. P. R.*, 1346-48, p. 4.

⁶ *C. P. R.*, 1364-67, p. 60.

⁷ *English Economic History, Select Documents* (compiled and ed. A. E. Bland, P. A. Brown, R. H. Tawney, London, 1914), pp. 133-34.

Throughout the century the government bought, borrowed, purveyed, or directly hired carts for many purposes. Among the expenses of the wardrobe in 1299-1300, there were many items relating to the purchase of carts and horses to be used in the transportation of army stores.¹ In 1307, various abbots and priors were asked to lend carts and horses for the carriage of the goods of the king's household to Dover;² and during the following year several sheriffs were ordered to provide carts, each with four horses, to transport victuals for the army.³ Carts were also employed at various times for the carriage of the rolls and memoranda of the exchequer from Westminster to York,⁴ of the goods of the households of the king and queen, and of victuals for all departments. Several times during the year 1333 large sums of money were sent from York to Newcastle in carts. Four men-at-arms and five archers guarded one thousand pounds in transit between the two towns; the outward journey took three days, but the carter returned to York in two days.⁵ Later in the same year four men-at-arms, one hobelar and five archers guarded the transportation of the same amount of money.⁶ In the year 1348 Richard Potter, clerk of the chancellor, was granted protection on his journey through the country with a cart, seeking "brushwood, coal, victuals and other things to be bought for the household of the chancellor."⁷ Behind the army as it moved toward the north or the west came the humble cart, the predecessor of the motor truck. Magnates who were ordered to come to the host in 1323 were directed to bring with them saddles for sumpter-horses "besides the cars [wains] and carts that have been usually brought in such armies," on the chance that it might be decided to substitute carriage by horse for that of the slow-moving cart.⁸

Some of the journeys made by the carts in the fourteenth century were rather long. In 1367 the parts of a table of alabaster bought

¹ *Lib. Cont. Gard.*, pp. 105, 106, 112, 127, 129.

² *C. C. R.*, 1307-13, p. 50.

³ *C. C. R.*, 1307-13, pp. 39-40.

⁴ D. Broome, "Exchequer Migrations to York in the Thirteenth Century," in *Essays in Mediaeval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1925), pp. 294, 295.

⁵ Issue Roll, No. 269 (7 Edward III, Easter), 21 June.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 22 July.

⁷ *C. P. R.*, 1348-50, p. 125.

⁸ *C. C. R.*, 1318-23, p. 708.

for the altar of St George's, Windsor, were brought in ten carts, each with eight horses, from Nottingham to Windsor in seventeen days.¹ From Tutbury, in eastern Staffordshire, alabaster was carted to London.² Darts for the army were sent in 1337 in a new wagon costing sixty-three shillings and eight pence, from the forest of Dean to Berwick.³ At another time carts transported the records of the bishop to Worcester from London, and late in the reign of Edward I two carts with victuals for the army made the journey from Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, to Carlisle in twelve days.⁴ There is in existence a roll of the expenses of the carriage of arrows and bow-strings from various parts of England to the Tower of London in 1342.⁵ These articles were normally carried in carts drawn by three, four, or five horses. The arrows bought in the county of Nottingham and Derby were placed in barrels (*pipas*) for shipment. A four-horse cart transported three hundred and eleven sheaves of arrows from Bristol to the Tower, a distance of one hundred and five leagues, at the cost of seventeen shillings and six pence, or two pence a mile. It took a cart with five horses eight days to go from Gloucester to London and return, a distance of one hundred and eighty leagues; the charge was twenty-two pence a day for the cart and horses. To make the journey from the city of Lincoln to and from the Tower took nine days, and the charge was the same. The carriage of the goods of the Great Exchequer and of the Receipt from Westminster to York in 1333 took nine days, and thirty-two carters were employed.⁶ In the king's butler's account rendered in 13 Edward III there is notice of a large amount of wine purchased in Bristol.⁷ This was carried in carts to London.

The transportation of the king's wool of the grant made in 1332 offers many striking examples of long hauls and of their cost.⁸ It is noteworthy that in several instances the hauling was done in late

¹ L. F. Salzman, *English Industries in the Middle Ages* (London, 1913), p. 87.

² *C. P. R.*, 1361-64, p. 232.

³ *C. C. R.*, 1337-39, p. 11.

⁴ *C. C. R.*, 1313-18, p. 548.

⁵ Pipe Roll, No. 187 (16 Edward III), mm. 47a, 47d.

⁶ Issue Roll, No. 269 (7 Edward III, Easter), 19 May.

⁷ Pipe Roll, No. 184 (13 Edward III), m. 47a.

⁸ The following statements are based upon the accounts found in Pipe Roll, No. 183 (12 Edward III), mm. 47 ff.

autumn and winter, when the roads, as described by some modern writers, should have been nearly impassable. The wool was transported from Gloucester to London, a distance estimated as ninety leagues, at the cost of four shillings a sarplar. The term league was synonymous with mile, and a sarplar was a bale of wool without, it would seem, a fixed weight, though larger and heavier than a sack. The same charge by the sarplar was made for carriage from Middleton, Glastonbury, and Dorchester in Somerset to London, over one hundred leagues. Wool was carried from Hereford to the same city, a distance of one hundred and sixteen leagues, for six shillings a sarplar, and from Bridgewater and Wells, reckoned at one hundred and twenty leagues, for four shillings a sack. There are also several instances of shorter hauls in carts. One may be cited here because of its special interest. During the month of October and the early days of November, 1338, wool was carried from Northampton to Boston, the distance being fifty-four leagues, for two shillings a sack, while from the tenth of November to the fourth of January the charge for the same carriage was three shillings. The same fifty per cent increase in the cost of transportation was made for the carriage from Oundle to Boston during the same months. The accounts of the wool subsidy, so far as they have been examined, indicate that the wool was transported either in carts or in boats, though it is not improbable that the local collectors utilized the pack-horse in bringing small quantities to the assembling points.

As a means of transporting goods in the fourteenth century, the pack-horse, or sumpter, seems to have occupied a position of far less importance than the cart. Pack-horses were, no doubt, in constant use, but in the records of the period they are most frequently mentioned in connection with local carriage or with the conveyance of light or precious articles. They were employed, for instance, at or near the seacoast for the carriage of fish. They were continually used to carry treasure or money across country in baskets or packs. The rolls of the chancery were carried on pack-horses until 1354, when, it was stated, because the chancery was held in a fixed place, there was no longer any need of them in that connection.¹ Occasional

¹ *C. P. R.*, 1354-58, pp. 148-49.

mention is made of merchants with their pack-horses journeying through the country. When the king's horses were sent to the country to be cared for, sumpter horses were usually named with the palfreys and cart-horses.

Additional information that is sorely needed in relation to carriage on horseback is supplied by the schedules of tolls of the period. When grants of pontage or pavage were made for the repair of country bridges and highways, it was customary to describe the goods that were to be charged in such terms as victuals, goods, or merchandise, and as being for sale. The measures normally employed were the cartload and horseload, and for the latter the toll demanded was usually one fourth of that levied upon the cartload. On carts passing over the bridge at Marlow, as well as on boats passing under it, the charge was a penny, while for each horseload of goods exceeding five shillings in value the charge was a farthing.¹ At times, as at or near London, tolls were levied by the week on pack-horses as well as on carts laden with victuals and merchandise.² Horseloads also appear as a measure of articles subject to tolls at the gates of the towns. Among these articles are light and perishable goods, such as glass, jars, jugs, bottles of water, fish, oysters, honey, apples, cheese, onions, garlic, bread, flour, and cloth. Most of these are such as would be brought from points near at hand; several are estimated in both horseloads and cartloads, as were also, though infrequently, corn and wool.

In many districts of mediaeval England where navigable rivers were found, the boat was used to a large extent in place of the cart and the pack-horse. There were, so it was stated in the fourteenth century, four great rivers, the Thames, the Severn, the Ouse, and the Trent. Each of these had from ancient times been "open for the passage of ships and boats for the common profit of the people."³ Complaints were made at various times that these rivers were obstructed by weirs, kiddles, and other fishing contrivances, and measures were taken to remove these hindrances to navigation.⁴ In addi-

¹ *C. P. R.*, 1313-17, p. 281.

² *C. L. B.* . . . London, F, pp. 100, 102-03; *ibid.*,

³ *C. R. R.*, 1348-50, p. 76.

G, pp. 81, 140-41.

⁴ Many instances of obstruction have been gathered by C. T. Flower in the two volumes of the *Selden Society* entitled *Public Works in Mediaeval Law* (London, 1915, 1923).

tion to the four great rivers named, there were many of lesser fame that played an important part in the transportation of goods. On all of these the flat-bottomed shute, the rowboat, the barge with its oars and sail, and the sailing ship carried victuals and supplies between inland towns, or to and from the seaports.

The Thames was the great artery of inland water traffic in the southern part of England. It was navigable as far as Oxford, one hundred and twelve miles from London Bridge; but fair-sized boats seem to have been content to stop at Henley, forty-seven miles below Oxford. Part of the wool of Oxfordshire was in 1338 assembled at Oxford, carried to Henley overland, and from there shipped to London in shutes at the low cost of six pence a sarplar, or about one tenth of a penny a mile.¹ Grain was sent down-stream to London, and stone and other materials freighted up-stream to Windsor or beyond. At London and between London and Westminster there was a large amount of local traffic. Many of the materials used in the repair of the buildings at Westminster were brought to that town from London. The transfer of the treasure of the crown from Westminster to the Tower of London was made again and again in boats.² On the twenty-sixth of September, 1322, twenty-four porters were paid twenty shillings for the carriage of fifty-two barrels of money, each containing five hundred pounds, from the treasury at Westminster to the Queen's Bridge on the river, and from the water's edge at the Tower to a chapel in the high tower.³ From the Queen's Bridge to the Tower the barrels were transported in two barges and four boats at the cost of two shillings and nine pence. Why Edward II caused the removal of such a large sum to the Tower at that particular time is an interesting problem to be solved. In 1372 it was proclaimed that no boatman should charge more than two pence for the hire of his boat between London and Westminster, and no more than three pence when the boat was full.⁴ There are references to the local transportation of victuals on the river,⁵ to boats going to

¹ Pipe Roll, No. 183 (12 Edward III), m. 47.

² *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham* (ed. and trans. F. Devon), pp. 150, 171, 178, 204.

³ Issue Roll, No. 116 (16 Edward II, Michaelmas), m. 7, left-hand panel.

⁴ *C. L. B.* . . . London, G, p. 301.

⁵ *C. P. R.*, 1348-50, p. 353; *C. C. R.*, 1354-60, p. 320.

Chelsea for grass,¹ to Greenwich for reeds,² and to Deptford for hurdles.³

The Thames from its mouth to London must have been a very busy river, for there are ships coming from the Continent and from the coastwise towns to be reckoned with as well as river boats. The Lea joined the Thames near the city, and down it came shutes from Ware and Waltham bringing victuals for London. Farther down stream the Medway opened a water highway into Kent as far at least as Maidstone. Along the river, stone was shipped to Westminster from Maidstone several times in the years 1365 and 1366; in 1356 a little ship of Maidstone was arrested while on its way to the staple at Westminster with two sarplars of wool.⁴ Permission was granted to load wool in Queensborough and Faversham on the Swale for shipment to the same staple.⁵ From coastwise towns even as far away as Cornwall grain was freighted for the provisioning of London, in ships of London merchants or of traders from other places. Up the river came fish from Yarmouth, hides and sea-coal from Newcastle, marble from Wareham, stone from Devonshire, firewood from Winchelsea, and commodities from foreign towns.

To the north of the Thames the rivers emptying into the Wash opened the way into a fertile, thickly settled, and prosperous district. These rivers were the Nen, Welland, Witham, and, most important of all, the Ouse. The city of Ely lay on the Ouse in this well-watered region, and the sacrist of the abbey made full use of the advantages offered for water transportation. Goods were brought by the Cam and the Ouse to Ely from Stourbridge Fair and Cambridge.⁶ At various times cloth, canvas, tallow, wax, and lead were shipped to the city from Boston. Most of the supplies needed by the abbey were, however, purchased at Lynn and shipped by the Ouse to Ely. When the sacrist bought goods at Newmarket, Barnwell, or other places not lying on a waterway, these were carried to the nearest point on a river and sent the remainder of the way in boats. It has

¹ *Cal. Coroners' Rolls* . . . London, p. 123.

² Brayley and Britton, *Houses of Parliament*, p. 160.

³ *Idem*, p. 195.

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 188, 194-95; *C. C. R.*, 1354-60, p. 246.

⁵ *C. C. R.*, 1369-74, p. 389. ⁶ *Sacrist Rolls of Ely*, *passim*.

been shown that in the same district carriage by water, as one of the manorial duties of the peasants, was not unknown.¹ Other records inform us that grain was shipped at Cambridge for Lynn, and down river from elsewhere to both Lynn and Boston. Huntingdon stood at the head of the navigation of the Ouse.² From a point near that town in 1338 a large quantity of wool was sent in boats to St Ives, and thence transported in shutes to Lynn, a distance estimated at the time as seventy leagues.³

The other rivers emptying into the Wash were also navigable for a considerable distance inland. The Nen, as has been shown elsewhere, was of importance in the corn trade.⁴ When, in 1331, an inquest was held concerning interference with the navigation of the Nen, the jurors found that damage had been done to the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Northampton, and it was ordered that the obstruction be removed.⁵ The Witham was navigable as far as Lincoln for fair-sized boats. Just before the opening of the century, the king and his court went from Boston to Lincoln in thirty-seven barges and boats.⁶ Later, when the navigation of the river was obstructed, a commission was issued for its cleansing with instructions that the channel was to be from thirty to forty feet wide and ten deep.⁷ Another means of reaching Lincoln was by the artificial waterway called the Foss Dyke, which connected the Trent with the Witham at that city. A jury stated in 1375 that ships and boats of all kinds from Nottingham, York, and Kingston-upon-Hull, laden with victuals and other things for sale, used to come by the Trent and the Foss Dyke to Lincoln and to go from thence to Boston.⁸

By the river system of which the Trent is the principal member and the Humber the outlet, river craft could penetrate to a large portion of Yorkshire and to the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham.

¹ N. Neilson, *Economic Conditions on the Manors of Ramsey Abbey*, p. 38.

² *Lib. Cont. Gard.*, p. 130; *C. C. R.*, 1313-18, p. 355; *C. P. R.*, 1317-21, pp. 212, 311.

³ Exchequer Accounts, K. R., Bundle 552, No. 18, m. 1.

⁴ N. S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 62.

⁵ *Public Works*, II, 360.

⁶ *Lib. Cont. Gard.*, p. 60.

⁷ *C. P. R.*, 1327-30, p. 349.

⁸ *Public Works*, I, 292. Cf. *C. P. R.*, 1364-67, p. 138.

The town of Nottingham marked the limit of the navigation of the Trent. Several complaints were made during the century, of obstructions at Colwick that hindered the passage of ships and boats bringing victuals and merchandise there.¹ York, on the northern Ouse, had a quay, and to it ships could carry goods from coastwise towns.² Wool of the grant of 1338 was sent thence by water to Hull, a distance of fifty leagues, at the cost of six pence a sack, or a little over a tenth of a penny a mile.³ In 1339, however, it was intimated that great ships could not reach York if the water was low and had to unload at Selby farther down the stream.⁴ The Ure joins the Ouse a little above the city of York, and on it wool was shipped from near Milby to York.⁵ On the Wharfe, which flows into the Ouse between York and Selby, there was navigable water at least as far as Tadcaster. When, in 1338, the collectors of wool in Lancashire were directed to send what they had gathered across England to Hull, they transported it in carts to Tadcaster, and then shipped it by water to Hull.⁶ The Derwent was navigable to Stamford Bridge for ships and boats,⁷ the Don to Doncaster,⁸ the Aire to Brotherton.⁹ The Hull was open for river traffic to Wansford, near Great Duffield, at least, for wool was sent from that place to Hull at the cost of three pence a sack.¹⁰

The traffic on the other rivers of England need not detain us long. The Severn, in the west, was navigable as far as Worcester. 'Bristol, so it was stated in 1363, was sustained by corn brought from the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, probably by the convenient waterway furnished by the Severn and Avon.¹¹ In letters patent issued in 1348 it was alleged that merchants and others daily shipped corn at Tewksbury for Bristol, but that, instead of selling it there, they transferred it to great ships and crayers to be

¹ *Records of the Borough of Nottingham* (ed. W. H. Stevenson), I, 227-29, 413-41; *C. P. R.*, 1301-07, pp. 94, 269.

² *C. P. R.*, 1367-70, p. 271; *Ibid.*, 1374-77, p. 110; *Public Works*, II, 258. Cf. *C. P. R.*, 1313-17, p. 383; *Ibid.*, 1317-21, p. 207.

³ Pipe Roll, No. 183, m. 47d.

⁴ *C. P. R.*, 1338-40, p. 393.

⁵ Pipe Roll, No. 183, m. 47d.

⁶ Pipe Roll, No. 183, m. 47d.

⁷ *Calendar of Inquisitions, Miscellaneous*, II, 320-21.

⁸ *C. P. R.*, 1343-45, p. 91.

⁹ *C. P. R.*, 1367-70, p. 48.

¹⁰ Pipe Roll, No. 183, m. 47d.

¹¹ *C. P. R.*, 1361-64, pp. 409-10.

carried to the king's enemies.¹ In the same western district victuals were taken to Monmouth, at least, on the Wye, and to and from Bath in crayers and boats. There are notices of river traffic in the eastern part of England on the Tees, the Tyne, and several lesser streams. There seems also to have been considerable transportation on the Yare to Norwich. From that city grain could be shipped to London; and there were swathes or quays to which it was directed that all ships and boats should be taken for loading and unloading.²

In this brief sketch of inland transportation any consideration of the highways of England or of the connection between the river systems by way of the sea has of necessity been omitted. The coast-wise trade, with its quaint cogs and barges, its wrecks and pirates, is a picturesque phase of mediaeval economic life, but it has no place in this paper. The records examined make it clear that the roads of the fourteenth century were not quite so bad as they are often pictured, and that heavy carts moved over them at a reasonable speed. What is more, the transportation of goods was to a high degree free from danger. On every stream of fair size there were boats; on every road there were carts and pack-horses. The most vivid impression is that of the large amount of movement along the roads and streams, and with it the lack of isolation of mediaeval towns and villages.

¹ *C. P. R.*, 1348-50, pp. 67-68.

² *Records of Norwich*, I, 62-64; II, 236; *C. C. R.*, 1374-77, p. 119.

AUGUSTINE'S JOURNEY FROM ROME TO RICHBOROUGH

By ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

1. FROM ROME TO THE RHONE

AUGUSTINE of England, who died, as nearly as we can ascertain, on May 26, 604,¹ had been prior² of Pope Gregory's monastery at Rome, which was founded about 574.³ In this monastery, according to a somewhat doubtful letter of Pope Vitalian, Augustine was the roommate of Gregory,⁴ the latter having been born about 540, and dying on March 12, 604.⁵ How old, in the light of these facts, shall we consider Augustine to have been when, in 596, he was dispatched by Gregory as abbot of the company of some forty monks destined to inaugurate the conversion of England — one whom they were unquestioningly to obey in all things?⁶ Let us begin by assuming that he was the coeval of Gregory, in which case he would have been 56 years old at the time of the journey, and would have been about 64 when he died. King Æthelbert,⁷ who died Feb. 24, 616, came to the throne in 560, and therefore reigned for a number of years equal to the age which we have tentatively assigned to Augustine in 596; and that his life had been an active one for 37 years after his accession would seem to be implied by Bede's statement (1.25) that he had by that time extended his dominions to the Humber, by which the Southern Saxons are divided from the Northern. Whatever uncertainty attaches to the above

¹ So Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* 3.4; cf. Bede, *Ecc. Hist.*, ed. Plummer 2.81; Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* 3.3.

² *Gregorii I Papæ Registrum Epistolarum* IX. 222 (ed. Ewald and Hartmann 2.213).

³ Dudden, *Gregory the Great* (1905) 1.106; cf. 1.187.

⁴ Haddan and Stubbs 3.116.

⁵ Dudden 2.268, who says that Bede (2.1) wrongly gives the date as 605.

⁶ Bede 1.23; *Reg.* (see above, note 2) VI. 50^a (1.426).

⁷ Born 552, according to the twelfth-century MS. E (Cotton Domitian A. 8) of the *Saxon Chronicle* (see Plummer and Earle's edition 1.xii, 17). Howorth (*Saint Augustine of Canterbury*, p. 51) thinks it incredible that he should have been only eight years old at his accession, but this was the age at which Osred succeeded Aldfrith of Northumbria in 705 (*Oman, England before the Norman Conquest*, 1923, p. 316).

conjecture, it will hardly be contended that, at the assumed age of 56,¹ Augustine would probably have been too infirm² to undertake his mission, seeing that Gregory's good judgment³ would have withheld him from making so obvious a blunder in the choice of an agent. On the other hand, Augustine was not too young to be entrusted with the weighty responsibility of being instrumental, under the prudent counsels of his chief, in founding a new spiritual province to redress the wavering balance of the old.⁴

Opinion is divided as to whether Augustine and his companions traveled from Rome to Southern Gaul by water or by land. Oman supposes them to have made the journey by land (in Mason, *The Mission of St. Augustine*, 1897, p. 171):

In 596 the Lombards were still ravaging Tuscany and Umbria, though they had turned back from Rome itself.⁵ Augustine must have passed through towns and fields still black with their burnings when he set his face toward Gaul and the Straits of Dover.

The substance of this Oman repeats in his *England before the Norman Conquest*, 1923, p. 257. He had been anticipated by Lingard, (*Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. 1858, 1.20): "The missionaries traversed with speed the north of Italy, and crossed the Gallic Alps."

On the other hand, Dudden (2.105) explicitly asserts of Augustine: "He passed through the Ostian Gate⁶ to become the Apostle of the English nation. From Ostia, Augustine and his companions pursued their way by sea till they reached the island of Lerins."⁷

¹ Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, when he set forth from Rome to Canterbury in 668, was ten years older.

² Gocelin, who flourished at the end of the eleventh century, had heard of a certain man who "intimabat autem a parentibus sibi insinuatam ipsius B. Augustini formam et personam patriciam, staturam proceram et arduam, adeo ut a scapulis populo superemineret" (*Vit. Aug.* 49: *AA. SS.* 19.391).

³ Dudden (2.278) speaks of "his fine business capacity, his far-seeing statesmanship, his thorough grasp of details the most intricate."

⁴ See especially Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* 2.³ 157, 163.

⁵ Oman seems here to have been indebted to Gregory's homily on Ezekiel, the relevant portions of which have been translated by Dudden (2.18), since between 593 and 598 we are left largely to inference for the ravages of the Lombards (see Dudden 2.23, 33).

⁶ But see below, p. 384.

⁷ Howorth (*op. cit.*, p. 28), evidently follows Dudden in saying: "It is pretty certain that they went by sea, setting out from Ostia and making for Lerina."

Oman seems to intimate that Augustine would have passed through Umbria, as well as Tuscany. This would have led him far from the direct route, which followed the Via Aurelia, with its continuations, the Via Aemilia and the Via Julia, as far as Genoa (virtually the line of the modern coast-railway), and thence, following the coast, to Nice, or Antibes, or whatever point would best serve for embarkation to the isle of Lérins (now St. Honorat). From Rome to Genoa the distance by rail is 310 miles, and from Genoa to Cannes, now the most convenient port for St. Honorat, is 135½ miles, making the total distance from Rome to Cannes 445½ miles. (From Rome to Marseilles, 566 miles.)

How many days should we allow for such a trip by land? This would of course depend upon whether the travelers rode or walked. We must remember that it was a band of forty men,¹ the leader of whom we have supposed to be nearer 60 than 50 years of age; that they had been inmates of a monastery in the heart of Rome; and that, in so troublous a time, they would not have been accustomed

¹ Bede says (1.25): "*socii ejus, viri, ut ferunt, ferme XL*" (according to the OE. version: "he was one of forty"; Ælfric, *Hom.* 2.128, renders: "his companions, who are reckoned at forty men"). Bede immediately adds: "*Acceperunt autem, præcipiente beato papa Gregorio, de gente Francorum interpretes*" (OE.: "They also brought with them interpreters from France, as St. Gregory directed them"; Ælfric: "Augustine had taken interpreters from the realm of the Franks, as Gregory had commanded him, and he, through the mouth of those interpreters, preached the word of God to the king and his people"). The letters of Gregory on the subject are of a different purport. In that to the young kings, Theoderic and Theodebert (*Reg.* VI. 49:2.423-4), he says (Mason, as above, pp. 31-3): "It has reached us that the English nation [*gentem*], by the mercy of God, desires earnestly to be converted to the Christian faith, but that the priests [bishops] in the neighborhood [in Gaul] take no notice, and hang back from kindling the desires of the English by exhortations of their own. . . . We have also instructed them to take with them some presbyters [priests] from the neighborhood, with whose help they may be able to find out what the English mean, and to assist them by their advice. . . . in making up their minds. In order that they may present an effective and suitable appearance in this matter, we beseech your Highnesses . . . that our missionaries [*hi quos direximus*] may obtain your gracious favor." Under the same date, July 23, 596, Gregory writes (*Reg.* VI. 57:2.431) to Brunhild, the grandmother of the kings, as follows (Mason, pp. 34-5): "We . . . inform you that the English nation, by God's favor, desires to become Christian, but that the priests [bishops] who are in the neighborhood have no pastoral solicitude for them. . . . We have also instructed them to take with them presbyters from the neighborhood with a view to this work. . . . We beg that you will see that under your protection he reaches the English nation in safety."

Whatever helpers Augustine brought with him from France, there seems no reason why they should have exceeded two or three, and are very likely not to have been included in the number of forty.

to making long journeys outside the walls. Then, if they walked, the pace must have been accommodated to the strength of the weakest member. Moreover, such a party can hardly have traveled without baggage: there would have been changes of raiment, books, paintings, crosses, vestments, and no doubt relics, considering Gregory's zeal in promoting the veneration, the collection, and the bestowal of them.¹ In order to transport them, and to protect them from the weather, sumpters or wagons would have been required, with servants to conduct and care for the animals. Then the company, thus swollen, would need to be lodged every night, and provided with regular nourishment. Inns to accommodate such numbers must have been scarce at the best of times, if indeed they ever existed along this route. Monasteries adequate to their needs are not to be thought of. Supposing that by any means the expedition could have been regularly housed and fed, the expense would have been considerable. But with such devastation as the Lombards had inflicted, supplies must have been almost impossible to procure by the wayfaring man, to say nothing of a wayfaring band of fifty men, together with their animals. If we suppose the monks to have ridden, the difficulties would have been still greater, for the number of their beasts, and perhaps of their servants, would thus have increased.

How many days would be required for such wayfarers, or such a caravan, to journey from Rome to Cannes, opposite Lérins, the distance being, as we have seen, some 445 miles? It has been computed that Chaucer, traveling in 1372 from London to Genoa, may have averaged 20 miles a day, three days being consumed in crossing from London to Boulogne.² This agrees with the *NED*. s. v. *Journey* (II.2): "An ordinary day's travel. . . . As a measure of distance, varying with the mode of travel, etc.; usually estimated in the Middle Ages at 20 miles." Benjamin of Tudela, of the twelfth century, says (T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 66) that three days were

¹ See Dudden 1.277-282.

² See Mather, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 11.212 (423-4); 12.9-10 (18-19); K. Young, in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 415, note 1. Cf. F. Ludwig, *Untersuchungen über die Reise- und Marschgeschwindigkeit im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1897).

required from Arles to Marseilles, 53 miles.¹ In the sixth century, it is true, Procopius reckoned that an unencumbered traveler could get from Rome to Capua (127 miles by rail) in five days (*Bell. Goth.*, 1.14.6; cf. 1.15.19). On the other hand, we may note Howorth's comment on the entrance of the monks into Canterbury (*op. cit.*, p.64): "To cloistered monks, unaccustomed to exercise, a ten miles' walk would have been a wearisome trial." At the rate of 20 miles a day, the journey from Rome to Cannes would consume over 22 days; and even at 25 miles a day, would require 18 days.

But the company reached Marseilles before Augustine returned to Rome, the distance between the two cities being about 566 miles, and the time consumed something like 28, or at least 23, days. Double these figures, and it will result that the northward journey of the whole band from Rome, plus Augustine's return from Marseilles, would have consumed 56 (46) days. Add three weeks for their entertainment in Gaul,² with perhaps three days for Augustine's interviews with the Pope and the preparation of a dozen letters by the Papal chancellery, and we shall see that the company must have left Rome 80 days earlier than July 23 (say, May 4), with a remote chance of the number of days having been as small as 70 (with an assumed start on May 14). Then, by the time that

¹ The speed under the posting service of the Roman Empire constitutes no criterion (see Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners* 1.280-2; Mooney, *Travel among the Ancient Romans*, pp. 83-5).

In 1658, two English travelers, Mortoft and Stanley, were at Marseilles. "There being no ship to carry them to Italy, they determined to follow the coast road to Genoa, riding on horse-back as far as Nice, where they were obliged to hire mules for the worst part of the journey. It took ten days of pretty rough and dangerous going before they reached Genoa [256 miles]." So [London] *Times Lit. Suppl.*, July 15, 1926, p. 473.

² According to Bede (1.23), the monks, being seized with craven terror, "began to think of returning home, rather than proceed to a barbarous, fierce, and unbelieving nation, to whose very language they were strangers; and by common consent they decided that this was the safer course." In order to arrive at such a state of panic fear, the ambassadors must have received many reports from various quarters; at Lérins, where they probably made the longest stop, the missionary spirit would no doubt have been more in evidence (Augustine told Gregory that the presbyters, deacons, and the whole congregation were living together in unanimity and concord, and seventy years later Benedict Biscop, for whose praise see Stubbs, *Dict. Chr. Biog.* 1.309, received the tonsure there, and remained for two years; cf. Bede, ed. Plummer 1.365-6).

Augustine rejoined them, it would have been August 20 (or 15), and Augustine would have been ceaselessly occupied for 108 (or 93) days, before the whole delegation could begin its further travels.

A rough estimate might result in some such figures as these: — Roman road from Marseilles to Aix, 1 day; *do.* Aix to Cannes (Antibes?), 5 days; return to Marseilles by road, 6 days; sojourn in the three monasteries, 9 days. At Lérins they must have had ample time to acquaint themselves with the conditions there; and at Marseilles they must have received gratifying attentions at the hands of the authorities, since the governor (Patricius) of the province was the only one of the three functionaries to whom, in addition to making acknowledgments, Gregory preferred a request for further assistance to the missionaries (*Reg.* VI.56: 1.430; Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 30): "What goodness and kindness, together with the charity which is pleasing to Christ, is conspicuous in you, we have learned by the bringer of these presents, Augustine, the servant of God. . . . So we greet your Lordship with a father's tenderness, and beg that the bringer of these presents, and the servants of God who accompany him, may obtain encouragement from you where they may stand in need of it, so that, finding your favor, he may be able the better to fulfil, with the Lord's help, the duties laid upon him." Apropos of the hospitality at Marseilles, it occurs to me as a possibility that merchants who controlled the trade from Britain down the Rhone (see Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, pp. 187, 276) may, on learning the errand of the travelers, have been instrumental in the attempt to dissuade them from proceeding, fearing that eventually the traffic might make its way, with the opening up of England, into other hands; but perhaps this is an unworthy suspicion.

Let us now consider what the sea-voyage would have been. As to the speed of ships, we are told (Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 137):

According to Marcian . . . of Heraclea, a geographer of the fourth century A.D., a ship with favorable winds could sail 80½ English miles per day; a fast-going cruiser, 104 miles. It must be remembered that, in the

averages just stated, night-time is not included, for Herodotus . . . makes the statement that in midsummer a vessel could sail . . . 149½ miles in 24 hours. Aristides . . . testifies that a ship, aided by a good wind, could go 138 miles in 24 hours.¹

We may, following Gibbon (ed. Bury 3.359, note), accept "the loose reckoning that a ship could sail, with a fair wind, 1000 stadia, or 125 miles, in the revolution of a day and night," with Bury's supplement (p. 504) that "11 or 12 hundred stadia" could be sailed in the same time, and we may assume a range of from 125 to 150 miles. Taking the smaller of these, the run from Portus, the harbor of Rome, to Cannes would be made in three and a half days, and that to Marseilles in about four days and a half.

It would, of course, be an absurdity to conclude that because, under the most favorable circumstances, Marseilles could be reached from Rome in approximately five days, the round trip could be made in ten, which would be virtually impossible even under modern conditions. For one thing, vessels could not be commanded at a day's notice. Mooney observes (*op. cit.*, p. 123):

There is no evidence that there were among the Romans any regular passenger-ships running on schedule time. As a rule, travelers were compelled to take their chances in getting ships, and usually took advantage of the first one that happened to be going in their direction.

When Benedict Biscop (667) was desirous of visiting Rome for the third time, he was obliged to wait for a convenient ship (Bede, *Hist. Abb.* 3): "Nec post longum adveniente nave mercatoria, desiderio satisfecit." Fewer ships would have stopped at Lérins than at Marseilles, for one thing.² The following illustrations from Gregory of Tours may be given of the resort of ships to Marseilles and other ports of Southern Gaul. He mentions (*Hist. Fr.*, 4.43) the theft of

¹ Cf. Friedländer, *op. cit.* 1.286-7, who adds: "Pliny's record voyages are at the rate of 140 sea-miles [161 statute miles] to twenty-four hours." See also my "Beowulfian and Odyssean Voyages" (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 23.11, 14-5), where the figures given are somewhat smaller. On Aug. 18, 1836, R. H. Dana (*Two Years before the Mast*, chap. 34) was in a heavily laden sailing vessel which had covered more than 4000 miles in 27 days. Cf. Ludwig, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-6.

² Gregory of Tours (*Glor. Conf.* 95) tells of a certain man who, being near Nice, came upon a ship bound for Marseilles. He himself wished to stop at Lérins, but to this the owners objected, until finally their resistance was overcome by means of a relic in his possession.

seventy casks of oil from a vessel recently landed at that port, and tells the quarrelsome Bishop of Nantes that, if he were to obtain the bishopric of Marseilles, he would import papyrus (presumably from Egypt), instead of oil and spices, and so would be able to multiply the number of his abusive epistles (5.5). Gondovald, returning from Constantinople, lands at Marseilles (6.24); and Grippo, back from an embassy to the Emperor Maurice, relates his experiences at an African port (10.2). Certain envoys, sent to the Emperor Tiberius, return after three years of absence and many hardships, but, not being able to enter Marseilles because of its internal dissensions, sail for Agde, about 100 miles distant, and are there shipwrecked, their goods being plundered by the wreckers of the town (6.2). Agiulf, a deacon of Tours, returning with relics from Rome, visits the tomb of Bishop Nicetius of Lyons, and there refers to the waves of the sea which he had traversed¹ (Gregory of Tours, *Vita Patrum* 8.8). We hear of wine of Gaza in Gaul (7.29), and of roots grown in Egypt being brought to Nice for the food of a certain hermit (6.6). Finally, a deacon, sent from Anjou to Rome, stops at Nice on the way, and, while there, requests that the hermit recommend him to certain sailors of his acquaintance (6.6).

The limitation of the season for sailing must be borne in mind. On this Mooney remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 118):

Sea-traffic was almost completely stopped during a considerable part of the year. The times for navigation were as follows: "The sea was closed from the 10th of November to the 10th of March, but navigation was completely safe only between May the 26th and September the 14th."² There were two doubtful periods, 11th of March–26th of May, and 15th of September–10th of November, when merchants might risk sailing." . . . There was not an absolute cessation of sea-traffic during the non-navigation periods. Voyages were occasionally made at such times, particularly if necessitated by stress of circumstances.

Considering the significance of the date, May 26, it is a striking fact that the departure of Theodore and Hadrian from Rome took place

¹ See also the anecdote on pp. 384–5, below.

² Pope Gregory, writing on April 15, 595 (*Reg. V. 31*: 1.312), says that he has been intending to dispatch Candidus to Southern Gaul, but that the winter season had thus far prevented.

on the following day, May 27, following upon a delay of two months after Theodore was ordained. Bede says (4.1):

He [Theodore] was ordained by Pope Vitalian, in the year of our Lord 668, on Sunday, the 26th of March; and, on the 27th of May [Saturday], was sent with Hadrian to Britain. They proceeded together by sea to Marseilles, and thence by land to Arles.

It must also be remembered that navigation in the Gulf of Genoa was likely to be impeded by storms or violent winds (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. 4.475): "Southwesterly gales, blowing up the Gulf of Genoa, cause large waves to roll into the bay, reaching a height of about 21 ft. in the worst storms."¹

There are probably two alleviating circumstances in the trip by sea, at least if passengers could sleep on board in comparative comfort. First, they were not normally obliged to stop at night in pleasant weather. Under the Empire, we are told (Friedländer 1.283): "Voyages were made by preference on clear starry nights. The steersman steered by the stars." And then they were not obliged to stop for supplies (Mooney, p. 132):

One may affirm that passengers on a ship had such food as was ordinarily eaten by the Romans. References show that vessels were provided with wheat, barley, bread, wine, meats, pepper, and sailor's biscuit. . . . Ships were at times furnished with food cooked before they set sail. An abundance of fresh water was kept in cisterns.

If the customary rules for navigation, as illustrated in the case of Theodore and Hadrian, were observed by Augustine and his followers, it results that, leaving Rome on May 27,² Augustine would

¹ The Emperor Claudius was nearly drowned in A.D. 43 off the Îles d'Hyères (Suetonius, *Claudius*, chap. 17). Addison, setting out from Marseilles, sailed to San Remo, about 170 miles, and there was obliged to land by contrary winds. Thence making a fresh start for Genoa, he reached the middle of the Gulf, where he was compelled to remain for two days, being in imminent danger of shipwreck. His next stop was at Monaco, 20 miles further from his destination than at San Remo. Finally, he tells us (*Works*, ed. Bohn 1.361): "Finding the sea too rough, we were forced to make the best of our way by land, over very rugged mountains and precipices." It is true that this was in January, and the boat was a comparatively light one.

² If Augustine, leaving Rome at this date, could have reached Kent with no untoward delays, he might even then, in the time that remained before Christmas, have been rewarded by the opportunity of converting the more than 10,000 persons whom he actually baptized on Christmas Day of 597 (*Reg.* VIII. 29: 2.31; Haddan and Stubbs 3.12). It is perhaps only a fancy that Gregory, remembering the baptism of more than 3000 Franks with Clovis (Greg.

have had 57 days before beginning his second voyage on July 23 — supposing him to have sailed on the very date of Gregory's letters. If from the 57 we deduct the 24 postulated on p. 379, there will remain 33 for Augustine's round trip from Rome to Marseilles. Perhaps Gregory would have seen to it — considering the variety of matters in which his word was authority in Rome — that arrangements were made with shipmasters in advance of May 26, or probably several ships may have been awaiting the opening of the season.

From what seaport would Augustine have sailed for Gaul? Not from Ostia, as intimated by Dudden (above, p. 376), but from Portus, distinctively *the* port of Rome at that period,¹ 15 miles from the city, at the mouth of the Tiber. According to Procopius (*Bell. Goth.* 1.26.4 ff.):

The Romans at the very beginning made a road leading from Portus to Rome, which was smooth and presented no difficulty of any kind.² And many barges are always anchored in the harbor ready for service, and no small number of oxen stand in readiness close by. Now when the merchants reach the harbor with their ships, they unload their cargoes, and place them in the barges, and sail by way of the Tiber to Rome. . . . They fasten ropes from the barges to the necks of oxen, and so draw them just like wagons up to Rome.

This road, Procopius states, was rather narrow for hauling goods in wagons (*op. cit.* 2.7.6).

Gregory of Tours (*Glor. Mart.* 82) relates, concerning a deacon of his city, that, having received (A.D. 590) from Pope Pelagius II,

Tur., Hist. Franc. 2.31; Kurth, *Clovis*, 3d ed., 1.344, who remarks that Easter was the usual time for baptism), just a hundred years earlier — at Christmas of 496 — may have conceived of some such possibility in forming the outline of his plan (Gregory, in anticipation of the conversion of England, had entered into relations with Candidus in September, 595 (*Reg.* VI. 10); and in his letters of July 23, 596 to Protasius and Arigius (*Reg.* VI. 53 and 56), sent by Augustine, he commends Candidus to them; cf. Dudden 2. 56, 99). It is doubtless a mere coincidence that Theodore of Tarsus, leaving Rome on May 27, 668, arrived at Canterbury exactly a year later.

¹ Cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. 22.169: "the only harbor in the time of the Gothic wars."

² With respect to the Ostian road, Procopius has this to say (1.26.13): "But on the other side of the river, as one goes from the city of Ostia to Rome, the road is shut in by woods, and in general lies neglected, and is not even near the bank of the Tiber." And again (2.7.6): "The road on the other side of it is altogether unused, at least that part of it which follows the river-bank."

the immediate predecessor of Gregory, a number of relics, he was, on leaving for Portus, escorted by clergy intoning psalms, and by a throng of the laity. The vessel, bound for Marseilles, was, after a time, driven by a violent wind toward a dangerous point of rocks, where it narrowly escaped shipwreck, but eventually reached its haven in safety.

2. THE ITINERARY IN GAUL

Augustine's itinerary in Gaul must be determined in the light of the letters of recommendation addressed by Gregory to the influential functionaries through whose assistance alone he could hope to reach his destination with safety and any degree of comfort. Three such letters had been already delivered and honored¹ before Augustine's return to Rome — those to Stephen, Abbot of Lérins; Protasius, Bishop of Aix; and Arigius, Governor of Provence. To all three of these Gregory writes letters of thanks² on July 23, 596; but to only one of them does he direct solicitations of further aid to his messenger (see above, p. 380). Augustine's general course was northward, along the Rhone valley and beyond; and eventually northwestward, so as to gain a port from which he could conveniently reach his destination in Britain.

Assuming that Augustine arrived at Marseilles by the middle of August, and that he would be crossing the Channel to England possibly as late as the middle of May (see p. 393, note 4), he would have had something like nine months for his travels and sojourns in Gaul. All writers on the subject are clear that, on leaving Marseilles, he would have gone up the Rhone valley to Arles (Vergilius), Vienne³

¹ Plummer is only willing to admit (edition of Bede, 2.37) that Augustine "got at any rate far enough to hear news of, perhaps to have interviews with," the three addressees; but Ewald declares (on *Reg.* VI. 53: 1.428): "Ex hoc loco intelligi potest Augustinum cum sociis jam Aquis fuisse, antequam Romam reversus sit."

² All given in Haddan and Stubbs 3.7-11; cf. Bright, p. 43.

³ Vienne, in particular, must have enjoyed at this time a reputation for books and learned men. Claudianus Mamertus (d. ca. 474), who spent his life in the city as an assistant to his brother the archbishop, also named Mamertus (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* 3.790-1; cf. Guizot, *Hist. of Civ.* 1.393) is thus characterized in the epitaph by Sidonius, his contemporary (*Ep.* 4.11): "In three fields of learning he was a master and a shining light — the Roman, the Greek, and the Christian; all of them, as a monk in his prime, he made his own by secret discipline; he was orator, logician, poet, commentator, geometer, musician." An even more illustrious scholar,

(Desiderius), Lyons (Etherius), and Autun (Syagrius). If the company ascended the Rhone, it was probably on flatboats manned by three to five boatmen. These craft took from two to five days to go from Lyons to Avignon. Up-stream they were towed, five or six at a time, by twenty to forty oxen or horses, and about as many boatmen and drivers, advancing only seven or eight miles a day, so that it took about a month to go from Arles to Lyons.¹ If all the journeys of the missionaries in Gaul were to be at any such rate as this, it is easy to see that, with their pauses for entertainment at the various courts and episcopal palaces, their time might with no great difficulty be consumed.

For the interview with Theoderic of Burgundy and his grandmother, the redoubtable Brunhild, the authorities, partly because Brunhild was so active, not to say restless, a person, are divided in opinion between Chalon-sur-Saône (Smith, Bright, and Dudden) and Orléans (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* 4.924); for Theodebert II of Austrasia, between Rheims (Bright) and Metz (Hughes, in Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 210); for Clotaire II, they pretty well agree upon Paris (Smith, Bright, and Dudden), though Soissons was, at various periods, the capital, and may have been so at this time.

Following Autun, Bright supposes Augustine to have visited Tours, where Pelagius was bishop.

After Augustine had been a few months in England, Gregory

Avitus, kinsman to Sidonius, and probably to the Emperor Avitus (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* 1.233-4; Schanz, *Gesch. der Röm. Litt.* 8.4². 380-9; Manitius, *Gesch. der Chr.-Lat. Poesie*, pp. 241-255), was born not far from 450, became Bishop of Vienne by or before 491, and died probably in 518. He was distinguished for eloquence; among his homilies are two on the Rogations (cf. below, p. 393; Greg. Tur., *Hist. Fr.* 2.34) — Homilia in Rogationibus, and Sermo Die I Rogationum. His lasting fame is due chiefly to a Biblical epic in five books (2552 hexameters), dealing with some of the most striking features of Genesis and Exodus, and published shortly before 507. The poem has been analyzed at some length by Guizot (*Hist. of Civ.* 2.147-156), who compares portions of the first three books with corresponding passages of *Paradise Lost* (1.211-257: *P. L.* 4.246-268; 2.60-117: *P. L.* 4.358-392; 3.96-112: *P. L.* 10.863-897). On the relation between this poem of Avitus and the OE. *Genesis*, consult Sievers, *Der Heliand und die Angelsächsische Genesis* (Halle, 1875), pp. 18-21. — When Benedict Biscop, a century and a half after the death of Avitus, was returning from Rome to England in 672, he added to the books which he had acquired in Rome a number which had been collected for him in Vienne (Bede, *Hist. Abb.* 4): "Rediens autem, ubi Viennam pervenit, empticios ibi quos apud amicos commendaverat, recepit."

¹ Breittmayer, *Le Rhône* (1904), pp. 4-5.

wrote to Brunhild, thanking her in these terms for her kindness to him (*Reg.* VIII.4: 2.7):

Qualiter autem se excellentia vestra erga fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Augustinum exhibuerit, quantamque illi sibi Deo aspirante caritatem impenderit, diversorum fidelium relatione cognovimus.

As late as June 22, 601, when Laurentius the priest and Mellitus the abbot were going to assist Augustine in England, Gregory again commended her for the assistance she had rendered to Augustine, of which he had heard from monks returning to Rome.

Gregory had evidently sent no letter in 596 to the boy-king, Clotaire II, but with Laurentius and Mellitus he sent the following (*Reg.* XI. 61: 2.323):

Now certain monks [*quidam*], who had proceeded with our most reverend brother and fellow-bishop Augustine to the nation of the Angli, have returned and told us with what great charity your Excellence refreshed this our brother when he was present with you, and with what supports you aided him on his departure.

The only authority for a visit by Augustine to Angers is Gocelin, who was a monk at Canterbury in 1098, and had originally come from the monastery of St. Bertin (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 22.253). His account is referred to by Smith (1722), in his edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (p. 680); by Bright (*op. cit.*, p. 44, note 7); Dudden (2.109); and Howorth (p. 36). It runs as follows (*AA.SS.* 19.377: May, Vol. 6):

Agens sane Dominicam legationem, ut prænотatum est, a Roma in Angliam, in Andegavensi Provincia Pontum Sai¹ nuncupatum, milliari tractu super Ligerim fluvium lapideo opere productum, cum illo sancto choro transiit sociorum. Quibus adjacenti villæ Sai ejusdem nominis conantibus succedere, incolæ hostilitatem pro hospitalitate restituere; et tot homines peregrinos, pedestri incessu et habitu humiles, quasi tot lupos et ignota monstra repulere. At vero mulierculæ simul glomeratæ, tanta non modo irreverentia, sed insania, ululatu, despectu, subsannatione, derisione in Sanctos Dei sunt debacchatæ, ut viri indemnes vel innoxii, quodammodo

¹ Cf. Baedeker, *Northern France*, 5th ed., p. 279: "Les Ponts-de-Cé [three miles S. of Angers] . . . is built on three islands in the Loire, connected with each other and with the bank on each side by means of four bridges. The total length of these bridges, together with the roads between, is almost 2 M. They . . . are of very ancient origin, being the 'Pons Saii' of the Romans."

in eadem viderentur comparatione.¹ Nec suffecerat ejecisse, sed longius inculcantes trahebant, impellebant, lacescebant, abigentes ludibrosa importunitate. Stabat juxta ulmus ampla et umbrosa, lassis viatoribus ad pausam accommoda: sub hac Sancti, volentes ipsa nocte requiescere, non poterant a mulierum, velut tot canum, infestatione. Unam vero ceteris impudentius Sancti vestigiis incumbentem, dum ipse elato baculo, velut ad bestiam et rapidam lupam pugnans, conaretur abigere, subito baculus, novo Dei gratiae signo, de manu ejus velut ab arcu excussa sagitta evolavit. . . .

Since rivers were at this time the preferred arteries of travel in Gaul,² Augustine and his companions may have reached Orléans, Tours, and Angers from Autun by way of the Loire, perhaps dropping down the Arroux in small boats to Digoin — navigation on the Loire already beginning at La Noirie (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. 16.923, where we read, however, "The Loire is navigable only in a very limited sense"). Stopping at the Ponts-de-Cé, they would virtually find themselves at Angers (66 miles from Tours).

Gregory sent no letter of recommendation by Augustine to Licinius (592–605), fifteenth Bishop of Angers (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* 3.725), though he, with six other bishops, was addressed in a circular letter (*Reg.* XI.41: 2.314) by the Pope five years later, when Laurentius and Mellitus were sent to England to assist Augustine.

If Augustine did indeed visit Angers, he may either have been attracted by the fame of Albinus (St. Aubin), tenth bishop (530–550), or have familiarized himself with the outlines of his biography while there. The life of Albinus was written by Venantius Fortunatus (*Opera Pedestria*, ed. Krusch, pp. 27–33), at the instance of Domitian, the twelfth bishop, whom Fortunatus greatly admired; and a condensed sketch is given in a note to *Glor. Mart.* 94 (Arndt and Krusch's edition of Gregory of Tours, p. 808). Albinus was born in or

¹ According to the historian Seignobos (*Living Age*, Aug. 28, 1926, p. 444), Anjou and its sister-provinces, Brittany, Maine, and Poitou, "are pastoral and moorland districts, with a sparse population, and without large cities or industrial centres. The peasants live on scattered holdings as small tenants, isolated from the world, ignorant, poor, and controlled by the landlords and the priests."

² Cf. Marignan, *Études sur la Civilisation Française: La Société Mérovingienne*, p. 141. On traveling by land, Marignan says (p. 143): "Les routes, surtout celles qui avoisinaient les nombreuses forêts qui couvraient alors la Gaule, étaient très peu sûres, à cause des voleurs à qui elles servaient de repaires, ce qui obligeait les voyageurs de partir accompagnés d'une escorte." Cf. p. 147.

about 471 of noble parentage, a native of *Veneticae regionis oceano Britannico confinis*, by which we must understand the district lying near Vannes, in Brittany. He became abbot of an unidentified monastery, named Tincilliacen, at the age of 35, presided over it for 25 years, and over the see of Angers for 20 years and 6 months. Before 542 he made a visit to Arles to consult its bishop, Cæsarius, "certainly the first ecclesiastic in the Gaul of his own age" (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* 1.376). He died in 550, in the 80th year of his age, and was buried in St Peter's of Angers, beyond the eastern gate of the city.

About half-a-dozen years after his death (that is, between 555 and 557), and therefore forty years before Augustine's journey, Bishop Germanus of Paris — the same who afterwards excommunicated Charibert, father of Queen Bertha of Kent, for marrying the second of two sisters, after repudiating his wife, Ingoberga, in favor of the first sister (*Hist. Franc.* 4.26) — associated with Domitian, a successor of Albinus, translated his remains to the church called by his name, on the site now occupied by the Préfecture (Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule au VI^e Siècle*, p. 301), adjoining the Tour St. Aubin and the Rue St. Aubin. Fortunatus, the author of his life, was, on one occasion, after visiting the abbey over which Albinus had presided, carried off by Bishop Domitian to Angers, to a celebration of the feast of St. Albinus (*Fortunatus, Carm.* 11.25.10: *ad sancti Albini gaudia festa trahens*).

Since Albinus was born in the land of the Veneti, which was eventually included in Brittany; since the immigrants from the West of Britain were not certainly in possession of Vannes till 578 (Longnon, p. 171); and since we find Saxons on the banks of the Loire, and arriving at Angers as early as 463 (Longnon, p. 173); one is tempted to conjecture that Albinus may have been a Saxon, rather than an ancient Armorican or of the invading race of Bretons, although these Saxons were not regularly converted to Christianity before the episcopate of Felix of Nantes (550–583), for Fortunatus writes to him:

Aspera gens Saxo vivens quasi more ferino,
Te medicante sacer, bellua reddit ovem.¹

¹ Cf. Longnon, pp. 172–4.

In that case, one conceives it possible that Augustine, already impressed with the virtues of Albinus, may have taken it as an omen of the future faith of the people to whom he had been sent that the bishop was a member of the same race. If this were so, it might account, through the tradition at Canterbury of Augustine's feeling, for the name of the abbot who gave so much assistance to Bede in the composition of his *Ecclesiastical History* (Preface; 5.20), and possibly for that by which Alcuin was sometimes known. There were no distinguished men of this name in earlier ecclesiastical history, nor indeed after the various conspicuous Romans of the Postumia gens.

Toward Boulogne or its neighborhood, Augustine may have traveled either by boat down the Seine, which would have been controlled from 594 by Clotaire, or by the road (Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners* 1.275):

The great road to Britain¹ went by Rheims, Soissons, Amiens, to Boulogne (Portus Gesoriacum), and the crossing was to Richborough (Rutupiæ), lasting eight or nine hours for the 450 stadia.

3. FROM GAUL TO KENT

Bede, at the beginning of his *Ecclesiastical History*, quotes Orosius (1.2) and Pliny (4.30) to this effect, speaking of Belgic Gaul: "To its nearest shore there is an easy passage from the city of Rutubi² Portus, by the English now corrupted into Reptacæstir. The distance from here across the sea to Gessoriacum³ is fifty miles [46 English miles⁴], or, as some writers say, 450 furlongs [about 52 English miles]." Bede, writing about 731, is evidently recognizing these ports as those which were habitually employed for centuries in intercourse between Gaul and Britain; we may compare Mayor's note on Juvenal 4.141;

The ordinary route to England was from Bononia (*Boulogne*) to Rutupiæ (*Richborough*) on the opposite coast. . . . Recent excavations have brought to light the remains of many Roman buildings at Richborough.⁵

¹ See Murray's *Handy Classical Maps: Gallia*.

² Better, *Rutupiæ*.

³ Also spelled *Gesoriacum*; afterwards known as *Bononia*.

⁴ This is not far from correct.

⁵ Cf. Scarth, *Roman Britain*, pp. 108, 154 ff.

Ammianus Marcellinus (27.8.6) thus touches on a crossing in A.D. 368:

He reached the coast of Boulogne, which is separated from the opposite coast by a very narrow strait of the sea, which there rises and falls in a strange manner, being raised by violent tides, and then again sinking to a perfect level,¹ like a plain, without doing any injury to the sailors. From Boulogne he crossed the strait in a leisurely manner, and reached Richborough, a very tranquil station on the opposite coast.²

Notwithstanding the testimonies to the regular navigation between Richborough and Boulogne, it is clear that, at least between 669 and 718, Étapes was preferred to Boulogne in certain instances. Thus Boniface and his companions, sailing from London in 718, "with a stiff breeze and a lucky voyage, luckily sighted the mouth of the river called Cuent [the Canche], and were now safe from all danger of shipwreck. They came safe to dry land; but they pitched camp at Cuentawich."³

Concerning Channel boats suitable for the transportation, besides captain and crew, of such a number of passengers, we have very little direct or exact information,⁴ but we are told that, for Gaul in general, the vessels were such as were employed under the Empire (Marignan, p. 142): "Le commerce employait les embarcations du temps de l'Empire, comme le prouvent les termes employés par Grégoire de Tours et Fortunat [examples follow]. . . . Il en fut de même pour les moyens de transports créés par Rome." With this hint, we may consider what Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* 3.13) says of the ships⁵ of the Veneti (Southern Brittany):

¹ Cf. Hughes, in Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

² See also Amm. Marc. 20.1.3; Dio Cassius 39.50; Eutropius, *Brev.* 9.21; Aurelius Victor, *Cæs.*, chap. 32; Sozomen 9.11; Dyer, in *Dict. Gr. and Roman Geog.* 2.860-1; Pauly, *Realencyclopädie* 3.703; 7^e.1323; Zweite Reihe 1.1284; Desjardins, *Géog. de la Gaule* 1.362, 372 ff.

³ Cf. my paper on the *Andreas* (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 26.278). My note on the passage is as follows: "The modern Étapes, some 20 miles south of Boulogne; on the southern side of the stream was the monastery of St. Josse-sur-Mer. It was at Étapes that Archbishop Theodore, after a period of illness, sailed over to Kent (Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* 4.1). It was there also that Wilfrith's enemies expected him to land when he left England in 678, bound for Rome, and laid their plots accordingly."

⁴ Various possibilities are discussed by Hughes (Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 211 ff.).

⁵ Perhaps it is on the following passages that Dudden (2.109) rests when he speaks of "the flat-bottomed wooden boats."

The keels were somewhat flatter than those of our ships, whereby they could more easily encounter the shallows and the ebbing of the tide; the prows were raised very high, and in like manner the sterns were adapted to the force of the waves and storms. The ships were built wholly of oak, and designed to endure any force and violence whatever; the benches, which were made of planks a foot in breadth, were fastened by iron spikes of the thickness of a man's thumb; the anchors were secured fast by iron chains, instead of cables, and for sails they used skins and thin dressed leather.

This may be supplemented by Strabo 4.4.1 (195):

On account of the violence of the winds, the sails were made of leather, and they were hoisted by chains instead of ropes. Because of the ebb-tides, they make their ships with broad bottoms, high sterns, and high prows; they make them of oak (of which they have a plentiful supply), and this is why they do not bring the joints of the planks together, but leave gaps; they stuff the gaps full of sea-weed, however, so that the wood may not, for lack of moisture, become dry when the ships are hauled up, because the sea-weed is naturally rather moist, whereas the oak is dry and without fat.

4. AUGUSTINE'S GATHERINGS FROM GAUL

One of the observations which Augustine made in Gaul related to the differences between the Gallic and the Roman ritual. Having been consecrated by the Archbishop of Arles before Christmas, 597, Augustine sent Laurentius the priest and Peter the monk to Rome, perhaps in the spring of 598 (Bright, p. 55), partly to obtain from Gregory replies to certain puzzling questions which Augustine addressed to him. In June, 601, Gregory sent the answers, the most important for our purpose being that to the second question, which is thus translated by Bright (p. 56): "Why, seeing that the faith is one, are there different customs in different Churches, and one custom of masses in the holy Roman Church, another in that of Gaul?" On this Bright comments: "In Southern and Central Gaul he had noticed the number of collects in the mass, the numerous variations of the Preface, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements, the solemn episcopal blessing pronounced after the breaking of the bread, and before 'the Peace' and the Communion." Gregory replied as follows: ¹

¹ Bede 1.27, tr. Sellar.

My will is that, if you have found anything either in the Roman, or the Gallican, or any other Church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you should carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which as yet is new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several Churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Choose, therefore, from every Church those things that are pious, religious, and right, and when you have, as it were, made them up into one bundle; let the minds of the English be accustomed thereto.

One form of prayer which was not yet in use at Rome was the litany sung by the missionaries as they drew near to Canterbury: ¹ "We beseech thee, O Lord, for thy great mercy, that thy wrath and anger be turned away from this city, and from thy holy house.² Alleluia." ³ Bright (p. 48) speaks of the brethren as having "probably heard" the litany "in the previous spring, on their arrival in Provence." As the litany was sung in the Rogation services preceding Ascension Day,⁴ Bright (p. 48) comments as follows:

The institution of Rogations, or processional supplications in time of distress, had been invested with new solemnity by Mamertus ⁵ of Vienne before the Ascension-day of 468; see Greg. Turon. H. Fr. ii. 34.⁶ Thence the observance spread. Augustine would have heard how St. Cæsarius had recommended it; and he made it an institution in the English Church (Council of Clovesho).⁷

¹ Bede 1.25.

² Based on Dan. 9.16. Cf. the form in the tenth-century *Durham Ritual* (pp. 10, 11), which has *justitia* (Vulg. *justitiam*), for *misericordiam*, and *monte* (with the Vulgate and *Versio Antiqua*), for the *domo* of the litany.

³ Cf. Wilson, in Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 237, note 1: "The use of Alleluia was not in early times confined to festival days; but it may be remarked that it forms the regular conclusion of the anthems in the Rogation litanies extracted by Martène from French service-books."

⁴ Is it possible that, on this first occasion in England, the litany was actually sung on a Rogation day? Modern writers, without alleging any authority, say that Augustine crossed the Channel "towards the end of April" (Dudden 2.109) or "soon after Easter" (Bright, p. 44). The three Rogation days would have been May 20, 21, and 22. See Bright (p. 50) on the date of Æthelbert's baptism.

⁵ Cf. *Encyc. Brit.* 11th ed. 17.416: "A description of the institution and character of the Ascensiontide rogations is given by Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* 5.14). 'The solemnity of these,' he says, 'was first established by Mamertus. Hitherto they had been erratic, lukewarm, and poorly attended (*vaga, tepentes, infrequentesque*); those which he instituted were characterized by fasting, prayers, psalms, and tears.'"

⁶ This is a graphic account.

⁷ See Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.* 3.368, who give the decree of the Council (A.D. 747),

A fuller account is this by Wilson (Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-7):

Litanies, of course, were not unknown to them in Rome. . . . But the use of such litanies in the three days preceding Ascension Day was not of Roman origin. It was not until the time of Leo III (795-816) that the "Rogation" litanies were established at Rome. In Gaul, at the time of St. Augustine's mission, they were already generally observed. They are said to have had their beginning at Vienne,¹ about the year 470; their general adoption was ordered by the Council of Orleans in 511; and in 567 a council held at Lyons had provided that similar litanies should be used also in the week preceding the first Sunday of November. It is therefore likely that St. Augustine and his companions had witnessed, or had taken part in, these processions more than once during the time which had passed since they first set out from Rome. The anthem which Bede has preserved for us certainly appears in one of the Rogation litanies in use long afterwards at Vienne, and probably in other churches of France. It may be that the Gallican custom of Rogation processions, which we find established in England as an ancient usage at a time when it was still unrecognized at Rome, was first brought into England by the Roman Mission.

The enactment of the first legal code in England is thus described by Bede (*Eccl. Hist.* 2.5), in his obituary account of King Æthelbert of Kent:

Among other benefits which he conferred upon his nation in his care for them, he established, with the help of his council of wise men, judicial decisions after the Roman model, which are written in the language of the English, and are still kept and observed by them. Among which he set down first what satisfaction should be given by any one who should steal anything belonging to the Church, the bishop, or the other clergy, for he was resolved to give protection to those whom he had received along with their doctrine.²

These laws, then, were codified, as the Romans codified theirs; they were promulgated in English, not in Latin; and they were still

prescribing the Rogations "*secundum morem priorum nostrorum*," and directing that the faithful shall not follow the majority by engaging "*in ludis, et equorum cursibus, et epulis majoribus*."

¹ For Vienne, cf. above, p. 385.

² Qui inter cetera bona quæ genti suæ consulendo conferebat, etiam decreta illi iudiciorum juxta exempla Romanorum, cum consilio sapientium constituit; quæ conscripta Anglorum sermone hactenus habeatur, et observantur ab ea. In quibus primitus posuit qualiter id emendare deberet qui aliquid rerum vel ecclesiæ, vel episcopi, vel reliquarum ordinum furto auferet; volens scilicet tuitionem eis duos et quorum doctrinam susceperat præstare.

observed when Bede wrote, a century and a quarter after. The English in which they were written down is still extant, though in a late copy, in which the spelling has no doubt undergone changes here and there; and a new edition of them, with a modern translation, was published as recently as 1922.¹ This code not only constitutes the earliest document of any sort written in the English language, but is in contrast with all the earlier Germanic codes on the Continent, which were written in Latin.² According to Liebermann,³ the date of Æthelbert's laws is A.D. 602-3 (*op. cit.* 3.2).

It being premised that Æthelbert's laws consist of a list of fines to be imposed for a series of specified offenses, and that the statutes are expressed as briefly as possible, three of these in order, from the beginning of the collection, are here subjoined: ⁴

1. *Godes feoh ond ciricean, 5 XII gylde. Biscoopes feoh, XI gylde. Præostes feoh, IX gylde. Diacones feoh, VI gylde. Cleroces feoh, III gylde. . . .*

4. *Gif frigman cyninge stele, IX gylde forgyld.*

9. *Gif frigman fræum stele, III gebête. . . .*

Three words in the first law are specially to be noted — *ciricean*, *biscoopes*, and *præostes*, or, in the nominative, *cirice*, *bisceop* (*biscop*), and *præost*. These words, like *diacon* and *cleroc*, are Greek in origin.

¹ Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 4-16.

² Liebermann, the standard authority on the Old English laws, gives two reasons (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* 3.2) for believing that no part of this code had been written down on the Continent — namely, (1) that the Germanic runes, the only written characters that the Germans possessed, were employed only for brief inscriptions, and (2) that we hear nothing of any sort of manuscript produced by the Anglo-Saxons on the Continent, all that they deemed most worthy of retention in mind — such as legends and royal genealogies — being transmitted orally, often in verse. On the Continental codes, see Gibbon, ed. Bury 4.122 ff.

³ Cf. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law* 1.11.27.

⁴ Attenborough's translation:

1. [Theft of] God's property and the Church's shall be compensated twelvefold; a bishop's property, elevenfold; a priest's property, ninefold; a deacon's property, sixfold; a clerk's property, threefold

4. If a freeman robs the king, he shall pay back a ninefold amount.

9. If a freeman robs a freeman, he shall pay a threefold compensation.

⁵ Six centuries later, King John of England thus provided for the liberty of the Church in the first chapter of Magna Carta (Stubbs, *Selected Charters*, 8th ed., p. 296): "In primis concessisse Deo et hac præsentī carta nostra confirmasse, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris in perpetuum, quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit, et habent jura sua integra, et libertates suas illæsas." Here the sense is rather that of *NED*. II. 6.

Cirice, from which modern *church* is derived, comes ultimately from the Greek κυριακόν, "of the Lord," which occurs from the third century on as a noun, "house of the Lord," the sense in which it is employed here (cf. the quotation from the *Laws of Wihtræd*¹ given in the *NED.* under *Church* I.1: "A building for public Christian worship.") The article in the *NED.* deserves careful study throughout, but we must restrict ourselves to the following quotation from it:

We do not know the actual circumstances in which this less usual Greek name became so well known to all the Germanic tribes as to become practically the native name; . . . this too at so early a date as to be brought to Britain (with many words expressing the outward apparatus of Christianity) by the heathen Angles and Saxons. . . . The Angles and Saxons had seen and sacked Roman and British churches in Gaul and Britain for centuries before they had them of their own, and, we have every reason to believe, had known and spoken of them as *cirican* during the whole of that period.

Since the word must also have been familiar to the Franks in Gaul, it might be suggested, as an alternative, that Augustine had heard it while there, or that the interpreters with him might have suggested it when the need arose, since one does not quite see what form an Old English adaptation of the Latin *ecclesia* would have assumed.

As to *bisc(e)op*, it is impossible to assume that this came directly from the Latin *episcopus*, because of the initial *e*, and the following *p*, of the latter. Opinion seems to incline to a Romanic **biscopo* (cf. Ital. *vescovo*) as the direct etymon, though a Vulgar Latin *(e)biscopu*s has been suggested as an alternative (*NED.*).

Neither can *prēost* have come directly from *presbyter*, but rather from Romanic **prester* (cf. Fr. *prêtre*, Sp. *preste*; Ger. *Priester*); so *NED.*

These two words, *bisc(e)op* and *prēost*, must, then, at the very beginning of English linguistic history, have entered the language, not directly from literary Latin, but from Latin as it had become modified by passing through the mouth of the common people, ignorant or careless of the traditionally correct forms. At this point

¹ Attenborough, p. 24.

it may be instructive to compare Gaston Paris, *La Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, 3d ed., pp. 13, 14):¹

Il est remarquable que la plupart des mots français relatifs aux enseignements de la religion ont une forme qui n'est pas populaire, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne paraissent point avoir, dès l'époque romaine, passé par la bouche du peuple: tels sont les représentants des mots latins *virgo*, *spiritus*, *trinitas*, *apostolus*, *epistola*, etc. Il n'en est pas de même des mots qui expriment les pratiques les plus ordinaires du culte, comme *missa*, *baptismus*, *jejunare*, ou les degrés principaux de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique, comme *presbyter*, *monachus*, *abbas*, *episcopus* (mais *papa* et son synonyme *apostolicus* n'ont donné que des mots savants).

¹ Pfister, in Lavis, *Hist. de France* 21.242, says of Paris that he has "indiqué avec beaucoup de justesse les traits dominants de cette religion populaire." Cf. Marignan, *op. cit.*, p. 246: "Les masses populaires qui devinrent chrétiennes ont ramené à leur niveau des doctrines qu'elles n'avaient point créés, et qui leur furent même imposées par l'aristocratie urbaine. Les différentes créations du christianisme — épiscopat, monastère, culte — reçurent . . . une empreinte plus personnelle et nationale."

YALE UNIVERSITY.

THE POEMS ASCRIBED TO KING ENZIO

By HERMANN H. THORNTON

IN AN earlier article¹ there has been published the text of the four poems ascribed in the MSS to Frederick II and "Rex Fredericus," together with a brief statement of the method of text-construction followed. Herewith are published the three poems and the fragment ascribed to King Enzo, Frederick's son (1225-1272). A final article will deal with the question of authorship in the poems of both groups.

I

i. Amor mi fa sovente

lo meo core penare,
dami pene e sospiri;
e son forte temente
per lungo adimorare
cio ke poria aveniri.

5

Non k'agia dubitança

ka la dolce speranza
inver di me fallança ne facesse;
ma mi tene in dottança
la lunga 'dimorança
e cio k'adivenire ne potesse.

10

1. Amor] *V* Amore 2. core] *Ch* chor *V*² cor penare] *V, P, Ch, V*² pensare 3. dami] *LR, Ch, V*² dammi sospiri] *V* sospire 4. son] *V* sono forte] *Ch* for 5. lungo adimorare] *LR* lungadimorare 6. aveniri] *V, P* avenire *Ch* adivenire *V*² venire 7. agia] *V* agio 8. ka] *V, V*² che *LR* de 9. inver] *LR* che 'n ne] *V* mi 10. mi tene] *V, V*² mi tiene *LR* tenemi 'n 12. e] *V* a *LR* di cio] *LR* cioe adivenire] *V* divenire *LR* venire ne] *V* nom *P, Ch, V*² mi

¹ *Speculum*, I (1926), 87-100.

- ii. Pero 'nd' agio paura
 e penso tuctavia
 a lo su gran valore. 15
 Se troppo è mia dimora
 eo viver no poria,
 cosi mi stringe Amore.
 Ed àmi cosi priso
 lo su bel chiaro viso 20
 ke in altra parte non ò pensamento;
 ma tuttor m'è aviso,
 ch'eo ne son conquiso
 e tengnolomi in gran confortamento.
- iii. Conforto e non ò bene; 25
 tant' è lo meo penare
 k'io gio' nom posso avire.
 Sperança mi mantene
 e fami confortare,
 chè spero tosto gire 30
 la 'v' è la piu avenente,
 l'amorosa piagente,
 quella ke m'ave e tene in sua bailia.
 Non falsero niente
 per altra, al meo vivente, 35
 k'io la terro per donna in vita mia.

13. 'nd'] *V, LR, Ch, V² n'* 14. a] *LR di V² lacking su] V, P, V² suo* 17. eo viver] *V jo vivere LR venire Ch Eo vivere* 19. Ed] *P, LR, Ch E V² e priso] P, Ch, V² preso* 20. *V, P, V² in tale guisa conquiso Ch in tal guisa conquiso* 21. ma] *LR E tuttor] V tuttora P, V² tuctora Ch tuttora aviso] P, Ch viso* 23. *V di vedere lo bello viso P, Ch, V² di veder lo bel viso* 24. e tengnolomi] *LR ch'el mi terrea* 25. *V Komforttomi neno-*
nagio bene P, Ch, V² Confortomi e non agio bene 26. penare] *V penssar LR pensare*
 27. k'io] *LR che V² ke gio'] V, V² gioia LR gioi avire] V, P, Ch avere V² havere*
 28. Sperança] *V, LR isperanza* 29. fami] *Ch, V² fammi LR fanmi* 30. chè] *V ch'io*
P, Ch, V² e gire] P, Ch, V² a gire 31. 'v'] *V, V² ov'* 32. piagente] *Ch piacentia*
 34. falsero] *LR falseria niente] V² mente (?)* 35. altra] *Ch altro* 36. *V ch'io la*
 volgio tuttora per donna mia *LR ma tuttor la terro per donna mia*

- iv. Ancora ch'io dimore
 lungo tenpo, e non veia
 la sua chiarita spera
 e lo su gran valore, 40
 ispeso mi verria
 ch' i' penso ogne manera
 che llei deggia piacere;
 e sono al suo volere
 istato, e sero senza fallanza. 45
 Ben voi fare a sapere
 c'amare e non vedere
 si mette fin amore inn obbrianza.
- v. Va, Cansonetta mia,
 e saluta messere; 50
 dilli lo mal ch'eo aggio.
 Quelli che m'à 'n bailia
 sì distretto mi tene
 ch'eo viver non poraggio.
 Salutami Toscana, 55
 quella ched è sovrana,
 in cù regna tutta cortesia;
 e vanne in Pugla piana,
 la magna Capitana,
 là dov' è lo mio core nott'e dia. 60

37. Stanzas iv and v are given only in LR 41. verria] MS venia 51. ch'eo aggio]
 MS ch'aggio

II

- i. S'eo trovasse Pietança
in carnata figura,
merze li kereria,
k'a lo meo male desse allegiamento;
e ben faria 'cordança 5
infra la mente pura,
kè 'l pregar mi varria
vedendo lo meo umil gecchimento.
Che dico, Oi me lasso!
spero in trovar Merzede? 10
Certo 'l meo kor nol crede;
k'eo sono isventurato
piu d'omo innamorato:
sò che per me Pietà verria crudele.
- ii. Crudele e dispietata 15
seria per me Pietate,
e contra sua natura
secondo cio ke mostra 'l meo distino;
e Merzede adirata,
piena d'inpietate, 20
Deo, ch' e' ò tal ventura.
ca pur diservo a cui servir non fino!

2. in carnata] *V, Ch, V²* dincarnata 3. merze] *LR* mersede *V²* e merze li] *V, P, Ch, V²* le kereria] *V* chederia *LR* chierrea 5. ben] *V* bene faria] *V, Ch* faccio 7. kè 'l] *V* ch'al *P* ke *LR* se'l pregar] *V* pregare mi] *V* meo *Ch* me 8. vedendo] *V* veggiendo *Ch, V²* veggiendo lo meo umil] *V* l'umile meo *P, Ch* lo meo humile *V²* il meo humile gecchimento] *V* ageichimento *P* agekimento *Ch* ageicchimento *V²* agecchimento 9. Che dico] *P E* dicio *LR E* dico *V²* e dicho oi me lasso!] *P* oi lasso *V²* lasso me 10. trovar] *V* trovare 11. 'l meo kor] *V* il mio core *P* meo cor nol] *P, Ch, V²* non 12. k'eo] *LR* si isventurato] *V²* sventurato 14. sò che] *P* sol 15. dispietata] *V, P, Ch, V²* spietata 16. seria] *P, V²* verria 17. e contra] *V* encontro a *Ch* encontra *V²* e contro 18. secondo] *LR* seconda mostra 'l] *LR* mossa *Ch* l mostra il *V²* dimostra il 19. *P, V²* Merce adirata adirata] *LR* ariata 20. d'inpietate] *Ch* d enpitare 21. Deo] *P, V²* O deo *LR* io ch' e' ò] *V* che e *P, LR, V²* co 22. ca] *P, V²* k'eo *LR, Ch* che a cui] *V, Ch* la ove *V²* ove servir] *V* servire

Per meo servir non vio
 ke gio' mi sin acresca;
 ançi mi si rinfresca 25
 pena e doglosa morte
 ciascun giorno piu forte:
 und' eo morir sento lo meo sanare.

iii. Ecc' ho pena doglosa,
 ke 'nfra lo cor m'abonda 30
 e sparge per li menbri
 sì k'a cciascun ne ven soverkia parte;
 giorno non ò di posa,
 come nel mare l'onda.
 Kore, ke non ti smenbri! 35
 esci di pene e dal corpo ti parte.

K'assai val meglio un' ora
 morir, ca pur penare:
 chè nom po' mai canpare
 omo ke vive 'n pene; 40
 nè gaugio nol s'avene,
 nè pensamento à, che di ben s'apprenda.

23. Per] *P* Del servir] *V, Ch* servire vio] *V* vegio *LR* veio *Ch, V²* veggio
 24. gio'] *V, Ch, V²* gioia *LR* gioi mi sin] *V* men *LR* nessuna *Ch* mi sene *V²* mi se n
 25. ançi] *V, Ch* nanti mi si] *LR* sipur rinfresca] *Ch* n'enfresca 26. pena] *P, LR* pene
 27. ciascun] *V* ciaschuno 28. und'] *V* ond *P* laund *V²* la nd morir sento] *V* morire
 sento *P* sento perir *Ch* morir sent *V²* sento finir 29. Ecc' ho] *V* Eco 30. 'nfra lo
 cor] *V* nel mio core *Ch* ne lo cor *V²* nel cor m'abonda] *V* abonda 31. sparge] *LR* spande
 li menbri] *P, V²* le menbra 32. cciascun] *V* ciaschuno *P, Ch* ciascuno ven] *V* viene *P*
 vene soverkia] *P* soperkia 33. giorno non ò] *V* nonn o giorno *LR* Nullo giorno
 34. come nel mare] *P* si comel mare e *LR* sennon comel mare *V²* Siccome nel mar
 35. Kore] *LR* cor meo smenbri] *P, V²* smenbra 36. esci] *LR, V²* escie pene] *V, Ch,*
V² pena parte] *Ch* diparti 37. K'assai] *V, Ch* Molto val] *V* vale 38. morir] *V,*
Ch, V² morire ca] *P, V²* ke *LR, Ch* che pur] *V* pura 39. chè] *P* k'eo *LR* dache *Ch*
 poi *V²* da ke po' mai] *P* poria *LR* puoi *V²* po canpare] *LR* scanpare 41. nè gaugio] *P*
 eda gio *Ch* ne giocho *V²* ed a gioia nol s'avene] *P, V²* non savene *LR* nullo ivene *Ch*
 nol sovene 42. pensamento à che di] *P* apensamento ka di *LR* pensamentan che di *V²* a
 pensamento di ka ben] *V* bene s'apprenda] *V²* saprende

- iv. Tutti quei pensamenti
che mei spirti divisa
sono pene e dolore 45
sanza 'lleggar, che nol li s'acompana;
ed in tanti tormenti
abomdo en mala guisa,
che 'l natural colore
tutto perdo, sì 'l cor isbatte e langna. 50
Or si po' dir da manti:
"Che è ccio? Perche no more,
poi c'à 'nsangnato il core?"
Rispondo: "Chi lo 'msangna
in quel momento stangna, 55
nom per meo ben, ma prova sua vertute."
- v. La vertute ch'ill ave
da uccider me e guarire,
a llingua dir nol l'auso,
per gran temenza c'agio no la sdingni; 60
ond' io prego soave
Pieta, che mova a gire
e faccia il lei riposo;
e Merzede umilmente se gli alingni,
sì che sia pletosa 65
di me, che non m'è noia
morir, s'ella n'à gioia;
chè sol viver mi place
per suo servir verace,
e non per altro gioco che m'avengna. 70

43. *Stanzas iv and v are lacking in P, LR and V³* quei] *V* quelli 44. che] *V* ca mei spirti] *V* spirti mei *Ch* mie spirti 45. sono] *Ch* son 46. nol li] *V* nol gli 47. ed in] *V* e *Ch* E n 49. natural] *V* natura il 50. perdo] *V* perde sì] *V*, *Ch* tanto cor] *V* core isbatte] *Ch* si sbatte 51. Or si po'] *V* E se puoi dir] *V*, *Ch* dire 52. Perche no] *Ch* che non si 53. *Ch* poi ch e sangnato al cor 54. Rispondo] *Ch* risponde 'msangna] *V* sangna 55. in] *Ch* en quel] *V* quello 56. ben] *V* bene prova] *V* broba 57. ill] *V* il 58. uccider] *V* ancider guarire] *V* guerire 59. llingua] *V* lingua dir] *V*, *Ch* dire nol] *V* non 60. la sdingni] *Ch* lo sdengni 61. ond' io] *V* onde 63. faccia] *V* facciavi il] *Ch* in 64. Merzede] *Ch* merce umilmente] *V* umile mente 66. di] *Ch* ver 67. morir] *MS* morire 68. sol viver] *V* solo vita mi] *Ch* me place] *V* piace 69. suo servir] *V* lei servire 70. gioco] *V* servire m'avengna] *Ch* me n avengna

III

Tempo vene ki sale e ki discende.
 tempo è da parlare e da ttacere,
 tempo è d'ascoltare e da imprendere,
 tempo di molte cose provvedere;
 tempo è d'ubbidir ki tti riprende,
 tempo è di minaccie non temere;
 tempo è di vegghiare ki tt'offende,
 tempo d'infingnere di non vedere.

5

Pero lo tengno saggio e canoscente
 culuy ke ffa sui facti cum ragione,
 e che col tempo si sa comportare
 e mettesi im piacere de la gente,
 ke non si trovi nessuna cagione
 ke lo su facto possa biasimare.

10

1. vene] VB ven ki - ki] VB che - che discende] VB sendere 2. tempo è da] VB e tempo e Ch tempo da parlare] VB parlar da ttacere] VB tacere V² taciere 3. tempo è] VB e tempo Ch tempo da imprendere] VB, Ch imprendere 4. Lines 4 and 6 are inverted in Ch and V² tempo di] VB e tempo da 5. Lines 5 and 7 are inverted in VB VB e tempo e d'ubedir e reprendre tempo è d'ubbidire] Ch tempo d'ubbidire V² tempo d'ibbidir 6. tempo è di] VB e tempo da Ch tempo di V² tempo da minaccie] VB menaze 7. VB e tempo e da venzar e dofendere tempo è di] Ch, V² tempo di tt'offende] Ch t'affende 8. tempo d'infingnere di] VB e tempo e d'infizzer 9. saggio] VB sazo canoscente] VB conoscente 10. culuy ke ffa sui] Ch que cheffa i V² que ke i 11. e che col] Ch e chol V² e col 12. e mettesi im] VB e chi se mette nel piacere] VB placer V² piacer 13. nessuna] VB alcuna 14. VB che sol d'un fato se possa blasmare possa] Ch posso su] Ch suo

IV

Allegru cori, plenu
 di tutta beninanza
 suvvegnavi s'eu penu
 per vostra inamuranza.
 Ch'il nu vi sia in placiri
 di lassarmi muriri — talimenti
 ch'iu v'amo di buon cori e lialmenti.

NOTES ¹

POEM I: AMOR MI FA SOVENTE

MSS: *V* 84 (Lo re Enzo); *LR* 64 (Rex Enso); *P* 15 (Rex Hentius); *Ch* 229, *Ma* 39, *V*² 9, *UB* 44b, *B* (Codex Bartoliniano) 271 (Re Enzo).

Basic MS: For stanzas i-iii, MS *P*; for stanzas iv and v, MS *LR*. The choice of MS *P* as basic MS for the first three stanzas of this poem is accounted for by the following facts: (1) It is one of the two oldest MSS represented; (2) its readings for this poem are in general reliable; (3) its orthography is consistently archaic, as evidenced by the prevalence of such forms as the following: *dami*, *fami*; *sospiri*; *ka*; *dolce*; *tene*, *mantene*; *doctança*; *Pero 'nd' agio*; *tuctora*; *tegnolomi*; *lo meo penare*; *La 've*; *piacente* (*LR piagente*). The last two stanzas occur only in *LR*.

Editions: Valeriani I, 168; Nannucci, 64; Monaci, 202; Torraca, *Manuale* I, 33.

Orthographical Note: MS *V* spells *fortte*, *pensso*; *anza* for *ança*. *LR* spells *vizo*, *prizo*, *avizo*, *conquizo*; *ansa* (sometimes) for *ança*, *anza* (sometimes) for *ança*.

Metrical Scheme: 12 lines, 6 + 6; 42+50

ABC	ABC	DDE	DDE
777	777	77	77

5 stanzas (as in *LR*). *Commiato*.

General note. Referring to the *Commiato* stanza of this poem, Bertoni (*Duecento*, 65) says: "Versi pensosi e tristi, povero Re! Scritti forse quando gli giungeva a Bologna l'eco delle disfatte della sua causa: la morte di Manfredi a Benevento o l'irreparabile caduta di Corradino a Tagliacozzo." Gaspari (*Dichterschule*, 91): "Viele andere Gedichte, wie das König Enzo's . . . zeigen wie gewöhnlich die triviale Wiederholung typischer Ideen und Formeln." The attributions in the case of this poem are the most dependable of all. Here at least we are on firm ground, since there is unanimity among all of the MSS which contain the poem, including the three oldest (*LR*, *P*, and *V*).

3. *LR* preserves the Meridional (C) rime; *P* changes to *avenire*; *V* Tuscanizes both forms. Cf. Sanesi.

19-24. In the reading of this passage, somewhat confused in *P* and *V*, we have followed the version of *LR*, which is, on the whole, the most satisfactory.

25. A difficult line, seemingly not understood by the scribes of *P* and *V*. *Conforto* = *mi conforto* (Nannucci). The meaning is probably: "I (try to) comfort myself, yet I find no ease."

¹ For explanation of symbols, abbreviations, and references found in these notes, cf. *Speculum*, I (1926), 95, Note 1.

36. The perhaps slightly preferable reading of *P* is sustained by both *Ch* and *V*².
37. Although *dimore* is a bona-fide Old Italian form for *dimori*, the rime is doubtless to be restored on a Meridional basis: *dimuri*: *valuri*.
- 46-48. A realistic touch rather tellingly expressed.
49. Torraca (*Studi*, 178): "E quando, già rassegnato a non ripassare il ponte del Reno mai più, a coloro, che sapevano l'irremovibile volontà dei reggitori del comune, il giovane re biondo e bello ripeteva, 'Va, canzonetta mia . . . salutami Toscana . . .' certo non soltanto Semprebene notaro era commosso e, nella commozione, rapito all'amore e al culto della poesia."
50. "Gli antichi usavano di dare il nome di Messere o di Sire anche alla loro donna, alla maniera de' Provenzali" (Nannucci).
- 55-60. One of the few instances of real lyric power to be adduced in this body of verse.

POEM II: S'EO TROVASSE PIETANÇA

MSS: *V* 107 (Ser Nascimbene di Bologna); *LR* 65 (Re Enzo); *P* 58 (Rex Hentius: Semprebene not. bon.); *Ch* 238, *Ma* 48 (Messer Semprebene da Bologna); *V*² 7, *UB* 43a (Re Enzo et messere Guido Guinigielli).

Basic MS: For stanzas i-iii, MS *P*; for stanzas iv and v, MS *V*. The choice of MS *P* as the basic MS for the first three stanzas of this poem rests on the following facts: (1) *P* is one of the two oldest MSS represented by the poem; (2) its readings are, in general, reliable; (3) its orthography is here, as elsewhere, consistently archaic, as shown by the following forms taken from its readings: *trovasse*, *parte* (2nd sing.); *kereria*; *ka*, *k'a* (= *ka* + *a*); *verria* (= *diverrebbe*); *vio* (= *veggio*); *sin* (= *se* + *inde*); *per le menbra*; *omo*; *homo*. For stanzas iv and v, preserved only in *V* and *Ch*, we have based our text upon *V*, since it is much the older of the two MSS, and offers a slightly more conservative orthography than that of *Ch*. At line 68, however, it is *Ch* which furnishes the Latinism *place*, which we have incorporated into our text.

Editions: Giunti, 113; Valeriani I, 171; Nannucci, 67; Casini, *Poeti bolognesi*, 133; D'Ancona e Bacci, I, 55; Carducci, 32.

Orthographical Note: *V* spells *cie* and *gie* for *ce* and *ge*, *anza* for *ança*; *ciertto*, *mortte*, etc. *LR* spells *ansa* for *ança*; *farea*, *serea*, *segonda*, *chui*, *ansi*, *dogloza*, *poza*, *escie*; *puoi* for *po*.

Metrical Scheme: 14 lines, 8+6; 64+46. ABCD, ABCD; EFFGGH,
777 777 77777
5 stanzas (as in *V* and *Ch*); *collegate*.

General Note: This canzone is, in its personifications, its stanza-length, and its general tone, the most formal, one might say the most pretentious

of the poems of this entire group. It is nevertheless not lacking in expression of deep feeling, and is, in many ways, the most serious poem of the group. Torraca calls attention especially to stanza iii (*Studi*, 176): "Enzo, . . . ne' ventidue anni dell' onesta sua prigionia, non pure, come narra la leggenda per la vaghezza della persona, per la fama del valore, per la mesta aureola della sventura, ond' era circondato, vinse i cuori delle fanciulle; ma con la presenza stimolò, con l'esempio ammaestrò i gentili visitatori alla poesia. Non, forse, un amore imaginario, più probabilmente il suo duro fato gl'ispirò questa, che è delle più sentite strofe della lirica siciliana: (stanza iii). Folchetto di Marsiglia aveva cantato: 'Car meins mal es morir, al mieu semblan que vivre anse ab pena et ab afan'; altri Provenzali e Italiani avevano ripetuto il concetto, ovvio del resto; ma chi l'aveva mai espresso in altrettanto tragica situazione?"

1. *trovasse* is an Old Italian form for *trovassi*. The personified figures of this poem are Pietanča (Pietate, Pietà) and Merzede.
3. *kereria* = Mod. It. *chiederei*.
11. *Certo 'l; nol*: enclisis is common in the language of this poetry.
14. *verria* = Mod. It. *diverrebbe*.
15. This line might also be read: *Crudele ed ispietata*.
22. *diservo*: "*Disservire* è contrario di *servire*, siccome molti altri verbi composti con la particella *dis*, . . . che prendono forza del contrario; qui vale 'mal servire, recar noia o incomodo'" (Nannucci)—*fino*: this is the non-inchoative form of the verb, common in Meridional dialects.
25. *si rinfresca*: "renews itself."
28. *sanare* = *salute*: Eng. "well-being."
32. *soverkia parte* = *troppo*; Eng. "excessive amount or share."
36. The homonym rime is presented here on the basis of the Old It. verb-form *parte* for *parti*; whereas, in the original, there is small doubt but that the rime was a Meridional one: *parti: parti*. Cf. Poem I, l. 37, note.
41. It may be that the reading of *LR*, *nullo ivene*, is to be preferred, *ivene* to be taken as a Latinism, for *invenit*, the line therefore running: "Nor does he find any joy."
42. *che di ben s'aprenda*: "which attaches itself to, which partakes of that which is good."
44. *divisa* = *concepiscono* (D'Ancona e Bacci); "Il verbo singolare accordato col nome plurale" (Nannucci).
50. A difficult line, unless the *tanto* of the two MSS be emended, as we have chosen to do, to *sì*.
57. *ill*: a Provençalism or possibly a Latinism (*illa*) for *ella*, cf. l. 67.

60. *sdingni:alingni*. The Meridional rime is intact in MS *V*; *Ch* reads *sdengni*.
64. "And let Mercy humbly unite with her."
68. *place*: Latinism preserved in *Ch*.
69. *suo servir*: objective genitive. The line: "on account of (the opportunity for) true service of her."

POEM III: TEMPO VENE KI SALE E KI DISCENDE

MSS: *VB* (Vaticano Barberino Latino 3953) 120 (Fra Guiton d'Areço); *Ch* 250, *Ma* 43, *V*² 81, *B* 272 (Re Enzo).

Basic MS: The principal MSS are at such variance that it is impossible to settle upon one as a basis. For the text of the octave we have depended about equally on the three older MSS (*VB*, *Ch*, and *V*²); for that of the first tercet, we have used the version of *VB*; while the text of the second tercet is derived from *Ch* and *V*², which are here in complete agreement, in contrast to the text of *VB* which is more or less corrupt.

Editions: Allacci, 390; Valeriani I, 177; Monaci, 203; Rossetti (Translation), 167.

Metrical Scheme: ABABABAB; CDE, CDE.

General Note: In "The Invention of the Sonnet" Professor Wilkins has the following note on this sonnet: "There are extant four other sonnets by poets of the Frederician group; but there is in each case reason for thinking the poem later than the general body of Frederician verse. One is by King Enzo, who was born in 1225, taken captive by the Bolognese in 1249, and held prisoner for the rest of his life. His sonnet opens with a reference to the uncertainty of fortune: 'Tempo vene ki sale e ki discende.' It is then probable that the poem was written during Enzo's captivity (1249-1272)." ¹ In his translation, Rossetti has given the sonnet a title: "On the Fitness of Seasons." It is probable that, if Enzo wrote this poem, it was written toward the end of his life, when disappointment and the failure of his and his father's cause had turned the carefree, dashing soldier into a mature man of serious reflective habits.

1. *ki*: "when one."
2. *di* and *da*, at least in the language of the scribes, seem to be interchangeable.
3. *imprende*: Meridional apocopated form for *imprendere*.
10. *cum*: Latinism furnished by MS *VB*. The somewhat unusual form *culuy* is also from *VB*.

¹ *Modern Philology* XIII (1915), 463-464.

FRAGMENT IV: ALLEGRO CORI, PLENU

No MS version of the canzone, the first stanza of which is here given, is extant. This single stanza was published by G. M. Barbieri in *Origini della poesia rimata*, in 1790, as coming from the lost *Libro siciliano*; and reprinted by Monaci, p. 204. Cf. the canzone by Stefano da Messina, *Pir meu cori alegrari*, Monaci, p. 214. It is unfortunate that more exact information about the original of this fragment should not be available. While many scholars are convinced that we have here a sample of the original language of the poets of the Frederician Group, others have advanced the idea that in the *Libro siciliano* were published poems that had simply been Sicilianized in language, and that such was the implication of the title of the book. Until more evidence is available in regard to the origin and nature of the *Libro* this interesting question cannot be decided.

Metrical Scheme: 7 lines, 4 + 3; 28 + 29. AB, AB; CcDD.
7 7 7 7 7 7

OBERLIN COLLEGE.

THE ROMANCE TEXT OF THE *STRASSBURG OATHS*. WAS IT WRITTEN IN THE NINTH CENTURY ?

By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

EVERY philologist knows that in the history of the French language and literature the poverty of documents of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries — what may be termed the First Old-French period (before 1100) — is very great. Even the most fundamental facts cannot be determined with certainty. The text of the *Strassburg Oaths*, a few literary fragments like the *Cantilène de Ste Eulalie*, the *Fragment of Valenciennes* part of a homily on Jonas, and a few glossaries (Reichenau, Cassel, Tours, etc.), are all that have survived.¹ Accordingly, inductive and inverse reasoning, hypothesis and conjecture, have necessarily been resorted to in order to bridge the gap.

One document, however, the *Strassburg Oaths*,¹ has ever been regarded as of unimpeachable integrity. Yet, as the result of a close study of Nithard, whose *Historia* ² is our sole source of information on this point, I have become convinced that a revaluation of the evidence is worth while, and that a new conclusion is to be formed.

One need not be accused of excessive skepticism if he is on his guard in this matter on learning the history of the manuscript of Nithard. Only one manuscript is known, *Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latins*, 9768, and this dates from at least one hundred and fifty years ³ after Nithard's death in 843. Certainly two, more probably three, copyists were intermediate between the original manuscript and that which we possess.⁴ In the first half of the fifteenth century the manuscript pertained to the abbey of St Magloire near Paris, founded by Hugh Capet between 970 and 980. In 1572 the

¹ Ed. by W. Förster and E. Koschwitz, *Altfrz. Übungsbuch* (5th ed., Leipzig, 1915), col. 2-59, 206-14, 226-34, 247; important bibliogr. addenda, col. 283 ff.

² *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, II, 649-72.

³ Cf. A. Gasté, *Les serments de Strassbourg* (1888), 23; A. Wallensköld, *Strassburger-ederna, den äldsta bevarade texten på franska språket*, Övers. av Finska Vet. Soc., Förh. LXIII:B, Helsingfors, 1921; reviewed *Romania*, XLVII (1921), 421 f.

⁴ See *infra*, p. 433.

monks of St Magloire were removed to a convent situated near St Jacques-du-Haut-Pas. It seems probable that their books and manuscripts were then sold; for the *Historia* of Nithard first became known to historical scholarship at this time. The President Fauchet, who acquired the manuscript, showed it to Jean Bodin, who first published the now famous text of the *Strassburg Oaths*. Later the manuscript passed into the hands of Paul Petau, who died in 1614. In 1650 it was acquired by the well-known collector and antiquary Isaac Voss, purchasing agent for Queen Christina of Sweden, all of whose magnificent collection passed into possession of the Vatican Library after her death in 1689.¹ In 1798 when the French troops of the Directory took Rome, the manuscript of Nithard was carried to Paris and was not restored to the Vatican after 1814, when so many libraries recovered the books and manuscripts of which the government of the Directory and of Napoleon had despoiled them. The secret of its retention, however, was carefully guarded. When Pertz was engaged in preparation of the text of Nithard for the *Monumenta*, he sought in vain to examine the manuscript, which he believed to be in Rome, and thought that the Vatican authorities willfully withheld it from him. He had no idea that Nithard was quietly reposing in the *Salle des manuscrits* at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Since Pertz's futile endeavor to see the original, the manuscript of Nithard has been meticulously examined and studied, and the text of the Strassburg Oaths reproduced by photographic process.² At first glance it would seem the height of hypercriticism to challenge the authenticity of the text; for Nithard, iii, 5, plainly reads:

Et sacramenta quae subter notata sunt Lodhuwicus romana, Karolus uero teudisca, lingua iurauerunt. Ac sic ante sacramentum circumfusam

¹ On Isaac Voss and Queen Christina, see E. J. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 322 f., III, 339-42.

² See F. Diez, *Altromanische Sprachdenkmäler*, 1846; E. Koschwitz, *Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française*, 2d ed., Heilbronn, 1880 (cf. Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XV (1886), 443-45); Gasté, *op. cit. supra*; Karl Wahlund, "Bibliographie der französischen Strassburger Eide vom Jahre 842," *Festgabe für Adolfo Mussafia*, 1905; Carl Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Literatur*, 3d ed., Halle, Niemeyer: 1925, p. 31 f. Other literature will be referred to in the course of this article.

plebem, alter teudisca, alter *romana* lingua, alloquiti sunt. Ludhuwicus autem, quia maior natu, prior exorsus, sic coepit.

Then follows in Latin what may be regarded as the preamble, and we then read:

Cumque Karolus haec eadem uerba *romana* lingua perorasset. . . . Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun saluament. . .

The German form of the oath then follows, after which the *fideles* of each king were sworn:

Populus quique propria lingua testatus est. *Romana* lingua sic se habet: Si Lodhuuigs sagrament que son fradre Karlo iurat, conseruat, et Carlus meos sendra de suo part. . . .

In spite, however, of what seems plain statement that a 'roman' or Old-French version of the oath was actually employed at Strassburg in 842, an examination of the entire history of this event has led me to doubt the traditional interpretation. It is my opinion that the alternative text to the German form of the oath was written by Nithard in the usual Latin¹ of the ninth century, and that some later copyist converted the original Latin form recorded by Nithard into 'roman' or Old French. The purpose of this article is to show the probability of this hypothesis.

Let us begin with the phrase *romana lingua* or *lingua romana*. Does it mean Old French? During the Merovingian period *romana* was certainly used to distinguish the Latin language from the *lingua barbara*, or German.² In the Salic Law the word *romanus* indicates a person of Gallo-Roman, as distinguished from German, blood.³ The earliest usage cited by philologists of the phrase *romana lingua* in contradistinction to Latin, is the case of St Mummolinus, who was

¹ It is important that the various kinds of Latin in use in the Middle Ages be made clear. There were three different sorts of Latin current: (1) written Latin, based on classical Latin, but greatly modified both in vocabulary and syntax by 'low' or 'base' Latin; (2) spoken, but unwritten Latin used by the common people of Romance stock, and known as *lingua vulgaris*, *lingua rustica*, *lingua inerudita*, *sermo latinus*, *sermo uiuus* and referred to in this article as 'Vulgar Latin'; and (3) *Vetus Latina*, or 'Ecclesiastical Latin.' Both the common, written Mediaeval Latin, and Ecclesiastical Latin were constantly subjected to the invading and corroding influence of the Vulgar Latin noted in (2) above.

² F. E. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, I (Paris, 1905), 16.

³ *Bulletin de l'Académie de Belgique*, Sér. ii, XLIX (1880), 28.

appointed bishop of Noyon in 656 "*quia praeualebat non tantum in teutonica, sed etiam in romana lingua.*"¹ Of Adalhard of Corbie (†826) it is told that he was fluent in three languages:

Qui si uulgari, id est, romana lingua, loqueretur, omnium aliarum putaretur inscius; si uero theutonica, enitebat perfectius; ei Latina, nulla omnino absolutius.²

Less than a generation after Adalhard of Corbie we find mention of the linguistic proficiency of Hartgar of Liège, who succeeded Bishop Pirard in 840. He belonged to the High German nobility, and it even seems that he was related to the Carolingian family. He was zealous in the encouragement of education in his diocese, and according to Sedulius Scotus, the Irish poet who dwelt at his court, Hartgar was fluent in three languages. M. Pirenne thinks that these three languages were "probably" Latin, German, and 'roman.'³ But there is not sufficient evidence to believe that Walloon — and any French tongue current around Liège must have been Walloon — existed as a distinct dialect before the tenth century.⁴ A juster supposition is that the third language spoken by Hartgar was Flemish, which may have become enough differentiated from Frankish by the ninth century to be a distinct and separate speech, since there is evidence that at this time Frankish was gravitating towards High German.⁵

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, 16 October, vii, 2980, or *Acta Sanctorum Selecta*, IV, 408. Cf. Brunot, *op. cit.*, I, 138, note; A. Darmesteter, *Grammaire historique*, p. 25.

² Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 1060.

³ Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I, 152.

⁴ Kurth, "La frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le nord de la France," *Mem. cour. Acad. Belg.*, XLVIII (quarto, 1895), must be read with caution and not too implicitly followed. L. Vanderkindere, *Introduction à l'histoire de Belgique*, Brussels, 1890, pp. 82, 88, 111, 112, 224, 225, remarks the prevalence of Frankish speech in Belgium in the ninth century. Compare Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CXXXIX, 1146, note. The *Cantilène de Ste Eulalie* and the homily on Jonas are probably in the Walloon dialect and of the tenth century (Wilmotte, *Bulletin Acad. Belg. Lettres*, 1908, p. 261, although Brunot, I, 145, dates the former as about 880). The earliest positive reference to Walloon occurs in the "Gesta abbat. S Trud." *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, X, 229, where it is said of Abbot Adelard (999-1034): "*Igitur primus Adelardus nativam linguam non habuit teutonicam, sed quam corrupte uocant Romanam, teutonice 'Walloniam'.*"

⁵ D'Arbois de Jubainville, "Le texte franç. des serments de Strassbourg," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XXXII (1877), 339. Wilmotte, "La culture franç. en Flandres," *Bull. Acad. Belg. Lettres*, 1908, p. 264, note, thinks that Flemish was of slower evolution than

As for the *Vita S. Mummolini* and the *Vita S. Adalhardi*, in spite of the weight attached to the statements in them, they are actually of no historical value as evidence of the prevalence of Old French in northern Gaul anterior to the *Strassburg Oaths*. How much reliance can one put upon their evidence when one learns that both were written two hundred years or more after the death of the saints which are commemorated? St Mummolinus died between 685 and 691, but his *Vita* was not written before the tenth century, when the monastic reform movement initiated by Gérard of Brogne in Flanders and Brabant reorganized the decrepit abbey of St Bavon and St Blandin in Ghent, St Bertin, St Amand, St Omer and St Vaast, and the revival recalled to men's minds the ancient labors of St Mummolinus in the same localities over two hundred years before. With regard to the *Vita Adalhardi*, which is cited by every romance philologist, it is so far from being contemporary that its author, Gerard of Silva Maior, an offshoot of Corbie, may have witnessed the First Crusade. We have a charter of his bearing the date 1091.¹ The case is made worse still when we set this late *Vita Adalhardi* side by side with the ninth century *Vita Adalhardi* written by Paschasius Radbertus, who died in 860, and whose youth, therefore, coincided with the old age of Adalhard, and who was himself an abbot of Corbie:

NINTH CENTURY

Quem si uulgo audisses, dulciffuus emanabat, si uero idem barbara quam Teutiscam dicunt, lingua loqueretur, praeeminebat claritatis eloquio, quod si latine, iam ulterius prae aviditate dulcoris non erat spiritus.

Pertz, *Scriptores*, II, 532, c. 77.

ELEVENTH CENTURY

Qui si uulgari, id est romana lingua, loqueretur, omnium aliarum putaretur inscius; si uero theutonica, enitebat perfectius; ei Latina, nulla omnino absolutius.

Migne, *Patrologia Latina*,
CXLVII, 1060

Walloon as a provincial dialect. Nevertheless, it is a striking coincidence that at almost the same time we are told of Adelard of St Trond speaking Walloon, we learn of Folcuin of Lobbes that he was fluent in Flemish, German, and French. See Kurth, *op. cit.*, XLVIII, ii, 19, note 3. The date is 990.

¹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 1077-80; E. Martène & U. Durand, *Thesaurus nouus Anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717), I, 255.

In the former nothing whatever is said of any knowledge of the romance tongue by Adalhard. The only languages mentioned are German and Latin. His eleventh-century biographer has embellished the narrative with his own invention and, writing when French was the dominant speech of all Gaul, attributed to his hero knowledge of the Old-French tongue back in a time when it did not yet exist! It was an act of pious homage on the part of mediaeval biographers of saints to ascribe to them the pentecostal gift of tongues.

In the ninth century the words *romana lingua* are invariably used to signify Latin, and do not signify Old French. When Vulgar Latin is meant, an additional qualifying adjective is employed, as *rustica romana lingua* (Council of Tours, 813). More commonly, however, *lingua rustica* or *lingua uulgaris* are the terms used to signify Vulgar Latin; others were *lingua inerudita*, *sermo plebeius*, *sermo rusticanus*, *sermo uiuus*.¹

Fundamentally, the employment of the word *romana*, even in the ninth and tenth centuries, was of political, not of linguistic designa-

¹ For interesting allusions to Vulgar Latin, see *Mon. Germ. Hist., Leges*, ed. Krause I, 79, line 25, "*lingua inerudita*." *Idem*, II, 176, canon 17, council of Tours in 813, enjoining upon the bishop that "*quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam romanam linguam aut in theutiscam*," i.e., "translate his sermons into vulgar Latin or German as the case may be." So again when we find the council of Aachen in 817, art. 13, enjoining "*usum Latinitatis quam rusticitatis*" in the monasteries, the distinction is between Latin and Vulgar Latin (Mansi, *Concilia*, XIV, 363; Werminghoff, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, II, i, 448). The *sermo uiuus* of Charlemagne's capitularies, Pertz, *Leges*, I, 160 (809), 169 (811) is likewise Vulgar Latin. Regino, *Chronicon*, anno 813, has an intriguing statement that he found some of his information "*in quodam libello repperi plebeio et rusticano sermone*." Does this, too, mean Vulgar Latin? or German? If the latter, this little book now lost must have been the earliest history in the German language of which we have record. Other terms of distinction not always carefully observed by modern scholars are *barbara loquela*, *lingua barbara* and *sermo barbarus*. The words do not always mean German, though usually so understood; for they may mean rustic or uncouth Latin; cf. Brunot, I, 20. Bede (iii, 7) uses *barbara loquela* to distinguish Frankish speech from Old English. Plummer, in his edition of Bede (2 vols., Oxford, 1896), II, 41, deplors Bede's "tendency to regard all foreign speech as barbarous," but I do not think Bede meant the allusion with contempt, but merely to distinguish Old English from Continental Frankish. He used the phrase exactly as *lingua barbara* and *sermo barbarus* were used to denote German. No contempt was implied in the expression. Great caution is necessary in order to determine the exact meaning of these terminologies. Not until the tenth century at least — and not always then — does *lingua romana* signify the romance language. A curious cross-current of usage occurs in Adhemar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, III, 27, who uses "*latinus sermo*" to mean Old French in the twelfth century. Another similar instance may be found in P. Labbé, *Concilia*, III, 202, a citation from the *Chronicon Malleacense* in Bas-Poitou.

tion, as of course it had been earlier.¹ The peoples of Latin stock, in contact with the Germans, thought less of Latinity than of the once widespread political domination of Rome. The Gallo-Roman population called themselves "*Romani*." In no Latin country in the Middle Ages was this political sense so strong as in France, where the Roman imperial tradition, though not oldest there, was strongest. Even in Italy in the tenth century this fact was recognized by Luitprand of Cremona who could write: "*Francia romana*," and "*Franciam quam Romanam dicunt*."²

The term of designation for Old French used by contemporary writers in the ninth and tenth centuries was *lingua gallica*;³ for, as I shall endeavor to show in the next paragraph, *lingua romana* meant normal written Mediaeval Latin.

In the tenth century — and not in the ninth — when romance speech became nationalized north of the Loire, as it had already been in the south in the previous century, it is then everywhere called *lingua gallica*, which became its usual name.⁴ Only in later times did the term *lingua romana*, meaning Latin, in the ninth century, gradually lose its early significance and come to signify 'roman' or romance speech.⁵

There is ground for the belief, and I think the truth is, that in

¹ This is invariably the sense in which it is used in the capitularies. I cite the following illustrations from the edition of Krause, vols. I-II: *Romani*: I, 218, line 25; 219, line 1; 230, lines 10 and 15; 323, lines 5 and 20; 354, lines 40 and 45; II, 124, line 24; 125, line 25; 481, line 10; 496, line 25; 497, line 5; 499, line 40; 500, line 5; 501, lines 1 and 35; 507, lines 1 and 10; 508, line 25; 513, line 15; 515, line 5. *Romanum ius*: I, 515, line 15; *Romana lex*: I, 145, line 15; 170, line 30; 204, line 35; 218, line 25; 219, line 1; 369, line 5; II, 231, line 10; 315, line 25; 316, line 35; 319, line 1; 320, line 20; 322, line 30; 324, line 15; 330, line 30. *Romanae leges*: I, 19, lines 1 and 25; II, 27, line 20; 123, line 25; 416, line 15.

² *Antapodosis*, I, 14 and 15.

³ For instance, Ioannes Diaconus, ca. 874, writes: "*Ille more gallico (= sermone gallico) sanctum senem increpitans follem* (Fr. fol, fou). Compare Du Cange, s.v. *folis*. The monk of St Gall, about 884, observes: "*caniculas, quas gallica lingua ueltres noncupant*," I, 20. In the next century, ca. 980, Widukind, II, 17, writes: "*ex nostris etiam fuere qui gallica lingua ex parte loqui sciebant*." But in II, 36 he uses the form *Romana lingua*, in the sense of Old French. So in the same century of the synod of Mouzon (995) we are told: *episcopus Viridunensis eo quod gallicam linguam norat*, etc., *Concordia*, VI, L, 729.

⁴ Compare Richerus, *Historia* (iv, 100); Liutprand, *Hist. Ott.* c. ii; Ekkehard, *De Casibus S. Galli*, ss. II, 139.

⁵ The earliest certain use — though I am open to correction — of *romana lingua* in the sense of Old French seems to be in Widukind, ii, 36. Cf. note 3 above.

the ninth century no one of the romance languages, whether French, Italian or Spanish, was yet sufficiently differentiated from Latin to possess a distinct identity to be regarded as a national speech. Raynouard¹ long ago cited the anecdote related in Mabillon, *Act. SS. Bened.* sec. iii, pt. 2, p. 258, of an Italian priest who met with a Spanish pilgrim travelling in Germany in the time of Charlemagne, and thought, from his conversation, that the latter was an Italian (. . . *quoniam linguae eius eo quod esset Italus, notitiam habebat*). In confirmation of this anecdote I am able to cite further evidence to indicate that in the ninth century the future romance languages of Europe were yet undifferentiated — evidence which, so far as my knowledge goes, has not been observed by philologists. It is from the *Itinerarium Bernardi monachi Franci*,² a Frankish monk who went to the Holy Land in 868–70. The extract is as follows:—

. . . de Emmaus peruenimus ad Sanctam ciuitatem Ierusalem, & recepti sumus in hospitale gloriosissimi imperatoris Karoli, in quo suscipiuntur omnes qui causa deuotionis illum adeunt locum, *linguam loquentes Romanam*.

This evidently means all pilgrims of the Frankish Empire of Latin blood, whether from Gaul, Italy or Spain, among whom Latin was still a common and universal speech.

Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, Thegan, the biographer of Louis the Pious, and Walafrid Strabo, all express anxiety lest the Latin they write show the corrupting influence of vulgar or rustic Latin. In the proëm to the *Vita Karoli* Einhard says, in addressing the reader:

There is nothing for you to wonder at or admire except his deeds, unless indeed it be that I, a barbarian [i.e., a German] and little versed in the Roman tongue (*in romana locutione*) have imagined that I could write Latin without offence and usefully (*decenter aut commode Latine scribere posse putauerim*).

Obviously here *romana locutio* means the normal written Mediaeval

¹ *Lexique Roman*, I, introd. xvi, and *Grammaire comparée des langues de l'Europe latine* (1821), p. xxix.

² In T. Tobler and A. Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, I (Publ. de la Société de l'Orient Latin, série géographique, Geneva, 1879, in 2 vols.), I, 314, c. 10.

Latin. Walafrid Strabo apologizes for the "*quantulacumque rusticitatis*" of his style.¹ Nithard himself, if he meant Old French and not Latin when he penned the words "*lingua romana*," did violence to the customary meaning of the words in the ninth century and, moreover, radically departed from the nomenclature of Einhard, whom everywhere else Nithard slavishly imitates where he can do so.²

Sufficient study has not yet been made of the Latin of the ninth and tenth centuries with a view to detecting the corruption of it by the vernacular, and to discover syntactical changes and verbal substitutions illustrating the gradual evolution of Old French; nor will this be possible until we know with more certainty the date and place of origin of the earliest monuments of the Old French tongue;³ until the time of their composition and their place of

¹ Ebert, *Geschichte der lateinischen literatur im Mittelalter*, II, 393.

² Parallelism will make this imitation by Nithard of Einhard quite clear:

Einhard, <i>Vita Karoli</i>	Nithard, <i>Historia</i>
Praef.—Illustrissima hominis . . . gesta silentio praeterirem	Praef.—Praeterire autem ea quae . . . gesta sunt
Cap. 8.—hoc bellum sumpsit exordium	Praef.—Textus hinc sumat exordium
Cap. 9.—in summi montis uertice	ii, 10.—uerticem montis
Praef.—Nullum ea ueracius quam me scribere posse quibus ipse interfui	iii, praef.—ex quibus interfui tertium libellum ut adderem
Cap. 6.—quem bellorum quae gessit euentus memoriae mandare curabo	iv, praef.—facta . . . stili officio memoriae mandare
<i>Annales Einhardi</i>	
820.—Liudewitus nihil molitus	I, 1.—nihil in imperio moliri
802.—Qui tunc rem publicam regebat	I, 4.—et rem publicam regere
772.—juxta montem qui castris erat contiguus	I, 10.—uerticem montis castris contigui
798.—ingenti eos caede prostrauit.	IV, 6.—nimia caede prostrati sunt.

³ Abbo's poem, *De bellis Parisiacae Urbis aduersus Normannos*, is rich in matter of this kind. Indeed, so abundant are the examples that the author himself provided his text with a glossary in book iii, preface. Thus he explains *mergitibus* by *garbis* (ii, 87), *cateiam* by *dardam*, *mulio* by *custos mulorum*, *agason* by *prouisor equorum*, *curtis* by *locus uacuus*. Some of his observations sound like popular proverbs (iii, 54). Altogether, this work, from the point of view of the Vulgar Latin idiom, deserves a more careful examination than it has yet had. In the *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium*, iii, 42, we find *sonia*, whence French *soin*, and in iii, 60, *habuerat facere* (compare French *avait à faire*) instead of Latin *debere*. In Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLIX, 162, note 370, occurs *in tribuis* (i.e., *treutis*), whence Old-French *trebres* and Modern French *trèves*. An *ordo excommunicationis* of the tenth century instructs the bishop to translate the Latin into vernacular. — Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXXVIII, 1125, which by that time probably had become Old French (*lingua Gallica*).

origin is more satisfactorily established, I confess almost as great distrust of the early glossaries, such as that of Reichenau (that of Cassel is out of consideration since it probably originated in a Latin country), and for fragments like the *Ste Eulalie*, the *St Leger*, and the homily on *Jonas*, as I have for the *Vita S. Mummolini* and the *Vita S. Adalhardi*.¹ The only glossaries in circulation in the ninth century were for Greek and Vulgar Latin, for which Hincmar seems to have had a high contempt.² These glossaries, at least those for Vulgar Latin, owed their composition to Charlemagne, who was alarmed over the fact that many of the Frankish clergy, owing to the corrupting influence of Vulgar Latin upon them, could no longer understand the Vulgate Bible and the writings of the Fathers, and accordingly had the commentary of St Jerome upon the Scriptures translated in *lingua vulgari*.

It is evident from conciliar legislation in the ninth century that the problem of the currency of two languages in northern Gaul disturbed the church; for, in addition to the legislation already cited of the councils of Tours (813) and Aachen (816), we find the council of Rheims taking similar action in 813. No language is definitely specified; the injunction is "*ut episcopi sermones et homilias . . . prout omnes intelligere possint secundum proprietatem linguae praedicare studeant.*"³ But the inference that this language alternative to Frankish German was a true Romance speech is not sustained. 'Romance' speech did not yet obtain as a vernacular north of the Loire river in the ninth century. Where the language was not German, it was still Vulgar Latin — a barbarous and an abominable syntax not yet far enough advanced or differentiated to be dignified as '*roman.*'

For this vulgar speech, neither Latin nor yet French, but, as Coleridge once described a meat course, "veal hovering on the edge

¹ Diez and Brunot think the *Cantilena* to be of the latter half of the ninth century and the *Jonas* to be of the late ninth or early tenth, but are doubtful as to the dialect. Wilmotte boldly asserts that both are in Walloon (*Bulletin Acad. Belg. Lettres*, 1908, 261). But the existence of a Romance language in northeastern France and Flanders as early as the ninth century is impossible; for, as I have shown below, the whole of this region was then still predominantly German in tongue.

² Du Cange, *Glossarium*, praefatio, sec. 40.

³ P. Labbé, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XIV, 78, canon 15.

of beef," the Frankish aristocracy had a deep contempt. We have a remarkable evidence of this — and of ninth century expression, too — in Waldalbert's *Vita S. Goaris*, II, ii, written in 839 at the request of Marcward of Prüm, the friend of Abbot Loup (Lupus) of Ferrières. The passage is too interesting not to be cited:

Cum omnes *Romanæ nationis ac linguæ* homines ita quodam gentilitio odio execraretur, ut ne uidere quidem eorum aliquem aequanimiter uellet, ac si quos forte ex eadem familia comprehendere potuisset crudeliter nonnumquam afficeret.¹

Besides the necessity of defining more sharply than romance philologists have yet done the significance of the terms employed for the various sorts of language current in the ninth and tenth centuries, more attention should also be directed to the history of the spread of the romance tongue and its ultimate victory over German in the territory north of the Loire.

The evidence of conciliar legislation with reference to the currency of German in northern Gaul, which has been cited, is sustained by other historical evidence. Louis the Pious, although he dwelt many years in Aquitaine, Poitou, and Anjou before 814, knew nothing but German. Although Charles the Bald could speak Vulgar Latin, he did not do so habitually or by preference. The language of the court was German.² German was spoken around Corbie, St Riquier and Ferrières. A catalogue of books pertaining to St Riquier in 831 lists a *Passio Domini in theudisca et latina* and the testament of Count Ekkard of Burgundy mentions an *Euangelium Theudiscum*.³ The case of Ferrières near Sens is especially clear. In 847 we find the famous Abbot Loup writing to his friend Marcward of Prüm that a knowledge of the German language is still very necessary

¹ The same sentiment of repugnance is found also in the *Miracula S. Goaris*: *Tanta enim ejus animum innata ex feritate barbarica stoliditas apprehenderat, ut ne in transitu quidem romanæ linguæ uel gentis homines libenter aspicere posset.* — *M. G. H., Scriptores*, II, 365.

² Bonamy, *Mém. Acad. Inscrit.* XXIV, 657; *Hist. litt. de la France*, IV, 409–10; Thierry, *Lettres sur l'hist. de France*, 6th ed., pp. 47 and 220; A. W. Schlegel, *Observations sur la langue et la littérature provençales* (1898), 101.

³ E. L. Dümmler, *Gesch. d. ostfränk. Reiches*, 2d ed., I, 20 and note 4; Hariulf, *Chronique de St Riquier*, ed., F. Lot, III, 3.

around Ferrières unless a man would be considered a blockhead.¹ It is probably true that in Loup's time around Sens German speech had ceased to be as prevalent or as pure as formerly; for in 836 we find Loup sending his nephew and two other boys of noble family to Prüm in Lorraine "*propter linguae nanciscendam scientiam.*"² But that the German language still tenaciously held on in the dioceses of Rheims and Sens all through the ninth and even into the tenth century admits of no doubt. Folcuin, the historian of Lobbes who wrote about 980, mentions German and Latin as still prevailing in northern Gaul, and there can be no doubt that by '*latina*' he does not mean '*roman*' but Vulgar Latin.³ Further we learn from Flooard (†966), who has preserved for us a letter of Fulk, Archbishop of Rheims, murdered in 900, that around Théroutanne German was the only language.⁴ In the capitularies of Charles the Bald the expression *lingua theutisca* occurs three times.⁵

Not only between the Meuse and the Seine, but between the Seine and the Loire also, it is very doubtful whether in the ninth century any true Romance language obtained that was yet sufficiently differentiated from Vulgar Latin to be regarded as a distinct tongue. We have already seen that the council of Tours in 813 recognized the presence there of '*theutisca*.' Among the proper-names of the tenants of the abbey of St Germain-des-Prés (Paris), the register of which was compiled *ca.* 811-26, those of German form are about nine times as numerous as Roman or Latin names.⁶

¹ *Linguae uestrae . . . usum hoc tempore pernecessarium nemo nisi tardus ignorat*, *Lettres de Loup de Ferrières*, ed. Desdevizes du Dezert, No. XXVIII, p. 136. M. Desdevizes du Dezert is certainly in error when he declares that Loup himself did not understand German (p. 205, note). He makes Loup's letter to Immo bishop of Noyon (No. XLI, p. 62) prove too much when he so asserts. For what Loup says is that he is "not captivated by the German language." But that was due to his classical inclinations, not to ignorance. The gutturalness and rough intonation of German speech was repugnant to him when compared with the smoothness of classical Latin. If the editor had consulted the preface which Loup wrote to his *Vita Sancti Wigbert*, abbot of Fritzlar, he would have so discovered: *Id autem a periti beneuolentia lectoris obtinuerim, ut sicubi Latini sermonis lenitas hominum locorumue nominibus Germanicae linguae uernaculis asperatur, modice ferat, ac*, etc., Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXIX, 681.

² *Lettres de Loup de Ferrières*, No. XXXIII, p. 98.

³ *Duobus usitatis Galliae locutionum generibus Latina uidelicet et Teutonica*, *Gesta abbat. S. Trud.*, c 2, SS IV, 56.

⁴ *Hist. Eccles. Rem.*, iv, 3.

⁵ Dümmler, *op. cit.*, II, 20, and note 4.

⁶ J. W. Hessels, "Irminon's Polyptichum," *Trans. Philolog. Society*, XXX (1899-1902), 473.

Similarly in the list of monks of St Martin of Tours in the *Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli*, edited by Piper, and according to Professor E. K. Rand¹ probably compiled in 820, many of the names smack of German lineage. Along the Channel coast in what was to become western Normandy in the tenth century the ancient Saxon settlements made there in the fourth and fifth centuries still preserved their Germanic character in the time of Charles the Bald.²

In the light of this accumulated evidence, of which romance philologists have taken too little cognizance, it seems certain that in the ninth century German was the reigning language all over northern Gaul, the only part of Gaul over which Charles the Bald possessed any political authority. Bonamy's contention made as long ago as the eighteenth century that "*on parloit encore la langue tudesque au milieu de la France cette année-là*" (813)³ is unhesitatingly confirmed by later historians.⁴ The evidence is too convincing to allow one to disclaim the statement that in the ninth century the whole territory of Frankish Gaul, north of the Loire from the edge of Brittany to the

¹ "The Vatican Livy and the script of Tours," *Memoirs American Acad. in Rome*, I (1917), 24 f. Compare Mabille, *La pancarte noire de St Martin de Tours* (1866). However, as N. D. Fustel de Coulanges protested, *Revue d. quest. hist.*, XLI (1887), 13-15 (cf. *L'invasion germanique*, 598), the evidence of proper-names must not be stressed too much. In the fifth century we find Romans assuming German names as in the previous century we find German captains in the imperial armies wearing Roman names. The practice was facilitated among the Franks more than among the other German peoples owing to their catholicism, which made mixed marriages common. E. LeBlant, in his study of the relation of names to race (*Mém. de la Soc. Natl. des antiq.* 3. sér., t. 8 (1862), 73, 74), showed that the diffusion of German proper-names in Gaul followed an ascending curve from the sixth to the eighth century. In the sixth the ratio is 47 to 21; in the seventh, 3 to 7. An enormous preponderance of Roman names over German appears in the names of the clergy. From 475 to 578 the signatures to episcopal acts are in the proportion of 508 Roman names to 28 German, or 1 to 18. Cf. G. Kurth, *Revue d. quest. hist.*, LVII (1895), 388-92.

² Compare F. Lot, "Les migrations saxonnes en Gaule et en Grande Bretagne," *Revue Hist.*, CXIX (1915), 20; F. Lot and L. Halphen, *Le règne de Charles le Chauve*, I, 87, note 3; 144, note 2; Prentout, *Essai sur les origines et la fondation du duché de Normandie*, 51-76; *Mém. Acad. de Caen*, vol. supplém. Millénaire de Normandie (1911); *Revue Hist.*, CVII (1911), 285 f.

³ *Mém. Acad. Inscript.*, XXIV, 657.

⁴ "Dans la seconde moitié du neuvième siècle la langue de la cour de France, sinon celle du pays, était purement tudesque," Augustin Thierry, *op. cit.*, p. 47; "Die lingua theutisca muss damals noch bis ins westliche Frankreich hinein gesprochen und verstanden worden sein," E. Jacobs, "Die Stellung der Landesprachen im Reiche der Karolinger," *Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch.*, III (1863), 369 and 380. Kurth's assertion that "*dès le VII^e siècle l'idiome germanique avait cessé d'être entendu*" (*Mém. Acad. Belg.*, XLVIII (quarto, 1895),

Meuse, was predominantly German in speech; that the only other language current was Vulgar Latin, spoken by the peasantry of Roman ancestry, but not yet become Old French.

One's skepticism as to the employment of 'roman' at Strassburg in 842 grows greater when we examine certain political facts. Charles the Bald's power south of the Loire was merely titular except in the region of Toulouse, where he seems to have had a handful of followers. Nearly all the Midi and the whole Southwest was *de facto* independent of him, had been so for years, and was to continue so for years to come. "*Aquitani pene omnès a Karolo recedunt*," wails a chronicler in 853.¹ The repugnance of the provinces of the South for the North was a very strong and enduring sentiment: "*la formation dans le royaume de l'ouest de deux états séparés par la Loire était dans la nature des choses*."² Since Charles's adherents were almost wholly drawn from the North and the Northeast provinces which, as we have seen, were still strongly German in language, and further, since the language of the court was German, why should a 'roman' form of language have been resorted to in the *Strassburg Oaths*? For the benefit of Charles's mere handful of supporters from the Midi? One cannot believe it.

Diez has observed that "to make the antiquity of a word depend absolutely on its first appearance in accessible documents, is a pro-

pt. ii, 4) around Paris and Rouen and even Tournai is worse than gross exaggeration; it is untrue to the contemporary historical evidence, although his general descriptive statement of the gradual process of language transformation is correct:

"Or, sur le sol de l'ancienne Gaule, la plus forte était toujours le latin. Malgré sa décrépitude apparente, il avait une richesse de vocabulaire, une flexibilité de formes et une variété de nuances qui en faisaient un instrument de relations beaucoup plus maniable que l'idiome germanique. De plus, la difficulté spéciale qu'avaient à apprendre un idiome barbare les Gallo-Romains, enfants d'une vieille société qui restait en possession d'une langue vraiment civilisée, ne devait pas contribuer à les incliner vers l'étude des langues germaniques. Tout au contraire, doué d'une faculté spéciale pour s'assimiler le verbe d'autrui, et ayant plus souvent besoin du latin que le Gallo-Romain de l'allemand, le barbare savait en général deux langues, alors que le civilisé n'en possédait qu'une (*op. cit.*, pt. ii, 5)."

But the analogy Kurth draws (pp. 6-7) between the Norsemen in Normandy in the tenth century and the Franks in the sixth is far-fetched. The evidence that all Northern Gaul was predominantly German in speech until at least the end of the ninth century is too convincing for such a statement to be maintained.

¹ *Ann. Bert.*, anno 853.

² A. Parisot, *Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens* (Paris, 1889), p. 23, note 4.

cedure, doubtless, of diplomatic propriety, but a superficial one, because it inevitably does violence to the history of language.”¹

Conversely, I would say that to predicate the antiquity of a language on the faith of a single document, *when the historical evidence is against the existence of such a language* in the time to which the document is attributed, is unhistorical. If the historical facts are right, then such a document is not what it is alleged to be. It is either a forgery or must be attributed to a later period and, in the form preserved, must be regarded as an interpolation or a glossed record of the original.

The probability of the hypothesis that the original text of the *Strassburg Oaths* was in Latin and that the romance form of it which we now possess is a later translation into ‘roman’ of the original Latin text, grows stronger when we examine other similar compacts of the ninth century in which Charles the Bald and his brothers figured. We have record of many such compacts, together with the text of several of them.

In 847 was the first *conuentus* of Meerssen. In 851 a second took place there. The *Annals of St Bertin* make mention of an intermediate conference in 849, and we have the text of the two conventions at Meerssen. Again in 853 Lothar and Charles met at Valenciennes, and we have the text of the instrument there agreed upon. There is no mention made of a vernacular version of any of these pacts. In 854 we have the important treaty of Liège (*Conuentus apud Leudicam*) between Lothar and Charles, in which Lothar guaranteed the integrity of his brother’s realm against Ludwig the German, and Charles made similar pledge to Lothar. The pact was solemnly concluded in the cathedral of St Lambert and confirmed by a mutual oath. “*Le serment de Liège*,” writes J. Calmette,² “*pouvait passer pour être la contre-partie du serment de Strassbourg*.” Yet absolutely nothing is said about a vernacular version of this oath in spite of the important nature of the agreement.

¹ Das Alter eines Wortes von seinem urkundlichen Sichtbarwerden schlechthin abhängig machen zu wollen, ist zwar ein diplomatisch richtiges, aber eben darum ein auf der Oberfläche sich haltendes Verfahren, welches der Geschichte der Sprache notwendig Gewalt antut.” F. Diez, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* (3d ed., Bonn a. Rh., 1870-72), I, 31.

² *La diplomatie carolingienne* (Paris, 1901), p. 25.

The first mention of use of the popular tongue after 842 occurs in the treaty of Coblenz in 860 (*Adnuntiatio apud Confluentes*) between Ludwig and Charles. We have the text of the twelve articles thereof, together with that of the *sacramentum firmatatis* or oath, and the confirmatory declaration (*adnuntiatio*) in Latin made by each king, Ludwig speaking in *lingua theodisca*, Charles speaking in *lingua romana*.¹ The procedure was exactly like that at Strassburg in 842. After Ludwig had made the declaration in German,

haec eadem domnus Karolus Romana lingua adnuntiauit, et ex maxima parte lingua theodisca recapitulauit. Post haec, domnus Hludovicus ad domnum Karolum fratrem suum lingua romana dixit: "Nunc, si uobis placet, uestrum uerbum habere uolo de illis hominibus qui ad meam fidem uenerunt" [i.e., Charles's vassals who had deserted him in 858 and gone over to Ludwig]. Et domnus Karolus excelsiori uoce lingua romana dixit: [here follows Charles's pledge]. . . . Et domnus Hlotharius lingua theodisca in supra adnuntiatis capitulis se consentire dixit, et se obseruaturum illa promisit. Et tunc domnus Karolus iterum lingua romana de pace comunuit.²

Here again, as in the event of 842, I believe that it is wrong to infer that the words *romana lingua* imply the use of the 'roman' language. I am convinced that they mean Mediaeval Latin, as at Strassburg before. Charles probably recited the oath from a written text in his hand.

In 870 the important treaty of Meerssen was made between Charles and Ludwig, in which the Middle Kingdom, created in 843 by the partition of Verdun, was divided between them. If anything, this settlement was more important than that in 843, for it put an end to the amorphous and incongruous independent realm between Germany and France, and gave sharper and juster definition to the boundaries of each kingdom. The procedure at this time was not only analogous to, it was identical with the practice followed at Verdun both in arrangement of preliminaries and in conclusion.³ "The division was settled with cautious minuteness, and the schedule

¹ See *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Krause, II, 157 f.

² For a clear account of these proceedings, see J. Calmette, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67.

³ See J. Calmette, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-27.

enumerates all the parcels, as a conveyancer would say.”¹ But unlike the treaty of Verdun, we have the whole of the actual text of this partition-treaty in addition to contemporary accounts in the *Annals of St Bertin*, the *Annals of Fulda*, and the *Annals of Regino of Prüm*. But not one word is said in any of them of the use of any language except Latin. There is no evidence of either vernacular, French or German, having been employed, or of the preservation of the instrument in any language except Latin.

Six years later, after Charles the Bald's disastrous defeat at Andernach (October 8, 876) by Ludwig the Young, the brilliant son of the German king, peace was made at Aachen (January 9, 877) by the terms of which Ludwig released the prisoners he had taken in the battle of Andernach, and Charles indemnified in his own kingdom those vassals in German Lorraine who had sustained him and thereby forfeited their fiefs. In these negotiations, and in the final settlement, it is certain that *only Latin and German* were used. Several transcripts in German were made of the document and deposited in local archives, but not a word is said of any transcript in Old French.² Why should Charles and Bald have taken such copies in German unless the provinces north of the Loire which he ruled were prevailingly Germanic in language? This point is strengthened by the fact that we know that the royal capitularies were sometimes translated into German in the ninth century,³ whereas there is no evidence of any capitulary ever having been translated into French.

If the Romance language was already so important in northern Gaul in the middle of the ninth century as scholars have believed, why is there no example of it among all these documents, or even mention of such a thing in the chroniclers? If the *Strassburg Oaths* were important enough in 842 to be preserved in both vernacular languages, why have we positive evidence in other similar documents

¹ Sir F. Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1919), I, 370.

² “*Cuius sacramenti textus theutonica lingua conscriptus in nonnullis locis habetur*,” *Annals of Fulda*, anno 876. Evidently these copies were divided by the kings, each taking several of them.

³ L. Vanderkindere, *op. cit. supra*, p. 211, n. 7. For a “*uersio francica*” see A. Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, 378. Compare Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, 3d ed., III, 623.

of double form that Latin and German, not Latin and French or German and French were used? And why is there no mention at all of either vernacular in the treaty of Meerssen in 870, a really far more important settlement than that at Verdun?

I do not for a moment doubt that, in the words of Gaston Paris, "*Nithard dut avoir les originaux mêmes entre les mains*," but I cannot go so far as he when he continues: "*et cette circonstance triomphe de la répugnance commune à tous les clercs à écrire le patois des illettrés: il les inséra tels quels dans son texte latin.*"¹ It is entirely probable that Nithard was the redactor of the formulas used at Strassburg, but the original form of the oath of Charles the Bald and his *fideles* was in Latin, and I greatly doubt, for the argument advanced, whether any vernacular form '*en roman*' as clearly distinguished from *lingua rustica* then existed. In the ninth century, as we have seen,² Romance speech was not sufficiently prevalent north of the Loire river to make its use necessary, nor was the language yet sufficiently developed to be made the vehicle of expression of legal and political instruments so delicate and so important as those of Strassburg in 842.

"*Il est vrai que Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux ignoraient la langue romane et ne connaissaient que le teulon et le latin; mais de leur temps le roman, peu avancé encore, pouvait passer pour n'être qu'une prononciation barbare et une syntaxe vicieuse de la langue latine qu'un homme de goût devait éviler.*" These words are those of Ferdinand Lot, and I entirely agree; but I find myself unable to go farther with him — when I remember that Charlemagne died in 814 and Louis the Pious in 840 — and believe that: "*néanmoins, l'usage de cet idiome vulgaire devint bientôt tellement indispensable, que Charles le Chauve et même Louis le Germanique durent le parler.*"³ If the first part of this proposition be a true statement, as it undoubtedly is, then the second is impossible. Languages do not spring, they grow. In northern France the time of differentiation of Old French from Vulgar Latin, the time of the beginning of the triumphant overspread of the French tongue, was in the tenth century and not in the ninth. The *Strass-*

¹ *Miscellanea . . . in memoria di N. Caix e U. A. Canello*, p. 83.

² p. 422, *supra*.

³ F. Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, p. 309.

burg Oaths are valuable evidence for the birth of nascent feudalism in France in the ninth century; they are *not* valid evidence for the birth of a romance vernacular in northern France in the ninth century; for the *romana lingua* had not yet emerged there.

The richness of historical evidence in the tenth century in this matter is strikingly in contrast with the poverty of evidence in the ninth century. Hugh Capet was certainly the first king of France who did not understand German and spoke French only.¹ From the time of the Capetians, the kings of Germany, the counts of Flanders, and the dukes of Lorraine, when in France or conferring with the French king, had to use interpreters.²

But what language did the later Carolingians speak? According to Richer, an interview between Charles the Simple and Henry I of Germany near Worms in 920, was broken up by a bloody quarrel which arose between the suites of the two kings over diversity of language.³ But Richer wrote seventy years after this alleged incident. It is significant that Flodoard, who was contemporary, makes no mention of such an event. Neither Eckel in his *Le règne de Charles le Simple*, nor Parisot in *Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*, notices Richer's observation, and it cannot be given any historical weight. In 948 at the council of Ingelheim, where Louis d'Outre-Mer and Otto I of Germany were present, a letter from the Pope, which neither could understand, was translated into German.⁴ But the case of Louis IV is unusual; for he was taken to

¹ Lot, *op. cit.*, 308; Brunot, I, 326.

² See the citation, circa, 1002, made by Thierry, *op. cit.*, 214, note 2, from Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta* (ed. 1725), 591. In the *Chronicon S. Michaelis in pago Viridunensi* (SS. IV, 82) we read that duke Theodoric of Upper Lorraine, a cousin of king Lothar, "*quoniam nouerat eum in responsis acutissimum et linguae Gallicae peritia facundissimum . . .*" etc., which shows that Lothar (†986) spoke French. Ferdinand Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, appendix ii, pp. 308-11, has not noticed this citation. Perhaps he omitted it as of dubious authority since the chronicle was written about 1020.

Kurth's statement, *op. cit.*, pt. ii, 13-14, that "*les Capétiens étaient au moins aussi germaniques que les Carolingiens par l'origine, les Carolingiens étaient au moins aussi romans que les Capétiens par la langue*" is absurd.

³ "*Linguarum idiomate offensi*," Richer, *ed. cit.*, i, 20. Compare Lot, *op. cit.*, 309.

⁴ Ph. Lauer, *Louis d'Outre-Mer*, 182-83; Lot, *op. cit.*, 308; Flodoard, *Annales*, 948. In this time the vernacular was customarily employed in the deliberations of church councils, a fact of interest in the history of mediaeval culture, Lot, *Hugues Capet*, 33, note. Most of the German prelates at the council of Basel in 995 could speak French, *ibid.*, 91. Gerbert, in an

England after his father's captivity in 923 where he was educated at the court of his uncle, Æthelstan, and did not return to France until 936.¹

There can be no doubt of the prevalence of the French tongue over northern France by the middle of the tenth century, when — and not in the ninth century — the German tongue disappeared.² Even as far to the northeast as St Omer, if French did not yet prevail, it was pressing hard upon the Flemish. Lotharingian borderers spoke French and German with equal facility. Archbishop Fulk of Rheims expressed the point of view of a romance-speaking person when, in addressing Pope Formosus in a letter, he described the population in the diocese of Thérouanne (St Omer) as '*barbaricæ feritatis et linguae.*'³

I have endeavored to show the improbability of the western text of the *Strassburg Oaths* having originally been written '*en roman*,' and expressed the opinion that the original form of the *Oaths* was

interesting writing, has cast light upon the spirit and the method of translation then practised, sometimes to translate word for word from one language into another, sometimes to adapt the style to the vigor of thought and the rhetorical effect aimed at in the original. Finally he observes that a single word sometimes will convey a world of meaning. See *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, III, 658 f.; Lot, *Hugues Capet*, 33; J. Havet, *Lettres de Gerbert* (Paris, 1889), pp. xxiv-xxv.

¹ Kurth, *op. cit.*, pt. ii, 10, note 1, explains Louis' familiarity with German by his long residence at the Anglo-Saxon court. More judiciously M. Lauer observes:

"L'allemand ne devait pas être cependant très familier à Louis. Il n'avait pu l'apprendre que depuis son mariage avec Gerberge. L'anglo-saxon qu'il pouvait savoir à cause de son séjour en Angleterre était déjà à cette époque trop éloigné de l'allemand pour qu'on pût, en le connaissant, comprendre un discours en allemand. Nous devons ce renseignement à l'obligeance de M. L. Duvau, directeur des conférences de philologie germanique à l'École des Hautes Études. D'ailleurs on connaissait peut-être le français à la cour d'Æthelstan, car il existe des manuscrits normands écrits en Angleterre avant 1066, et il se pourrait même que Louis eût ignoré l'anglo-saxon (*op. cit.*, 183, note)."

Freeman, *Historical Essays*, 4th ser., p. 224, "The early sieges of Paris," claims that the last Carolingians never spoke anything but German, and calls Laon, their capital, a German town. This is going too far. It is not admissible that Louis IV did not understand French.

² But Vulgar Latin, as distinguished from Old French, seems still to have survived in some quarters, *Hist. litt. de France*, VI, 3. We even find isolated and belated examples of mixed patois and Vulgar Latin as late as 1200, A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, II, No. 1477. "When Teutonic went out of use in Gaul the two remaining languages of the country were two states of the same language. French grew up, but the Latin out of which it sprung was still remembered," Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, V, 555. But the customary name for the new language was not *romana lingua*, but *lingua Gallica*.

³ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, iii, 3.

Latin. Historical conditions in the tenth century lend support to this hypothesis. In the ninth century feudalism was incipient and inchoate; it was in process of formation both as a political system and a social structure. It was not until the tenth century that it began to acquire fixity and to crystallize into a 'system.' Then it was that the compact of lordship and homage, based upon mutual fidelity, began to have form and became established in customary law. Even then the process was of slow development, for the whole era was one of transition. Feudalism had not yet found itself.¹ It was not in the power of the last descendant of Charlemagne to establish political order in the midst of this chaos. But it cannot be truly said that they were either indifferent to the condition or failed to make the endeavor. Under these circumstances the feudal oath acquired an enormous extension and importance in the tenth century. The waning political authority of the kings tried to supplement its weakness by moral obligation and the introduction of 'honor' as a tie of attachment to the crown.²

But the legists and notaries of the tenth century were not only interested in accurately recording these instruments in the vernacular, then everywhere dominant in France — they were legalistically

¹ "L'insubordination et le goût batailleur des Français étaient célèbres dès cette époque. . . Le lien vassalique . . . n'empêchait en rien l'anarchie féodale, mais en théorie il était très fort. . . Il est naturel que les formes survivent aux faits. . . Jusqu'à la fin du règne de Charles le Chauve la royauté garde un semblant d'autorité. Mais ce n'est qu'une façade. Elle s'écroule en 877. . . Depuis lors, la royauté ne tient plus la vassalité dans sa main. . . Elle est désormais la seule force vivante de la société. Mais le roi n'est pas le chef effectif de la hiérarchie des vassaux, ce régime de la vassalité conduit à l'émiettement. . . Si, en fait, l'émiettement n'alla pas du premier coup à l'infini . . . la force de dissolution ne fut que retardée. Les douze ou quinze grandes maisons entre lesquelles se partageait au X^e siècle le territoire de la France Occidentale furent, à leur tour, victimes du même phénomène psychologique qui avait ruiné la royauté au siècle précédent, le détachement du vassal de son seigneur, et leurs vassaux eux-mêmes eurent à subir la même action de la part des arrières-vassaux. . . Les relations vassaliques deviennent réelles, territoriales. . . Si ces obligations n'avaient pas été de bonne heure régularisées, limitées, adoucies, la féodalité eût probablement succombé."

The above paragraph is formed from salient observations of Ferdinand Lot, *Hugues Capet*, pp. 238-45.

² A. Giry has pointedly observed that "*il est remarquable enfin que les plus anciens actes qui nous aient conservé aux X^e et XI^e siècles des mots ou même des phrases de la langue . . . soient précisément des conventions féodales et spécialement des actes d'hommage, c'est-à-dire, des engagements sous la foi du serment, et que les passages en langue vulgaire soient, presque toujours, les termes mêmes qui constituent l'obligation jurée*," *Histoire de diplomatique*, p. 465.

and historically minded enough to search for precedents in the past, and the initial example of such feudal oath, the earliest precedent, was precisely the *Strassburg Oaths*. It is my conviction that it was this search for precedents that for the first time created a keen interest in the *Strassburg Oaths*, and that it was then that these oaths originally recorded by Nithard in Latin were recovered by these lawyers and translated into the vernacular of the tenth century.

We have an astonishing conformation of this hypothesis in actual examples of feudal oaths '*in uulgari lingua*' being translated into formal Latin for official preservation in the archive. When Arnoul, natural son of King Lothar, was required in 989 to take the oath of fidelity to Hugh Capet before qualifying as archbishop of Rheims, the text of the oath of fidelity was in the vernacular. We learn this from Gerbert's account of the proceedings of the council of Saint Basle, which was called two years later to try Arnoul for violation of his oath.¹ A letter of Hugh Capet, written in 990 to Pope John XV in regard to this affair, also sheds light upon the great importance attached to the feudal oath in this time. For Hugh informs the pope that Arnoul is plainly guilty of treason since "*libellum fidelitatis sub nomine chirographi conscripsit, recitauit, corroborauit, corroborarique fecit.*"² Gerbert makes the same point in his letter of self-justification to the bishop of Strassburg — for Gerbert was involved in the affair.³

If the evidence so far adduced holds together and the reasoning has weight, I think it possible to fix with some degree of probability the actual time when the *Strassburg Oaths* in Nithard were translated by some notary or copyist from their original Latin form '*en roman*.' It was during the reign of Charles the Simple (898-923).

¹ Addebat etiam de pactis et constitutis *in uulgari lingua*, *Œuvres de Gerbert*, ed. A. Olleris (Paris, 1867), p. 217. The Latin text of the oath is preserved in the same relation, p. 180, and is reproduced by Richer, *Historia*, iv, 60, showing that Richer had access to the archives of Rheims. It is a great misfortune that the vernacular version of the oath has not also been preserved.

² *Œuvres de Gerbert*, 202.

³ "... acceptis ab eo [Arnulfo] terribilibus sacramentis et libellari professione pro de suis regibus conserranda, quam uita uoce in conuentu ecclesiae recitauit et propria manu subscribendo corroborauit," *Lettres de Gerbert*, ed. Havet, No. 217, pp. 204-05. This interesting evidence is cited by A. Giry, *Histoire de diplomatique*, p. 465, note 2. On p. 466 he shows that vernacular usage was not uncommon in feudal oaths in the Midi in the first half of the tenth century. But the case of Arnoul of Rheims is the earliest met with in the north.

Ever since the partitions of the ninth century, Lorraine has been an object of covetous enterprise on the part of the western Carolingians, and the feudality of that 'middle border' played fast and loose between the kings of the East and the West. In 911 the last of the lineage of Charlemagne in Germany died in the person of Louis the Child, and a non-Carolingian king succeeded to the German throne — Conrad I of Franconia. Charles the Simple was promptly called into Lorraine by the revolted baronage there. From that time forth Lorraine steadfastly remained loyal to Charles for and against all, earlier against Conrad I and his successor, Henry the Fowler, later, against Charles's own rebellious vassal, Robert of Paris (922-23), who dethroned Charles the Simple, and whose violation of his oath of fidelity was an attack upon the fundamental nature of the feudal régime.

Robert of Paris's notorious action gave a new and acute importance to feudal oaths.

Charles in his quality as only survivor of the issue of Charlemagne claimed real rights over Lorraine, where a rich cluster of ancient Carolingian *palatia* were located, such as Aachen, Heristal, Thionville, Gondreville and Metz.¹ Three times Charles blocked the endeavors of Conrad of Germany to recover Lorraine for Germany. More than twenty charters survive signed by Charles in these royal residences.

But the feudality of Lorraine was fickle and untrustworthy. Kingship in the tenth century could barely hold its own against the trespass and defiance of the nobles everywhere.

La fidélité, ce mot qui revient à chaque instant dans les textes, était pour ainsi dire inconnue des hommes de ce temps; presque nulle part, on ne rencontre chez ces rudes batailleurs un attachement sincère, un dévouement loyal à la personne d'un souverain. Le roi, trahi et abandonné à chaque instant par ses vassaux, est réduit à l'impuissance . . . Si l'on observe les rapports qui ont existé entre le roi et les seigneurs féodaux, on est aussitôt frappé du grand nombre de défections et de trahisons dont Charles eut à souffrir. . . . Tous ont trahi et abandonné tour à tour le malheureux Carolingien.²

¹ Cf. Dümmler, *Gesch. d. Ostfränk. Reiches*, III, 587 f.

² A. Eckel, *Charles le Simple* (Paris, 1899), 13-14, 137.

Now the earliest particular example of a feudal oath is that of Strassburg. Is it going too far to reason that Charles the Simple, the only survivor of the race of Charlemagne, in the political welter around him, tried to employ the famous instrument used by his grandfather in 842 in order to hold his kingdom together? I do not think so. On the contrary, I believe that the circumstantial and inferential evidence — for direct evidence fails us — is in favor of this hypothesis.

The question of the copyist or copyists intermediate between Nithard's original manuscript and the manuscript of his *History* which we have, has some bearing upon the hypothesis advanced in this article. Koschwitz thinks *one* copyist to have been between Nithard's original and our present manuscript. Lücking admits *two* copyists; Gaston Paris at first believed the manuscript "*directement transcrit sur l'autographe de Nithard*,"¹ but later changed his mind and admitted the possibility of *three* copyists.² Whether there was one, or there were two or three — and I incline towards the last — however, is not so important as to determine whether the errors in the text of the oath were primarily due to the ignorance or the carelessness of the copyists. Apparently some of the errors are due to momentary lapse of a scribe, some of them to a failure to understand what he was writing. It is difficult to determine the proportions of these two kinds of errors. But it is certain that the original manuscript has suffered greatly. Apparently, one scribe was ignorant of what he was writing, another was careless, while the third seems to have understood the text before him.³

And yet, some of the readings ascribed to ignorance may have primarily risen from the exigencies of the parchment. It is a point which I do not endeavor to resolve as to how far the false division of words and the variant spelling of words in Nithard's text are due to ignorance of the copyists, or copyist, and how far due to the desire of some scribe to save parchment. When two separate words are found run together it may have been owing to a wish to economize

¹ *Romania* XV (1886), 444. Compare Gasté, *op. cit.*, p. 23, note.

² Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, p. 2, note.

³ See the acute observations of E. Muret, *Romania*, XLVII (1921), 422.

space rather than to the scribe's inability to understand what he was copying. For example, if the column or page was narrow, it might have been that an early scribe — when compelled to write a series of short words and in consequence requiring a more than average amount of space — wrote the words so close together that to the careless or ignorant copyist who followed him they seemed to form a single word. Is this the explanation of some of the singular and even baffling combinations we find in the text? Is *ñ lostanit* for *non los tanit*? or *non lo stanit*? or *non l'enfraint*? or *non lo fraint*?¹

I think it is safer to infer that more of the errors in transcription were due to inability of the copyist to understand what they were copying than to carelessness. For the German text of the *Strassburg Oaths* is remarkably accurate. But this at once raises new questions. Did one of the scribes, presumably the first, understand German and not know French or the Vulgar Latin which passed for it in the ninth century? or was the Romance tongue a language as yet insufficiently developed to be the vehicle of expression of so important a political transaction? or was one of the scribes ignorant of German, and so took pains with the German text he was copying, while he was careless about the Romance text because he knew the language?

The remarkable accuracy of the German text is disconcerting to the advocate of an early (ninth-century) Romance speech, unless he is to take refuge in the opinion that the French language developed so rapidly out of Vulgar Latin that a copyist of a later generation was unable to understand the language of a previous generation. But if this be so, why have we so few monuments of so potent and virile a language? I am all the more driven to the conclusion that the text of the *Strassburg Oaths*, as we have it, is of tenth-century origin.

The great formative period of the Old-French language, when it sprang free from Vulgar Latin, was in the tenth and eleventh centuries, not in the ninth. The history of Mediaeval Latin in these centuries — and it must be remembered that Latin was a living language in the Middle Ages, subject to organic changes — may cast light. Now the monkish compiler of the *Cartulaire de St.-Père*, who lived

¹ See Förster and Koschwitz, *Altfrz. Übungsb.*, p. 47, for various proposals.

in the eleventh century, speaks in this wise of charters of the ninth century, which were found in the archives of the Abbé de St Père:

Those words which were used in former time seem to differ somewhat from present usage. For the written rolls of the past now found in our library show that the peasants of that time did not have customs in the matter of revenues which modern rustics in this time are understood to have; nor do the words for things now have the same meaning which the vulgar speech then had. . . . I have found the written record of certain places, of which now the very names have disappeared and are unknown.¹

Lambert of Ardres makes a similar observation in the late twelfth century.² The unknown compiler of the *Chroniques de Saint-Denis* was so puzzled by the German place-names in the text of the treaty of Meerssen (870) that he omitted most of them, for he was unable to Gallicize them.³

I have raised the point as to whether the *original* form of the *Strassburg Oaths* may not have been in Mediaeval Latin, but have deferred examination of the internal evidence afforded by the text as we have it, seeking first to consider the external evidence. There is some ground, on internal evidence also, I think, to argue in favor of an original Latin form of the *Oaths*, as Nithard had the text before him and transcribed it in his history. The preservation of purely Latin phrases in the text has struck many commentators, but it has not been so clear to many that these phrases are technical legal terms which reflect the Carolingian capitularies, e.g., "*in damno sit . . . sicut frater fratri per rectum facere debet . . . sicut uersus frater uero fratri per rectum esse debet.*" Perhaps we have other evidence of an original Latin base for the *Oaths* in the position of the verbs *dunat* and *conseruat*, as in Latin, when the writer is not

¹ Ea quae primo (uerba) . . . a praesenti usu admodum discrepare uidentur; nam rolli conscripti ab antiquis et in armario nostro nunc reperti, habuisse minime ostendunt illius temporis rusticos has consuetudines in redditibus quos moderni rustici in hoc tempore dinoscuntur habere; neque habent uocabula rerum quas tunc sermo habebat uulgaris. . . . Quaedam loca scripta inueni, quorum nunc nomina ita sunt abolita, et innotata. Cited by B. Guérard, *Prolég., Polyptique d'Irminon* (Paris, 1844), p. 502.

² *Chronicon Ghisnense et Ardense* (918-1203), c. 137.

³ Maintes autres villes et citéz ne sont pas ici nommées, pour ce que les noms sont en langue Thyoyse, où l'on ne peut assigner propre François. Cited by Palgrave, *op. cit.* 1, 370.

influenced by any special intention to change the structure of the sentence. Our great incertitude as to the nature of both Vulgar Latin and the earliest French makes one wonder when and to what degree Vulgar Latin had to be broken down and to lose its genius in order to become transformed into French. We find *saluarai* from the fusion of *saluare* with the auxiliary *habeo*, and *prindrai* from *prehendere* + *habeo*. But was such combination made so early as 842? The *Ste Eulalie*, which is certainly at least fifty years later still, has *Deus satisfacere habet*, with the sense of futurity. Again can *om* or *pois* be possible before at least the tenth century? I doubt it. Or *dreit*, even if we do find *drictum* in 802? ¹ Or *fazet*, when the *Chanson de Roland*, v. 750, still has *facet*? Or *dist* (*decet*)? *Decet* would give *dist* as *decem* has given *dix*. But then *decet* must by this time have lost its Latin construction. Nor can I believe that the form "Ab Ludher" in the sense of later *avec* (= *apud hoc* = *ap* + *hoc*, or *ab* + *hoc*, whence *avoec* = *avec*) can have been ninth-century linguistic usage.

Evidence like this, it seems to me, argues for an original Latin base for the text of the *Strassburg Oaths*, and point to later conversion of the text into French. With the exception of proper-names there is no word in the text which is not Latin or a Latin derivative. The Romance language of the ninth century in northern France assuredly "did not shake itself clear of Latin," ² to use Mr Paget Toynbee's phrase, so rapidly as is often supposed.

It is beyond the province of this article to discuss the text of the *Strassburg Oaths* linguistically; yet perhaps I may be justified in making some observations in the nature of historical criticism of the various suppositions advanced in regard to the dialect thereof. Almost every linguistic criterion has been applied by one scholar and another to elucidate the text, yet without avail. It is as E. Muret admits: "*L'on est prêt à confesser que tous nos raisonnements sur ce texte ne sont que des tâtonnements dans les ténèbres.*" ³ Suchier, following a suggestion of Meyer-Lübke, has argued that the dialect

¹ E. Baluze, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, 377.

² Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, p. 1.

³ *Romania*, XLVII (1921), 426.

is that of the Lyonnaise.¹ But a fatal argument against this hypothesis is that it can be historically shown that the Lyonnaise was strongly against Charles and politically in favor of Lothar. Koschwitz has endeavored to identify the dialect as Poitevin, to which Gaston Paris has objected on philological grounds. And here, again, it can be historically demonstrated that Charles the Bald's following in this quarter was negligible. Gaston Paris, who was an historian as well as a philologist, with better judgment has expressed his opinion in favor of the dialect in the vicinity of Pontieu.² Diez thought the dialect to be Walloon.³ Brunot thinks it probably Picard, as did DuCange in the seventeenth century and Bonamy in the eighteenth.

When experts in linguistics so widely disagree, perhaps one who is not a philologist but an historian, may venture to make a suggestion. It is significant that the political adviser of Charles the Simple was Richard, duke of Burgundy,⁴ and that his death in 921 coincides with the beginning of the troubles which culminated in Charles's ruin. Is there a possibility that the *Strassburg Oaths* are cast in the Burgundian dialect, to which the dialects of East Champagne and Lorraine have affiliations? As we have seen, Charles the Simple had a strong party in Lorraine and deep interests, political and economic, there. In fact, as his itinerary shows, most of his life was spent in Burgundy and Lorraine.⁵

¹ *Festgabe für Wendelin Foerster*, 199. Cf. *Romania*, XXXI (1902), 615 f. Suchier is gravely in error when he says that Charles the Bald habitually spoke French. The evidence is heavily against such a proposition. Suchier has misread Lot's *Les derniers Carolingiens*, pp. 308 f.

² Cf. *Miscellanea . . . in memoria di Caix e Canello*, p. 77. Gaston Paris in this article admits a very significant doubt. He seems to have had some misgivings of Nithard's authorship, for he writes: "*Si cependant on admet que Nithard en fut l'auteur*," etc. When I came upon that sentence, it gave me encouragement and refreshment, for it shows that a very great scholar harbored a sense of doubt and uncertainty about the text of the *Strassburg Oaths*, although M. Paris never pursued his thought any farther.

³ But in Walloon *a* before a nasal, when preceded by *i*, yields *ie*, as in the word *Christien*, according to Suchier, *Festgabe Mussafia*, p. 664, who advances this as evidence of the Walloon origin of the *Ste Eulalie*, the *St Léger*, and the homily on *Jonas*. In Nithard, however, this word is spelled *Christian*, and misspelling of such a word would be least likely. Thus it seems to me that the dialect of the *Strassburg Oaths*, independently of historical reasons, cannot be Walloon.

⁴ *Ipsæ namque uixit, Carolo regi semper fidelis exstitit*, *Chron. S. Benigni Div.* 921. Cf. Eckel, *op. cit.*, 58-59, 65-66, 70 and especially 116.

⁵ See Eckel, *op. cit.*, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 24, 94, 97, 118, 119.

Mere textual criticism cannot solve the riddle of the *Strassburg Oaths*. The weakness of much of the criticism so far applied is that it is too purely linguistic; the commentators have had insufficient historical knowledge. This appears in Koschwitz's and Lücking's theory of a Poitevin dialect and in Meyer-Lübke's and Suchier's theory of a Lyonnaise dialect. The *historical* facts are destructive of these hypotheses. On the other hand, the historical, i.e. political facts, are in favor of a Burgundo-Lotharingian dialect. Linguistics, palaeography, textual criticism, and history hang together in almost every intricate and difficult problem in mediaeval history, but this is a lesson which both historians and philologists have been slow to learn. When they are combined, new values may appear and old things become new.

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NOTES

'TABLES' IN MEDIAEVAL CHURCHES

TEN years ago, while discussing the curious fifteenth-century legend of St Wulfhad and St Ruffin, I called attention¹ to the 'table' on which it is said to have been written. In the following year I considered the matter in more detail,² incidentally correcting one or two minor misstatements, and gathering what evidence I could find with regard to the mural display of verse. The legend,³ I may recall, came from Stone Priory, an Augustinian house in Staffordshire, and was originally "written in a table" on the epistle side of the choir in the priory church. Near it was another "table," recounting the foundation of the house and its benefactors down to the time of Henry IV, the verses on which by good fortune have been preserved in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.⁴ Across the choir was another table, which seems to have been inscribed with the names of the lords who followed William I from Normandy.

Although I found reference in an inventory of St George's, Windsor, from 1384, of a *tabula lignea stans super parvum altare in parte boreali, ex opposito summo altari, cum platis et imaginibus cupreis deauratis, continens passionem S. Georgii*,⁵ I was unable to understand the nature of a 'table' large enough to contain a set of verses running to three hundred and eighty-two lines, which is the length of *St Wulfhad and St Ruffin*. Another inscription of twenty-nine stanzas in rhyme royal, which appears to have served as a guide to the tombs in Wirklesop Priory, Nottinghamshire, is also preserved in Dugdale.⁶

Doubtless I ought to have discovered, though I failed to do so, references to the 'magna tabula' of Glastonbury, of which a description may be found in the very interesting and valuable little volume just published by Dean Robinson of Wells.⁷ This Glastonbury table, preserved in Naworth Castle, "told in full the stories of St. Joseph of Arimathea and of King Arthur, of St. Patrick and his charter, of the translation of St. Dunstan, and much

¹ *Saints' Legends* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), pp. 273-5.

² "The Legend of St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin at Stone Priory," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XXXII (1917), 323-337.

³ Ed. C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, N. F. (Henninger, 1881), pp. 308-314, from MS. Cotton Nero, C. xii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 1364.

⁴ Ed. 1846, VI, 230-1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 122-124.

⁷ J. Armitage Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends: King Arthur and St. Joseph of Arimathea* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1926), pp. 41-2.

besides." According to the elaborate account of it by Mr J. A. Bennett,¹ quoted by Dean Robinson:

It was a folding wooden frame, 3 ft. 8 in. in height, and 3 ft. 6 in. in breadth when opened flat, containing two wooden leaves somewhat smaller, so that they may fold within the outer case when closed, like the pages of a book. All the six interior faces are covered with MS written upon parchment affixed to the surface of the wood. There are three pairs of nail holes in the upper, and four pairs in the lower edges of the frame, upon the left hand only. These seem to show that it was affixed to a wall in such a way that it might be opened out as a book. The whole MS takes up about sixty pages, clearly written, of ordinary exercise book size.

The 'magna tabula' thus explains very clearly how such inscriptions as those from Stone Priory, Windsor, and Wirklesop Priory were displayed for the benefit of visitors. Dean Robinson remarks that the Glastonbury inscription appears to have been taken from John of Glastonbury's *History*, except for the closing section. He reproduces, I may add, the photograph provided by Mr Bennett. My excuse for this note is the probability that similar tables were not uncommon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The existence of them, it seems to me, should be known to mediaevalists generally, as may well not be the case.

¹ *Somersetshire Archaeological Society's Proceedings*, XXXIV (1888), 117 ff.

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A NOTE ON THE SCHOOL PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN IN ENGLAND

THE *Brevissima Institutio*, a portion, usually with a separate title-page, of that composite work known as *Lily's Latin Grammar*, offers some interesting remarks on the school pronunciation of Latin in England. The pertinent section, *de Orthoepia* (foll. A3^r-A4^r), is here reprinted from the Huth copy in the British Museum, of which the title-page reads: *Brevissima/Institutio/ seu Ratio/Grammatices/cognoscendæ, ad omnium/puerorum utilitatem præscripta, quam solum Re/gia Maiestas in omnibus/Scholis proficendam/præcipit./ Excusum Lon-/dini, per assignatio-/nem Francisci/Floræ./ M. D. LXXXVI.* The text itself, apart from the title-page, does not appear to differ from other copies there of 1577 and 1602. The *Brevissima Institutio* is not included in the reprint of *Lily's Grammar* by Dr S. Blach (*Jahrb. d. deutschen Sh.-ges.*, XLIV (1908), 65-117; XLV (1909), 51-100). On its history Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 243 ff., remarks: "It is not certain when it was first issued, but it was in existence by 1574." The passage quoted from John Hart below testifies

to its existence in 1569. See also J. H. Lupton, *A Life of Dean Colet* (London, 1887), pp. 21–39.

DE ORTHOEPIA.

Orthographiæ affinis est Orthoëpia, hoc est, emendatè rectèque loquendi ratio. Ab *ὀρθος* rectus, & *ἔπος* verbum.

Hic in primis curandum est, vt præceptores tenera ac balbutientia puerorum ora sic effingant & figurent, ne vel continua linguæ volubilitate ita fermonem præcipitent, vt nusquam, nisi vbi spiritus deficit, orationem claudant: vel contrà, ad singulas quasque voces longa interpiratione confilecant, ructu, rifu, fingultu, fcreatu, vel tussi, fermonis tenorem ineptè dirimentes.

Cæterum ante omnia deterrendi sunt pueri ab ijs vitijs, quæ nostro vulgo penè propria esse videntur, cuiusmodi sunt, Iotacismus, Lambdacismus, Ichnotes, Traulifimus, Plateasmus, & familia.

Iotacismus dicitur quando I litera, pleniore sono, & supra iustum decorem extenditur: quo vitio ex nostratibus maximè laborant Angli septentrionales.

Lambdacismus, est vbi quis L nimis operosè sonat: vt Ellucet, pro elucet. Sauluus, pro saluus. Nostrati vulgo diuersum vitium impingitur, nempe quòd hanc literam pinguiùs iusto pronunciant, dum

pro	{ Multus, Mollis, Falsus, }	auditur	{ Moultus Moolis. Faulfus.
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Ichnotes, est quædam loquendi exilitas, quoties syllabas aliquas exiliùs & graciliùs enunciamus quàm per est: vt cùm

pro	{ Nunc, Tunc, Aliquis, Alius, }	proferimus,	{ Nync, Tync, Eliquis, Elius.
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Traulifimus, est, hæsitantia quædam aut titubantia oris, quando eadem syllaba sæpiùs repetitur: vt Cacacanit, pro canit. Tututullius, pro Tullius.

Huic vitio vt fœdissimo, ita & periculossimo, sic succurrendum putat Fabius: si exigatur à pueris, vt nomina & versus affectatæ difficultatis, ex plurimis & asperimis inter se coëuntibus syllabis concatenatis, ac velut confragosis, quàm citissimè voluant: vt *Arx, tridens, rostris, sphinx, præster, torrida, seps, strix*.

—postquam discordia tetra
Belli ferratos postes, portasque refregit.

Plateasmus, est quando crassius & voce plusquàm virili loqui nitimur: vt cùm

pro	{ Montes, Fontes, Pontes, }	efferimus,	{ Mountes, Fountes, Pountes. }
Vt etiam pro	{ Ergo, Sperma, Perago, }	efferimus,	{ Argo, Sparma, Parago.

Sunt & alibi apud nostrates, qui pro V consonante sonant F : & contrà, V pro F : vt

	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Folo,} \\ \text{Fis,} \\ \text{Folui,} \\ \text{Felle,} \end{array} \right\} \text{ pro } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Volo,} \\ \text{Vis,} \\ \text{Volui,} \\ \text{Velle.} \end{array} \right\}$	
Et rursum,	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Vero,} \\ \text{Vers,} \\ \text{Verre,} \end{array} \right\} \text{ pro } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Fero,} \\ \text{Fers,} \\ \text{Ferre.} \end{array} \right\}$	

S, verò mediam inter duas vocales corruptè fonant nonnulli.

pro	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Læfus,} \\ \text{Vifus,} \\ \text{Rifus,} \end{array} \right\} \text{ pronunciantes, } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Læzus.} \\ \text{Vizus.} \\ \text{Rizus.} \end{array} \right\}$
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H, in initio dictionis leniùs, in medio asperiùs enunciari volunt: malè ergò

pro	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Homo,} \\ \text{Hamus,} \\ \text{Humus,} \\ \text{Chrifthus,} \\ \text{Crihſma,} \\ \text{Chremes,} \\ \text{Thus,} \\ \text{Diphthongus,} \\ \text{Sphæra,} \end{array} \right\} \text{ efferimus, } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Omo,} \\ \text{Amus,} \\ \text{Vmus,} \\ \text{Criftus,} \\ \text{Crifma,} \\ \text{Cremes.} \\ \text{Tus,} \\ \text{Diptōgus,} \\ \text{Spæra.} \end{array} \right\}$
-----	---

Fœdè quoque erratur à noſtris, vbi t, & d, tanquam aspiratas pronunciant:

vt	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Amath,} \\ \text{Caputh,} \\ \text{Apuh,} \end{array} \right\} \text{ pro } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Amat,} \\ \text{Caput,} \\ \text{Apud.} \end{array} \right\}$
----	--

At innumera penè funt huius generis vitia, quæ bonarum literarum candidatis, & præceptorum diligentiae emendanda relinquimus.

It is not necessary to discourse at length on all the faults here held up for correction — in general the result of an English, possibly in part a French, type of pronunciation, as opposed to a theoretical type based on spelling. One or two points, however, deserve remark.

Under *Plateasmus* appears the basis of Shakespeare's *argal* (*Ham.* V, i. 12 ff.) and *argo* (*2 Hen.* 6, IV, ii, 31) for *ergo*; likewise of such a rhyme as Skelton's

As it is *res certa*
Conteyned in *Magna charta*.
(*Colyn Cloute*, vv. 720–21.)

Of the fault of turning final *t* into *th*, John Hart in his *Orthographie* (1569, fol. N4^r) speaks as if it were already an old one,¹ “as is plainly said in the orthography of the grammar, which notwithstanding I fear me some of mine elders being brought up therein will think they cannot speak better now then they did when they were young, especially that which they

¹ Cf. O. Jespersen, *John Hart's Pronunciation of English* (*Angl. Forsch.* Hf. 22), pp. 25–26.

Day of
California

S aliter ut nūquam . pellexerit inde sitū
P ost quā nullū uir tūscidit ad mouēdū
I ndignata noua calliclitatē dolos .
N ābreuī aquā īmer si adre fecerit pōllis .
P otendit facile pōbit unda uia
T ribus hec docuit quī sapientia manu
Q uaeceptū uolūcrū expli cūssē op .

Versus 7 iuueno .

I elareculam dedignatq iuueno
A spā mordaci sub sedere collaugo .
R ustinū obliqua succiden cor nūa falci
C redidit infanū defrenū se petiū
C autis rīnūso ē uicē inec trauit
N āq erat hic cor nū pōmāior atq pede
S ilicet ut longo piberet ū hū tēmo
N eue hic tū facile singulū cūider
S ed post quā itto de hac tū uincula collo
I nmeriā uicio cūcā fatigat hūmū
Cōtinua eū sā pedibz disp gū tēnā
Q uā ferus in hū oīa sequentis agit

no . xviii
AVIANUS

learned in the grammar school." The fault appears to be as old as Skelton's time:

Ma gni fi cat
Shewe me the ryght path.
(*Phyllyp Sparowe*, vv. 245-46).

If this trick of the schools was practised in Chaucer's day, it would serve, in the description of the Sumnor, to make a good rhyme of what has generally been regarded as a rather desperate makeshift:

For curs wol slee, right as assoilling saveth —
And also war him of a *significavit*.
(*C. T.*, A 661-62)

One would expect the *Brevissima Institutio* to say something about a type of pronunciation that produced such rhymes as Skelton's

Ecce, sacerdos, magnus
that will hed vs and hange vs.
(*Why come ye not to Courte?* vv. 1150-51)

as well as the English rhyme *kyng: benygne* (*Erle of Northumberlande*, vv. 167-68). Something like it seems to be noted in William Bullokar's *Booke at Large* (London, 1580): "The ingnorant mangnifie the ingnominious" (in reprint by Max Plessow, *Palaestra* LII (1906), 276).

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AN ANGULAR FORM OF A RARE ABBREVIATION FOR '-S'

SOME years ago L. Delisle¹ published a note upon the ordinary form of the abbreviation for *-us* when employed to designate not *-us* but only *-s*, supplementing his own collections by those of DeVries and Traube.² The phenomenon was found to occur principally, but not exclusively, in manuscripts written in northern France from the eleventh to the thirteenth century.

I have observed a further variation upon this symbol in a Leyden manuscript, Vossianus Latinus O.89, *saec.* xi-xii, of French origin, at one time in the Petau library, and containing Cato, Avianus, Homerus Latinus, and Theodulus.³

¹ "De l'Emploi du Signe abbreviatif *o* à la Fin des Mots," *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LXVII (1906), 591-2.

² Fifteen manuscripts are there listed, nine by Traube and three each by Delisle and DeVries.

³ This manuscript has been used and partially described and discussed by L. Müller, *Neue Jahrbücher*, LXXXV (1862), 729-32; E. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores* (Leipzig, 1881), III, 6; F. Vollmer, "Zum Homerus Latinus," *Sitzungsber. der Münchener Akad.*, 1913, 8; M. Boas, *Mnemos*, XL (1914), 28; 31 f. Müller dates it *saec.* xii-xiii, Vollmer *saec.* xi, Baehrens, Molhuysen, and Beeson, the last named from photographs only, *saec.* xii.

The details of the actual employment of the symbol in the form 7 may be summarized as follows:

1a. Above a letter it ordinarily stands for *-s*. 1,3 *credul^u* = *credulus*; 1,4 *for^e* = *fores*, etc. Instances of this use occur in almost every line. It is interesting to observe that a late corrector (possibly in the fourteenth century) misunderstood the sign and wrote in an *s* after the final letter; thus at 19,1; 20,1; 25,14 (*bis*); 26,3 (*ter*); 28,3 and 8, etc. Double *s* is written thus: 1,13 *p^oset* = *posset*, etc.

b. Occasionally, however, it stands for *-us*: 1,3 *lu^p* = *lupus*; 4,10 *sin^u* = *sinus*; 9,8 *on^u* = *onus*; 11,5 *mo^t* = *motus*; 19,5 *cor^p* = *corpus*; 20,4 *uulⁿ* = *uulnus*; 27,10 *op^u* = *opus*. After the letter *b* it is written on the line: 4,1 *feb⁷* = *febus*; 16,1 *Montib⁷* = *Montibus*, etc. See below under 2a.

c. Rarely it stands for *-m* (although a waving horizontal stroke above the letter is the sign ordinarily employed): 19,11 *quid^e* = *quidem*, and so probably 19,5 *deduct^u* = *deductum*, and 35,8 *contēpt^u* (*sic*) = *contemptum*; for these are the endings required by the context.

d. Twice it stands for *-is*: Epistle 27 (Froehner) *anim^u* = *animis*, and 18,13 *acerb^u* = *acerbis*, where no other form is possible.

2a. On the line it stands for *-us*: 4,1 *feb⁷* = *febus*; 5,14 *umberib⁷* (*sic*) = *umberibus* (for *uerberibus*); 16,1 *Montib⁷* = *Montibus*; 23,7 *mercib⁷* = *mercibus*; 32,9 *uirib⁷* = *uiribus*.

b. Occasionally it represents *-ue* after *q*: 1,13 *q⁷* = *que* (*bis*); 2,9 *q⁷irt* = *querit*; 7,15 *q⁷* = *que*, etc. Sometimes, however, the beginning of the horizontal stroke has a slight hook when the symbol is used in this sense, thus in 20,14 *queritur*; 22,7 *queque*; 22,18 *inuidieque*, etc.

c. At least once it stands for *-et*: 21,7 *proib⁷* (*sic*) = *proibet* (for *prohibet*). The very similar symbol for *et*, as in tit. 16; tit. 25; tit. 26; 26,6; tit. 28, etc., differs only in having a club or hook at bottom of the down-stroke.

The text of Avianus and of the Homerus Latinus is badly interpolated, and in Avianus, at least, full of blunders in spelling; so that the attempt to institute a sort of general symbol of abbreviation, if original with the author of this manuscript, can hardly have had back of it any sound scholarship, and is, therefore rather to be regarded as a personal vagary in one of the less famous scriptoria.¹

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¹ In matters of content and text our manuscript is closely related to Laur. lxviii, 28, *saec.* xi, which latter is probably connected with Fleury, but this fact throws little if any light upon its immediate origin.

YET ANOTHER NOTE IN REPLY TO A FURTHER NOTE ON A NOTE

THE interesting case of Giraldus Cambrensis, adduced by Professor Haskins in SPECULUM, I, 221, would not seem to have been a ceremonious public recital in quite the same sense as those described from the thirteenth century. Although Giraldus uses the phrase *solemniter recitata*, he does not claim to have been crowned with the laurel or otherwise officially approved. The reading of the *Topographia Hibernica* appears to have been arranged entirely on his own initiative,¹ and he received his audience at his hostel, whereas Buoncompagni, at least, recited his work in the cathedral. Giraldus, moreover, invited "the doctors of the different faculties" only to the reading of the second distinction of his work which took place on the second day. Indeed, in another passage which Professor Haskins does not cite,² Giraldus states that the envious attacks upon his *Topographia* were limited to the first and third distinctions,³ with which he had entertained "all the poor of the whole town,"⁴ and the less distinguished students, together with knights, townsmen, and burghers. He does not mention any high dignitaries individually as present at any of the readings. If, however, his recitals were more informal and promiscuous than either strictly public or private, possibly they may be of the more importance as showing us in embryo a practice that soon became better regulated.

Another example of the public reading of a new work in a mediaeval university was when Henry of Mondeville read his *Surgery* at Paris "in the schools" before "a very large and most noble company of students in medicine and of intellectuals."⁵ But here we may have a closer approach to a lecture course than in our other examples, although the presence of others than students of medicine suggests a special occasion. There is still another point on which I would supplement my original note. It is a rather remarkable coincidence that one of the three authors named as giving these public recitals should have received his doctorate at the hands of another of the

¹ This may have been the case with the thirteenth-century readings, but it does not appear on the surface.

² *Expugnatio Hibernica, Opera*, V, 209.

³ *Idem*: "Scholastici stili elegantiae omnium unica laus est, et uniformis: primae Distinctioni et tertiæ livor, contra naturam in laudem erumpens, oblatrare tam verecundatur quam veretur."

⁴ Rashdall interpreted this as referring to "poor scholars."

⁵ "Cum scholarium in medicina et aliquorum intelligentium maxima et nobilissima comitiva": quoted by the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXVII (1881), 328, from Latin MS. No. 7139 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fol. 133.

three. Rolandinus of Padua so received the doctoral laurel in 1221 from Buoncompagni.¹

Turning to other points raised by Professor Haskins, I feel that he has put an interpretation upon my note which it will not bear, in stating that I "appear to argue that history was taught at the University of Padua since Rolandinus read an historical treatise there in 1262." But where did even a vernacular writer of the thirteenth century, like Jean de Meun, get his knowledge of the past? From private reading perhaps. Then why in the *Roman de la Rose*, after Reason has listed an inordinate number of historical examples,² does she reprove the lover for having forgotten his "Homer" and the other books he has studied?³ Does this not suggest that history had a certain place in mediaeval education, although perhaps in connection with or under the cover of "grammar" and other subjects, and perhaps even in grammar schools before the student went on to a university? Giraldus suggests a similar association of his *Topographia* with the field of grammar and rhetoric, or Latin literature, by asserting that his recital revived "the ancient times of the poets."

In regard to the question by Professor Haskins about the teaching of geography, in the first place I doubt if geography is the main theme of the *Topographia*. Its primary interest seems rather to be in marvels of natural history and miracles. Surely neither of these was wholly excluded from mediaeval instruction. In this connection it may be worth noting that

¹ "Certo è che Rolandino da Padova ricevette da lui nel 1221 la laurea dottorale; ciò che dimostra come Buoncompagno avesse ripreso l'antico posto fra i maestri dello Studio": A. Gaudenzi, *Sulle opere dei dettatori bolognesi*, in *Istituto Storico Italiano, Bullettino*, XIV, (Roma, 1895), 111.

² Cf. ed. E. Langlois, vv. 6412-6776.

³ In the English translation by F. S. Ellis the lover is specifically said to have studied history:

'Fore God I count it shame to thee
That, having studied history,
Thou ne'ertheless hast clean forgot
Examples which thou well shouldst wot (vv. 7159-62);

but this seems unsupported by the French text which, in Langlois's edition (Vol. III, 1921), runs as follows:

D'autre part, je tieng a grant honte,
Puis que tu sez que letre monte,
Et qu'a estudier te couvient,
Quant il d'Homer ne te souvient,
Puis que tu l'as estudié;
Mais tu l'as, ce semble, oublié.
Et n'est ce peine vaine et vuide?
Tu mez es livres ton estuide,
Et tout par négligence oublies!
Que vaut quanque tu estudies (vv. 6777-86).

the tale of the toad and the emerald in one of the works of Albertus Magnus on the Aristotelian natural philosophy¹ is anticipated by a similar story recounted by Giraldus (*Topographia Hibernica*, I, xxxi) of a toad which was unable to cross a leathern thong from Ireland with which it was encircled, and escaped only by retiring to the center of the ring and burrowing into the earth. As for geography in a stricter sense of the word, it would certainly seem to have been taught to some extent in mediaeval schools. For the Franciscan, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, who lectured both at Paris and in the school of his Order at Magdeburg, devoted to physical and political geography the fourteenth and fifteenth books of his *de Proprietatibus Rerum*, a work which seems to have been intended and to have served as a text-book.²

¹ *De veget. et plantis*, vi, 2, 1; or see my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 546-7.

² See my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 402-3, 405-6, 424-5.

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IOANNES SARESBERIENSIS SILLABIZAT

IN A witty little passage at the expense of lawyers John of Salisbury comments on their ability to ensnare the unwary in nooses of words and syllables. He declares that simple-minded folk are lost if they learn not this art of 'syllabizing.' His words are:

Sed et leges ipsae et consuetudines quibus nunc uiuitur, insidiae sunt et laquei calumpniantium. Uerborum tendiculae proponuntur et aucupationes sillabarum; uae simplici qui *sillabizare* non nouit!¹

Part of his wit John owes to Cicero. As is well known he bequeathed a copy of *de Officiis* and *de Oratore* to the cathedral library at Chartres.² The books are not found among those treasured in the library at Chartres today. Certainly, however, as Mr Webb has made clear, John knew both of these works of Cicero and used them abundantly in his works. It has apparently escaped Mr Webb's attention that the passage quoted above is inspired by Cicero's remarks in *de Oratore*, i, 55, 236:

Ita est tibi iuris consultus ipse per se nihil nisi leguleius quidam cautus et acutus, praeco actionum, cantor formularum, auceps syllabarum; sed quia saepe utitur orator subsidio iuris in causis, ideo istam iuris scientiam eloquentiae tamquam ancillulam pedisequamque adiunxisti.

¹ *Policraticus*, V, 16. The italics are mine.

² *Ioannis Saresberiensis . . . Policraticus siue de Nugis Curialium et Uestigii Philosophorum libri VIII*, ed. . . . C. C. I. Webb (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), I, xxix.

Despite all that has been done, it might be profitable to read through John of Salisbury again with Cicero particularly in mind. He knew his ancients well and imitated them in an original—one might as well call it a modern—way. In the present instance he has enriched Mediaeval Latin with a new word, a little arrow of sarcasm for the target of the Law: ‘to syllabize.’

E. K. RAND.

LIBER DE COLORIBUS: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

WITH reference to the date and provenance of the *Liber de Coloribus Illuminatorum siue Pictorum*, from MS. Sloane 1754, which appeared in the third number of *SPECULUM*,¹ Mr Sydney C. Cockerell of the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, England) has kindly sent me the following significant comment: “I should date the script at not far from 1300,” he writes, “and so would Mr Eric Millar of the British Museum, who has looked at the original MS before giving an opinion, whereas I have only looked at the facsimile. Mr Millar adds that he takes it to be English.”

The following notes in the same hand as the principal text appear at the foot of folios 146v and 147r respectively (a third note, at the foot of 149r, I have not yet fully interpreted).

Cementum optimum ad coniungendum marmoreas lapides. Accipe caseum salsum non nimis antiquatum et cinde in minuta frusta et pone in aquam frigidam per quattuor uel quinque horas ad temperandum. Deinde accipe calcem uiuam et extingue eam cum predicta aqua, et mole calcem cum illo caseo super marm(o)-rem ad spissitudinem congruam, et cum illo butimine siue cemento, unge utrumque lapidem et simul coniunge, et inseparabiliter adherebunt. fol. 146 v.

Aqua de ungulis equorum ut uitrum non frangatur. Accipe ungulam equi et scinde minutius, et pone in distillatorio et distilla inde aquam, in qua aqua uitrum multociens calefactum extingatur, et tunc liquefac et fac inde sublimatoria et distillatoria et cetera uasa necessaria. fol. 147 r.

The editing of the *Liber de Coloribus* was carried out under some pressure of haste, and the text contains a regrettable array of minor errors. The purpose of the present note is to repair such faults in the published text as have come to my attention, and to this end I have been greatly aided by the action of Mr Charles Johnson, of the Public Records Office in London, who has had the goodness to volunteer a careful list of corrigenda, based upon his collation of my transcript with the original manuscript in the British Museum. Mr Johnson's list overlaps to some extent a similar memorandum which I had already placed in the hands of the editors of *SPECULUM*, and in which were included several corrections which he does not note. But his independent collation has brought to light a number of

¹ *Speculum*, I (1926), 280 ff.

additional discrepancies, and these are indicated in the following paragraph by Mr Johnson's initials (C. J.).

In the Latin text: p. 282, line 8, read *dimittendum quousque aqua possit clara eici* (C. J.); p. 282, line 9, *inluminari*, cod. *inlluminari*; p. 282, line 21, for *nigrum* read *nigra* (C. J.); p. 282, line 30, C. J. reads *extraccisti* for *extractisti*; ¹ p. 282, line 31, delete semicolon after *extracto* and add comma; p. 284, line 6, for *deque* read *debet* (C. J.); p. 284, line 9, for *alumem* read *alumen* ² (C. J.); p. 284, line 34, for *carominius* read *carominus* (C. J.); p. 284, line 36, for *noua(m)* read *nouam*; p. 286, line 7, for *uero suppones*, read *enim superpones* (C. J.); p. 286, line 14, for *sed* read *set* (C. J.); p. 286, line 19, C. J. notes that "*Uel aliter* is rubricated for the beginning of a new paragraph"; ³ p. 286, line 21, add *et* before *uide*; p. 286, line 39, *quam*, cod. *qua* (C. J.); p. 288, line 2, for *similiter* read *similliter*; p. 288, line 5, for *bonum* read *bene* (C. J.); p. 288, line 6, for *spissi* read *spisci*, delete colon after *spissi*, add colon after *sunt*; p. 290, line 11, for *uiride* read *uiridi* (C. J.); p. 290, line 21, delete colon after *clari*, add colon after *sunt*; p. 290, line 22, for *Grecum* read *Gretum*; p. 290, line 33, for *Carominium* read *Carominum* (C. J.); p. 290, line 36, delete note reference ⁽¹⁾ after *maptizabis*; p. 290, line 37, add note reference ⁽¹⁾ after *maptizabis*; p. 292, line 3, for *maptiza* read *maptizabis*; p. 292, line 25, *medium*, cod. *mediium* with punctum delens under last stroke (cf. *alumen*, p. 284, line 9 *supra*); p. 294, line 21, for *Greco* read *Greto*, for *Grecum* read *Gretum*; p. 294, line 30, for *sigilla bis* read *sigillabis*; p. 296, line 9, for *olam* read *ollam*; p. 296, line 34, for *de quedam* read *de quadam* (C. J.); p. 298, line 8, for *oleum, aquam* read *oleum et aquam*; p. 298, line 21, read *scripturis atque picturis* (C. J.); p. 298, for footnote, substitute "Error for *grana*?" ; p. 300, line 13, for *sepe* read *scilicet* (C. J.); p. 300, line 24, for *eas* read *eos*; p. 302, line 7, for *minimum* read *minium*; p. 302, line 8, for *Hyspanie* read *Hy(s)panie* (C. J.); p. 302, line 15, add commas after *uirideum* and *album*, and delete comma after *plumbum*; p. 302, line 23, *crocei*, cod. *crociei* with punctum delens under the first i; p. 302, line 25, for *tertio* read *tercio*; p. 302, line 29, delete semicolon after *flat* and add commas after *flat* and *est*; p. 304, line 5, for *sed* read *set* (C. J.); p. 304, lines 12, 16, 26, for *pertrahes*, *pertrahe*, read *protrahes*, *protrahe* (C. J.); p. 304, lines 16-17, *positurum*, cod. *positurus*.

In the English translation: p. 283, line 8, read *aside until the water can be poured off clear*; p. 283, line 32, for *remove* read *removed*; p. 285, line 7,

¹ The similarity in form between the letters *c* and *t* in this manuscript renders the reading of this combination ambiguous.

² Cod. *alumem* with punctum delens under the last stroke (cf. *medium*, p. 292, line 25, *infra*).

³ A line seems to have been drawn through these words, as if they were perhaps to have been omitted entirely.

for *should* read *may*, and add comma before *and again*; p. 285, line 13, delete *down*; p. 285, line 36, for *fine ochre and* read *ochre or*; p. 285, line 41, for *taunny* read *orange*¹; p. 287, line 13, after *and* add *so*, and delete *as it were*; p. 287, line 19, for *And* read *For*; p. 289, lines 5–6, after *mix* delete *it with*; p. 289, line 20, add comma after *pepper*; p. 295, line 38, delete *doubly*; p. 297, footnote, line 3, delete comma after *heat*; p. 299, line 23, read *Likewise, yolks of egg, mixed with a ground-up*² *bean [and] lime, have*; p. 301, line 15, before *pouring* add *that is to say*; p. 301, line 16, delete *repeatedly*; p. 303, line 14, for *Iute* read *Lute*; p. 303, line 16, add square brackets around *the copper*, and delete brackets around *the lead*; p. 303, line 33, for *but only* read *in other words*; p. 307, line 15, for *beaten* read *prepared*.

In the legend of the plate (to face p. 282)³: for *fol. 1422* read *fol. 142v*.

¹ Translating *rufus* of the corresponding Latin.

² Or, as Mr. Johnson suggests, *shelled*. (Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. 'Fresa': "*Faba siliqua exuta*, Gall. *Fève fraisée . . .*," and 'Freza': ". . . *Fabas siliqua nudatas Fèves frésées uel dérobées uocamus*." For the translation given here cf. *ibid.* s.v. 'Frendere': ". . . *Frendere est Frangere, unde est faba Fressa, unde et dentibus dicimur Frendere . . .*" Cf. also *ibid.* s.v. 'Faba': "*Faba Fresa, Fève frésée, a faba et frasus, quod est fractus*. Glossar. Lat. Gall. ex Cod. reg. 7684: *Faba frach. Prov. fabe fresa, faba fracta*, in Gloss. Provinc. Lat. ex Cod. 9657. Cui opponitur *faba solida . . .*"

³ In certain copies of *Speculum*, Vol. I, No. 3, this plate was misplaced by the binder so that it appears facing p. 269.

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ERRATA IN "LE LECTIONNAIRE DE SAINT-PÈRE"

IN my recent article, "Le Lectionnaire de Saint-Père," (*Speculum*, I, 269–78) are a few errata to be noted and corrected: a plate illustrating *Sloane MS. No 1754*, fol. 142v, which in some copies of the issue faces p. 269, should be transferred to face p. 282; p. 269, n. 1, l. 1 for *Sciences* read *Inscriptions*; p. 270, l. 10 for *le dit* read *ledit*; p. 271, l. 16 for *famense* read *fameuse*; p. 272, n. 1, l. 3 for *reproduites* read *reproduits*; p. 273, l. 2 for *en* read *ne*; p. 274, n. 4 for *Senorenis* read *Senonensis*, n. 5 for *réédits* read *réédites*; p. 275, l. 6 for *passage* read *partage*, l. 9 for *sonner* read *donner*, l. 23 for *normands* read *Normands*; p. 276, l. 25 for *da* read *de*; p. 278, l. 4 for *raisommement* read *raisonnement*.

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REPORT ON THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

THE First Annual Meeting of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA was held on Saturday, April 24, 1926, in the building of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston. The courtesy of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences made possible a most auspicious and enjoyable inauguration of the active life of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY. The attendance was unexpectedly large, and representative not only of scholastic and cultural interests, but also of the wide distribution of the ACADEMY's membership.

After the formal and impressive announcement by the President of the inauguration of the ACADEMY, many letters of greeting from European Mediaevalists were read by the President, and placed on record. Thereafter, the Clerk read his report of the previous meetings of the Council, and this was followed by the report of the Treasurer, and those of the Managing Editor of *SPECULUM* and of the Editor of the bulletin, *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America*. The acts of the Council were largely formal and were concerned with ratifying the actions of the Executive Committee and such other matters as were necessary to bring the ACADEMY into actual operation. In addition to these routine matters, Mr John Marshall was appointed Executive Secretary (to assume his duties on October 1), and a vote of thanks was given Mr Nicholas Molodowsky for his invaluable services as temporary Executive Secretary. It was also voted that an allowance of One Hundred Dollars (the first pecuniary grant of the ACADEMY) should be made to Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B., at present engaged in an investigation of the script of the School of Autun, with the understanding that the ACADEMY reserves its first right to publication. The final action of the Council was the election of the first thirty Fellows. A large number of nominations had been submitted and, after balloting, the following were declared Fellows of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA:

PHILIP SCHUYLER ALLEN
CHARLES HENRY BEESON
CARLETON BROWN
JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN
GEORGE LINCOLN BURR
CHARLES UPSON CLARK
GEORGE RALEIGH COFFMAN
ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK
RALPH ADAMS CRAM

GORDON HALL GEROULD
CHARLES HALL GRANDGENT
NORMAN SCOTT BRIEN GRAS
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS
GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE
JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES
JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY
CHARLES RUFUS MOREY
DANA CARLTON MUNRO

NELLIE NEILSON	JOHN STRONG PERRY TATLOCK
LOUIS JOHN PAETOW	HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR
ARTHUR KINGSLEY PORTER	JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON
EDWARD KENNARD RAND	LYNN THORNDIKE
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON	JAMES FIELD WILLARD
Rt. Rev. THOMAS JOSEPH SHAHAN	KARL YOUNG

It is an interesting fact that the first twenty Fellows elected were identical with the first twenty names receiving the largest number of votes amongst the nominations submitted by members of the ACADEMY.

Subsequently, and by letter ballot, the following names were added to the list of Fellows:

ELIAS AVERY LOWE
GEORGE ARTHUR PLIMPTON
ROBERT KILBURN ROOT

The membership of the ACADEMY at that date was announced as 503, an unexpectedly large list of accessions.¹

The Treasurer's statement showed to date total receipts of \$19,582.01, expenditures of \$3,649.51, with a cash balance on hand of \$15,932.50.

In reporting on the publication of the first two numbers of *SPECTULUM*, Mr Magoun issued a word of warning against undue emphasis upon literature and language, and urged the inclusion of studies on mediaeval music, law, science, art, and education, together with a recognition of mediaeval Byzantine culture.

Mr Willard made a most interesting report upon the progress of mediaeval studies in America, giving an historical review of the actions that had led up to and culminated in the formation of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY.

It should be noted that the very existence of the ACADEMY was made possible through these earlier activities which had been initiated by Mr Willard.

The next business was a series of statements bearing on certain projects in mediaeval scholarship, that of Mediaeval Latin dictionaries by Messrs C. H. Beeson and J. F. Willard; on a dictionary of Old and Middle Irish by Mr F. P. Magoun, jr (for Mr F. N. Robinson); on bibliographical projects by Mr F. P. Magoun, jr; and on certain possibilities of research in mediaeval art by Mr A. K. Porter. All of these reports were notably stimulating and served to indicate a lacunae now existing in the field of mediaeval studies. All the projects noted are evidently those that should be undertaken by the ACADEMY as soon as the necessary funds are available.

¹ At the moment of going to press, the total membership is 821.

Mr Coffman then gave a general survey of the field, with further suggestions as to possible activities, noting particularly four manifest functions, namely, the publication of monographs, the granting of funds to scholars for the prosecution of their researches along different lines, acting as a sort of 'clearing house' for individuals or groups interested in mediaeval projects, and the bringing together in useful and scholastic coöperation of all those whose interests lie in the channels of Mediaevalism. He particularly urged the formation of a 'Committee on Projects,' whose function would be to survey the whole field, come in contact with scholars and students, analyze, classify, and evaluate projects or activities already initiated, and recommend to the Council those which need the support and which should receive the attention and coöperation of the ACADEMY.

After the formal announcement of the names of the Fellows, the meeting adjourned for a luncheon, held in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; this interlude gave not only an opportunity for physical refreshment, but also for the coming together of the members of the ACADEMY, many of whom had, until then, been strangers to each other.

The meeting reassembled at 2 P.M. The first business was the election of officers; but, since their names now appear inside the front cover of SPECULUM, they need not be repeated here.

Followed then the presidential address on "Mediaeval Gloom and Mediaeval Uniformity," a paper of infinite charm and wisdom.¹ The final paper was by the Clerk, and dealt with the relationship of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY to modern life, stressing particularly the fact that the New Mediaevalism was not to be considered wholly as a philological or archaeological industry, but rather as a vital element in the development of contemporary culture and civilization.

Respectfully submitted,

RALPH ADAMS CRAM,
Clerk.

¹ Published *Speculum* I (1926), 253 ff.

REVIEWS

PRESENT-DAY THINKERS AND THE NEW SCHOLASTICISM: An International Symposium.
Edited and augmented by John S. Zybura, Ph.D. St Louis and London: Herder, 1926.
Pp. xviii, 543.

THE New Scholasticism has shown itself, at least on the Continent, a vigorous and healthy movement, one which is daily gaining in the respect of its opponents. Such has not been the case in English-speaking countries, and the author of this book attempts to discover the reason why, by quizzing some of the leading thinkers of the United States and England on their attitude towards the New Scholasticism, their evaluation of it as a contemporary system, and their views as to whether a rapprochement is possible and near at hand between the New Scholasticism and the different currents of present-day philosophy.

Of the kindly spirit which prompted the surprisingly large number of replies received, there can be no question. Present-day philosophers in England and America do not seem to be prejudiced against Scholasticism either in its old or new forms. That they do not understand it, or have taken their conception of it from traditions current in the academic circles where they grew up, is admitted by practically all who replied to the questionnaire. However, all express a genuine willingness to be informed as to what the Neo-Scholastics think; and some even go so far as to take the latter severely to task for their unwillingness or inability to make the master ideas of their system better and more generally known.

The replies of Professors Hocking, Sheldon, Blake, Taylor, and Webb, and especially of Professor Longwell, reveal more than a passing acquaintance with Scholastic teachings and a freedom from that bias against them which has been all too prominent a characteristic of the thinking of some contemporary philosophers. Professor Taylor, in particular, exhibits a commendable spirit of broadmindedness when he writes: "The 'modern' has to learn that there really is no such thing as a breach of continuity in the history of philosophy. . . . Entire understanding can only come as the result of the conviction that each party has *something* worth saying to say, and that slap-dash criticism, made from either side without any real attempt to understand what the other means, is mere useless wrangling which breeds nothing but bad temper and self-complacency" (p. 71).

This reviewer was especially pleased to discover that at least one of our American philosophers, Professor Hocking, has not been taken in by the uncritical views of progress which are now almost universally held; views

which cannot but react against any sound appreciation of the past, as well as engender a species of intellectual self-sufficiency which is not only illogical but is tremendously irritating as well to persons possessing a profound historical sense. Professor Hocking writes: "Where philosophies of everlasting flux prevail there cannot but be impatience with an intellectual world in which well-ordered systems, to remain eternally valid, are striven for; but thinkers for the most part realize that permanence of truth and the growth of truth are not incompatible, any more than the identity of an individual is incompatible with his growth. When this truth is well understood, many of the difficulties between modernism and traditionalism, both in philosophy and in doctrine, will disappear" (p. 8).

The second section of the symposium is made up of articles by Neo-Scholastics who attempt to give—and in large measure succeed in so doing—the scholastic attitude towards the principal problems of modern philosophy. Particularly interesting for the student of mediaeval thought is the chapter on the "Nature and Problems of the New Scholasticism in the Light of History" by that well-known mediaevalist, Professor Grabmann of Munich. Chapters follow by Professors Geny of Rome, Switalski of Braunsberg, Maritain of Paris, Noël of Louvain, Olgiati of Milan, and by a number of other prominent Neo-Scholastics. The reader will find here something of the spirit of the New Scholasticism, as well as a good summary of its position on the vexing questions of present-day thought. One conclusion cannot but be drawn from a study of this section of the book, that those thinkers who still imagine that the New Scholasticism is essentially authoritarian, tied down to dogma, obscurantist, and backward looking, have little or no knowledge of the position defended by the Neo-Scholastics and less appreciation of the free spirit of inquiry which plays so prominent a part in all their speculations.

Dr Zybura concludes his interesting work with an objective analysis of the factors which led to the decline of mediaeval Scholasticism. He especially emphasizes the consequences of the new interpretation of man and of the cosmos which acme in with Descartes and his successors, a viewpoint which stressed the immanence of thought and the place of the subject in thinking, as against the transcendental and objective which were characteristic of the older philosophy, an orientation which had more than anything else to do with giving to modern thought its naturalistic and materialistic trend. That this reading of the philosophical revolution is not exact, and is itself due to a philosophical position which is assumed, not proved, the author brings out in his critical review of the philosophy of history which has held sway for so long in positivist circles. He feels that Scholasticism, if correctly presented, has something of great value to offer modern thought; that its metaphysics of being in no way contradicts

a scientific view of nature and of man; that the principles, methods, and achievements of the sciences during the last four centuries can be assimilated by the New Scholasticism; that, if the Scholasticism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries failed to appreciate correctly and assimilate thoroughly what was sound in the scientific and philosophical work of that period, there is no reason to assert that Scholasticism does not contain doctrines essential to a complete and true synoptic view of the universe, or that the New Scholasticism is incapable of bringing its position into harmony with modern thought and modern science.

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EDWARD H. SEHRT, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur altsächsischen Genesis*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1925. (*Hesperia*, Bd. 14.)¹

STUDENTS of Old Saxon have in lexicographical matters hitherto been obliged to rely almost entirely on their own collections and notes. The glossaries appended to editions of the *Heliand* and the *Genesis* by Behaghel, Braune, and Heyne were intended primarily to serve pedagogical purposes; Schmeller's *Glossarium Saxonicum* is antiquated and not always available; Wadstein's glossary of the minor Old-Saxon monuments and Gallée's *Vorstudien zu einem altniederdeutschen Wörterbuche* are incomplete. So the answer to most questions, lexicographical or grammatical, could be found only after long and wearisome search in the sources and special treatises.

This want of a complete index to the two principal Old-Saxon monuments has now been definitely supplied by Sehrt's dictionary. Here at last we may find not only every occurrence of every form in the *Heliand* and the *Genesis* but also the variants of the MSS arranged in clear and simple fashion. Under each article Sehrt gives first all accepted etymologies with references to Falk and Torp and for the Old-High-German cognates to Graff. The latter will be antiquated upon the appearance of the Old-High-German dictionary now being prepared by the *Deutsche Akademie* in Munich. And it is no less unfortunate that Holthausen's *Altfrisisches Wörterbuch*, which lists some twelve hundred more Old-Frisian words than Richthofen's dictionary, was published after Sehrt's book had already gone to press. However, the addenda, which may be necessary after a comparison with these two works, will not be very numerous.

The student will be particularly grateful for the complete references to the pages of Behaghel's *Syntax des Heliand* which, unindexed and pedan-

¹ See also reviews in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, CLXXXVIII (1925), 94-96; *Literarische Wochenschrift* (1926), 484; *Neophilologus*, XI (1926), 230-231; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLI (1926), 204-205.

tically arranged, needs almost to be memorized before it can be readily used. Equally useful are the special bibliographies in the footnotes.

Following the method first adopted by Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Sehrt records the various meanings of a word in the order of their semantic development, illustrating each by copious citations. The detailed line references which close each article are then grouped under numerals that refer to the corresponding divisions in the semantic section of the article. In the case of frequent words, like the personal pronouns and the definite article, completeness means pages upon pages of numbers. The article 'he' fills twenty-one columns, but the arrangement is so simple that any desired form may be found with little loss of time. The use of the dictionary might have been still further facilitated if the columns had been provided with sub-headings in the case of the long articles, or if each case or verbal form had been more clearly set off from its neighbors. Still, strategic underlining with a blue pencil will serve to break the more or less solid pages and will assist the eye.

For such a detailed work — there are about half a million entries — the misprints and omissions are few in number and they would have been fewer still had not the printing been done at several different shops, making proof-reading unnecessarily complicated. To those in the "Nachträge und Berichtigungen" the reviewer wishes to add the following:

Page 5b, l. 25, for 3968 read 3918; p. 8b, l. 6 from bottom, for 638 cf. Behaghel, *Syntax*, p. 85; p. 9b, ll. 12–13, here and elsewhere throughout the book the sign > should be reversed; p. 47b, l. 13, after *aus* add *a*); p. 53b, l. 5, before 134 add *gibod* (*gibud**); p. 67b, l. 9 from bottom add *Gen.* 92, 296; p. 67b, l. 6 from bottom, under 4a add *Gen.* 129, 327; p. 91a, l. 15 beginning, add 1; p. 92b, l. 10, add 3813 before 3849; p. 125b, l. 13, after *stv.* add 1; p. 128b, under *ferkal* add: (<lat. *veruculum*, frz. *verrou*. Vgl. Sehrt, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XL (1925), 62); p. 131b, l. 9 from bottom, for *findan* read *finden*; p. 173b, l. 4 from bottom, after *stv.* add 1; p. 182a, l. 14, for *sulie* read *sulic*; p. 192a, l. 20, for ahd. *gi-swere* read *gi-swerc*; p. 207b, l. 25, for 806 read 805; p. 257b, l. 17, add *huilum fan himile hêto skñit thiū berahto sunna*, *Gen.* 19, and l. 18, add *hêto*, *Gen.* 19; p. 263a, l. 4, for *uere* read *uerc*; p. 264b, l. 23, for 730 cf. *Synt.* § 313; p. 271a, l. 9, for *sprácum* read *sprácun*; p. 286a, l. 16 from bottom, after *stv.* add 1; p. 323a, l. 20, for *le* read *te*; p. 327a, l. 9 from bottom, add *aledien* (*alethian**) 1232; p. 328b, l. 16, after bracket, add 1; p. 333b, l. 19, after *vollbringen* add *a*; p. 341b, l. 19, for *leob* read *leob*; p. 348b, l. 2, for *lido* read *lidio*; p. 355b, l. 9 from bottom, for *mahlidun* read *mahlidin*; p. 356a, l. 8, at beginning, add 1; p. 358b, l. 3 from bottom, for § 480, *Anm.* 5, read § 480.5; p. 365a, l. 18, for 4 read 2; p. 391b, l. 16, delete 1; p. 424a, l. 7, add *aðar siðe* *Gen.* 211, which should appear here as well as

under *stð stm.*; p. 432a, l. 8 from bottom, for *negēnum* read *negēnun*; p. 433, Note 6, read *Gallée*; p. 443a, l. 5, for *sacruualdond* read *sacruualdand*; p. 488a, l. 8, before 873, add 798, 813; p. 520a, l. 16, for *Gen. 49* read *Gen. 40*; p. 537b, l. 10 from bottom, before 516, add 428; p. 541b, l. 23, for *érine* read *érine*; p. 563a, l. 10 from bottom, for *c* read *b*; p. 570a, l. 17 from bottom, before A, add I.; p. 590a, l. 14 from bottom, for *thia** read *tha**; p. 593a, l. 4, read *in Verbindung mit*; p. 596b, l. 7, for *mið* read *mid*; p. 720b, after l. 21, add *acc. sg. fem. uureda (uuretha*)* 1132; p. 722b, l. 11, for *uuágnun* read *uuápnun*.

In the *Heliland*, v. 556, the phrase *an fôðiu* which epically varies *an ganga* can scarcely be taken in the sense *zu Fuss*. The phrase occurs only here and in v. 2959. In the former passage the Magi were certainly not travelling on foot; and in the latter, *endi sie an fâði samad bêdea gengun, antat sie ôbar bord skipes stôpun fan themu strôme* is to be translated: "and they [Christ and Peter] both went on their way until they stepped on board ship from the water." Moreover, the parallelism with *an ganga* in verse 556 supports the view that *an fôði* or *fôðiu* means 'on one's way.' Any remaining doubt is removed by the third and last occurrence of *fâði*, *Hel. 2921*. Here we might, though it is not necessary, translate 'on foot,' since the disciples were surprised to see the Lord walking dryshod over the lake. But the dative plural, which is used here, perhaps marks a difference from the singular of the other passages. The OE. *on fêðe* (e.g., *Béow. 970*), cognate with the phrase under discussion, does not mean 'on foot' but 'in movement' 'a-going.'

On p. 131b the verb *antfand*, as it is used in *Hel. 1127*, really belongs under heading 2. John the Baptist was already by the Jordan and beheld Christ approaching; John did not find Christ by the river. The following line shows how the verb should here be taken: *endi them holiðun sagda, Johannes is iungurun, thô he ina gangan gesah*. This verb has then only the meaning 'bemerken,' 'wahrnehmen.'

In the case of the compounds of *friðu-* the uniform translation *Friedens-*, customary in the glossaries and adopted by Sehrt, is not appropriate in every instance. The sense of security is associated with it in some compounds. This is particularly true in *friðuwâra, Hel. 483*, *friðuwih, Hel. 513* (the temple as a sanctuary) and *friðubarn* as often applied to Christ. To the ancient Saxons Jesus must have appealed rather as a protector than a bringer of peace. Thus *friðubarn* would be better rendered 'Schutzkind.'

The adjective *kraftag* could well have been glossed also as 'crafty.' Sehrt does indeed translate it as *verschlagen* in *Hel. 4469*. But in *Hel. 1030* and 4657 the sense is again 'listig' rather than 'böse.' The numerous examples could easily have been arranged to illustrate the semantic development: 'mighty,' 'skilful,' 'cunning,' 'evil.'

For *kūðlīko* (*Hel.* 857, 4123, 5920), a more suitable translation would have been 'öffentlich,' 'vor aller Welt.'

The adjective *lungar*, frequent enough in OE. as *lungre*, 'quickly,' seems to have been rare in Middle and High German territory and none too well understood. In OHG. it occurs twice in the glosses of the eighth and ninth centuries, once for *strenuus* and once for *expeditus*. In two of the four OS. instances of *lungar* the spelling is corrupt. In the two cases where M is concerned we have *i* in place of *l*; P glosses *lungras* by *gitalas*. Only C, which according to Priebisch was written in England, has the word correct in all four passages. This would seem to indicate that the expression was becoming archaic on the Continent, though, to be sure, it occurs in MHG., in South German poets and dialectically in the Tyrol to this day (v. *DWB. s. vv. lunge, lungern* and *Lexer*). However this may be, the meaning is perfectly clear and that is not *kräftig, stark*, but *schnell*. This applies in all four of the *Heliand* passages; indeed with reference to the Dove of the Baptism, any other would be out of place. Only in verse 5298 could there be any doubt. So it would be best to discard the traditional rendering and substitute one in accord with the meaning of the word in OE. and the dialects where it survives to a time much later than the *Heliand*.

In *Hel.* 5191 *Sehrt* interprets *rīki* as *Land, Reich*. Though there are instances where it is all but impossible to decide whether *Volk* or *Reich* is intended, the context in this passage makes it certain that *Volk* is the proper meaning. Christ is here speaking of himself in his rôle as *Gefolghsherr*.

In *Hel.* 1045 *sacun* should, despite the Latin source, be taken in the sense of 'sin' and not 'case in court,' principally because of the parallel *sundiun* in v. 1048. Satan wished to bring about the fall of the Son of Man by means of the same sin (*sacun*) which once brought down Adam.

When used with *willeo*, *gistandan* would be more appropriately translated in *Erfüllung gehen*.

Etymologically it is more satisfactory to gloss *sunnia* as *Zustand* than as *Not, Krankheit*. In the one passage where it occurs (v. 2305) in reference to the paralytic, this condition chances to be one of distress.

Continued use of *Sehrt's* dictionary will no doubt discover other instances where one may disagree with him; but conservatism is always an admirable quality in a lexicographical work. Professor *Sehrt* deserves the hearty thanks of all Germanic scholars for his labors in giving us a book which is not likely to be superseded.

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ALBERT S. COOK and CHAUNCEY B. TINKER, *Select Translations from Old English Poetry*. Revised ed., Boston: Ginn and Co., [1926]. \$1.48.

ALMOST a quarter of a century has elapsed since Cook and Tinker's famous little anthology of OE. verse in modern English translation was first issued, and since 1902, when it originally appeared, it has rightly earned for itself a host of friends from college Freshmen to grown-ups who wish, through independent study, to broaden their knowledge of our early literature.

The main body of the text (and conveniently, too, the pagination) remains unaltered, but the introductory notes and bibliographical material (valuable features of this work) have been brought well up to date. It is inevitable that Professor Cook's name should appear often; for his contributions to the advance of knowledge in almost every phase of OE. literature and culture have been considerable and distinguished. The best critical editions are regularly cited and many significant recent monographs; yet the reviewer cannot refrain from pointing out a few additional titles which in his opinion would have been of interest and value to the very readers for whom the anthology is designed.

R. W. Chambers's *Beowulf: An Introduction* (Cambridge: University Press, 1921) belongs, if anything does, on p. 9 in the introduction to "Selections from Beowulf," nor is any bibliography of the *Deor* complete without reference to Mr Bruce Dickens's *Runic and Heroic Poems* (Cambridge University Press, 1915, pp. 70 ff.) with its text, translation, and useful commentary. For Cædmon's *Hymm* (pp. 76 ff.), the selections from the so-called Cædmonian poems (pp. 104 ff., 117 ff.), and the Cædmon Legend (pp. 180 ff.) one misses mention of Mr C. W. Kennedy's admirable book, *The Cædmon Poems* (London: Routledge, 1916). A significant interpretation of the symbolism of the *Dream of the Rood* by Mr H. R. Patch ("Liturgical Influence in the 'Dream of the Rood,'" *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXXIV (1919), 233 ff.) is lacking; also the impressive fifth volume of Mr G. Baldwin Brown's *Arts in Early England* (Vol. V, London: Murray, 1921), devoted in a large measure to the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses: these works might have been cited on pp. 93 and 100 respectively. In discussing the interesting literary question as whether or not Milton knew the so-called *Genesis A* and *Genesis B*, reference to Fr. Dr S. von Gajšek's *Milton und Cædmon* (Wiener Beiträge, Vol. XXXV, 1911) would have been in place. C. W. Kennedy's *Poems of Cynewulf* (London: Routledge, 1910) is cited on p. 139; it would appear advantageously in the notes to other Cynewulfian pieces. Although Mr Grendon's important article is included in the introduction to the *Charms* (p. 164), one regrets that Cockayne's *Leechdoms* could not have been retained — so famous and useful a work, and in so famous a series.

The general bibliography (pp. 172-73) has been radically revised; yet H. M. Kennedy's unsatisfactory translation of the first edition of ten Brink's *Geschichte der englischen literatur* has the air of usurping a place better given to Professor Brandl's revised edition (Vol. I, Strassburg, 1899; see Vorwort, pp. x-xi for Brandl on Kennedy). Mr Tinker's excellent monograph (1903) on translations of the *Beowulf* should in the nature of things be supplemented by specific reference to Klaeber's *Beowulf*, pp. cxxvi-cxxix. There are two works which should somehow find a place in the text or the bibliography, for both are easily procured and are in their respective ways of *general* interest: A. R. Benham's source-book, *English Literature from Widsith to the Death of Chaucer* (Yale University Press, 1916) and H. M. Chadwick's stimulating and suggestive study, *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge: University Press, 1912).

Finally, when the time comes for a third edition, cannot space be found or made for the Finnsburg Fragment, the Sigemund-Fitela episode from the *Béowulf* (with its far-flung associations), and some account of the Franks (or Clermont) Casket which either here or in Professor Cook's companion volume of Old-English prose merits inclusion for so many reasons?

It is a pleasure to renew the acquaintance of an old friend and to commend it heartily in its new garb to all readers of mediaeval literature who have not the opportunity to master our native tongue in its first youth. May we not hope soon to see the companion volume, *Select Translations from Old English Prose* (Boston, 1908), refurbished in a like manner.

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The Book of Troilus and Criseyde by Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited from all the known manuscripts by Robert Kilburn Root. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1926. Pp. xc, 573. \$6.

PROFESSOR ROOT'S edition of the *Troilus* fulfills the high expectations aroused by his preliminary labors in the field. His exhaustive study of the manuscripts, continuing and completing the investigations of Sir William McCormick, laid the foundation for all later work on the text. His articles on date, sources, and related matters considerably advanced the knowledge of these subjects, and now in his edition he has not only turned to account the results of his own researches, but has also canvassed very fully the large body of learned 'literature' that has grown up about the poem. He has produced an edition that may in a sense be called definitive. At all events the main work of establishing a text will not have to be done over again. Mr Root has scrupulously collected and recorded readings of the manu-

scripts, and has constructed a good, trustworthy text by a sound and defensible method. In the choice of individual readings no editor's decision will be always unassailable, and in the matter of method Mr Root's procedure is at some points open to criticism. But the received text of the *Troilus* in the future is not likely to differ materially from that now printed in his edition. And his critics and successors, whatever improvement they may here and there succeed in making, will always be indebted for the evidence with which they work to the great body of textual materials assembled and classified by him. With respect to the date and literary relations of the *Troilus*, and concerning the whole intellectual and social background of the poem, it is to be expected and hoped that new information will be steadily gathered. No book can long remain abreast of the swiftly advancing knowledge of Chaucer; but Mr Root's statements are so well supported by facts and guided in general by such good judgment, that very little of his account of the poem seems likely to be discredited by future investigation. For many years his volume will stand as a notable landmark in the progress of Chaucerian scholarship.

The introduction deals with such subjects as the date and sources of the poem, the history of the *Troilus* story, and the modifications the materials underwent in the hands of Chaucer. These matters are treated with a lucidity and fullness which will be particularly welcome to readers to whom the mediaeval versions of the story of Troy are unfamiliar and not easily accessible. Mr Root's discussion is always interesting and reflects a sympathetic understanding of the Middle Ages. He is also to be commended for the moderation with which, both in the introduction and throughout the work, he usually states opinions on matters of real uncertainty. Thus he holds the balance true in weighing the opposed arguments of Professors Young and Cummings on Chaucer's use of the *Filocolo*, though he would have done well to record more fully, in either the introduction or the notes, the scattered parallels that have been pointed out between the *Troilus* and that prose work of Boccaccio.

Mr Root's text itself, as already remarked, is an example of thoroughly competent editing. There is, however, room for difference of opinion about some points in his procedure. This is not the place for a detailed list of disputed or disputable readings, but mention may be made of two debatable questions of method.

The first relates to the treatment of the so-called β -group of manuscripts. Opinions have varied, as all Chaucerians are aware, with respect to the poet's revision, or revisions, of the *Troilus*. Some scholars have held that Chaucer made three distinct versions of the poem, others that he made only two versions, that is to say, a single revision. Professor Brusendorff, in his recent book on *The Chaucer Tradition* (pp. 166 ff.),

questions whether any version earlier than the completed form was actually published, in the mediaeval sense of the word. But, however one may account for the existing forms of the text, it is generally agreed that many of the variant readings are not merely scribal, but represent corrections or changes made by the poet himself. The exact relations of the manuscripts are described by Mr Root in his work, *The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's Troilus*. They are there divided into three main groups, with considerable allowance for contamination or crossing of types. Group α has a version which often shows readings closer than those of β or γ to the Italian original. This is generally granted to represent the earliest stage of the text. Groups β and γ agree for the most part and present a revised version of the poem. Their common variations from type α are recognized as due to Chaucer. Some of the best manuscripts belong to type γ , and one of these (MS. 61, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) is taken by Mr Root as the basis of his text. But he does not adhere to version γ . There are a limited number of variants, chiefly in Book iii, peculiar to the β -manuscripts, which he takes to represent a third stage of the text, Chaucer's final revision, and he has accordingly incorporated these corrections in his edition. Most of the passages in question are collected and discussed in Mr Root's *Textual Tradition* at pp. 157 ff. and pp. 222 ff. Now the present reviewer has never been convinced that the β -variants have the authority which Mr Root ascribes to them. Many of them are of trifling importance or not obviously superior to the readings of γ . Some of them resemble the changes made by the 'emendacious' scribe of MS. Harleian 7334 of the *Canterbury Tales*. A very few are really tempting, and these must be considered on their merits. They may of course represent Chaucer's final intentions, changes made in his manuscript after the γ -archetype was copied, or made earlier and overlooked by the scribe of that archetype. But a definite preference is necessary to justify an editor in departing from the excellent γ -manuscripts, and there is no sufficient evidence of an extensive second revision, or third state, of the text. It is especially hard to ascribe final authority to the β -group in view of its admitted inferiority in Book ii — an inferiority which drives Mr Root to rather desperate explanations (see *The Textual Tradition*, pp. 126–8). The reviewer has, as a matter of fact, adhered almost exclusively to version γ in editing the *Troilus* for the Cambridge Chaucer, now nearly completed, and he is glad to have his choice of the Corpus Manuscript as the basis of the text confirmed by the judgment of Mr Root. It should be added that in the poem as a whole the differences between Mr Root's text, thus corrected by β , and the γ -version — purged, of course, of its errors — are inconsiderable.

The reviewer would also approve, and has followed, a somewhat different procedure from Mr Root's in the matter of orthography. It is hardly possible, as Mr Root rightly maintains, to get behind the practice of the scribes and restore or reconstruct an authoritative Chaucerian spelling. Consequently, in the case of works preserved in such good copies as the Ellesmere manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales* or the Corpus and Campsall texts of the *Troilus*, an editor's best course is to follow the spellings of the scribe. This has been, with minor variations, the tendency in recent editions. Skeat corrected occasional strange forms, and tried to normalize the spelling of the scribes, particularly in the matter of doubling long vowels in closed syllables (*good*, *keep*) and of writing them singly in open syllables (*gode*, *kepe*). But his text on the whole represents the practice of the scribes, made somewhat more regular than in fact it was. Mr Pollard, in the Globe edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, adhered more closely than Skeat to the Ellesmere spellings, and Mr Root has adopted a similar course with his Corpus text. This procedure is to be preferred, on the whole, to Skeat's half-way normalization. When an editor once begins to regularize the spelling, there is no good place to stop short of a completely consistent or even an approximately phonetic system. But both Mr Pollard and Mr Root have gone so far as to retain ungrammatical final *e*'s, which is an excess of conservatism. In forms like *fisshe*, nom. sg. (iii, 10), *frende*, acc. sg. (i, 680), *dede*, adj. nom. sg. (ii, 442), *brede*, acc. sg. (ii, 444), *bicome*, str. pret. 3 sg. (i, 1079), *shope*, str. pret. 3 sg. (ii, 61), *tolde*, wk. ptc. sg. (ii, 135), and *kepe*, sbst. acc. sg. (iii, 1396) the final vowels are not grammatically justifiable. They are purely scribal, and not in accord with the scribe's own best practice. Some of them might be defended as early examples of the modern device of adding a final *e* to indicate the length of a stem vowel, as *hate* and *white* are distinguished from *hat* and *whit*, but this convention was not established in the Chaucer manuscripts, and the occasional use of it merely causes confusion. Surely normalization is here desirable in the interest of a correct representation of Chaucer's language. But scores of such unjustifiable *e*'s have been preserved in Mr Root's text. Most of them are obviously unpronounced and consequently will mislead nobody as to the reading of the lines. But in one case at least (i, 722) an incorrect form, *worde* (acc. sg.), has been unwarrantably used to mend the metre.

Another instance, of a different sort, of an ill-advised choice of a spelling is found in iii, 1595. There the Corpus copy, with plenty of support, reads *blesse*, in the sense of 'bless.' But Mr Root adopts the Campsall and Harleian reading, *blisse*. This spelling is, of course, possible enough in itself, for the two words *blisse* and *blesse* were hopelessly confused in Middle English; but the rime with *destresse* proves that Chaucer used the form

with *e*, and an editor ought to print it, even if it were against the testimony of all the manuscripts.

One of Mr Root's chief services to his fellow-Chaucerians is in the compilation of the copious notes which fill the last hundred and fifty pages of his volume. Skeat's annotation of the *Troilus* in the Oxford Chaucer was rather meagre, in comparison with his notes on the *Canterbury Tales* and the minor poems. Much new information, too, has been brought to light since Skeat's edition, especially in monographs and articles of Professors Hamilton, Kittredge, Lowes, Young, and the editor himself. So Mr Root, in making a critical digest of all this learning, has produced what is really the first adequate commentary on the *Troilus*, and the reviewer, who in the past few years has been canvassing the same material for the Cambridge Chaucer, is glad of the opportunity to acknowledge in advance, as it were, his obligation to Mr Root's compilation. Anybody who has undertaken to collect the widely scattered information on the sources and exegesis of Chaucer's text, and to reduce it all to the limits of editorial notes, will realize the difficulties of selection and the impossibility of avoiding oversights and omissions. Mr Root's survey of the field has been careful and very nearly complete. It is with a full appreciation of the difficulty of the editor's task that the reviewer suggests here in conclusion a few additions or corrections. There is neither time nor space for a detailed examination of the whole commentary.

It is hard for an editor to decide how far to go beyond the necessary interpretation of the text, and how much to introduce of more general comment and illustration. But in the notes to the Proem of Book i, Mr Root might well have shown more fully the mixture of Christian theology with the doctrines of romantic love — "the mediaeval convention," as he calls it later (p. 443), "which treats of courtly love in the terms of the Christian religion." He points out the resemblance of stanzas 5, 6, and 7 to the form of a 'bidding prayer.' And one may note further the adaptation in line 15 of the papal title, *seruus seruorum Dei*, and in line 42 the allusion to the sin of 'wanhope,' or despair of God's mercy, on which Mr Root comments later when it is mentioned in ii, 530.

Here and there Mr Root seems to have overlooked the sources of passages or parallels significant enough to be noted. The figure of the *herles line* in i, 1068, is surely derived from the *Poetria Nova* of Geoffroi de Vinsauf, as was pointed out by Professor Kittredge in *Mod. Phil.* VII, 481 (see also H. B. Hinckley, *ibid.*, XVI, 39). The striking couplet (i, 713-4),

That certainly no more harde grace
May sitte on me, for why ther is no space,

which is credited to Ovid in MS. R, doubtless comes from the *Ex Ponto*

ii, 7, 41, as Mr Kittredge was also the first to observe. Ovid's expression is very similar to Chaucer's.

Sic ego continuo fortunae uulneror ictu,
Uixque habet in nobis iam noua plaga locum.

The note to iv, 176, might well mention Mr Hamilton's suggestion of the indebtedness of Hector's speech and the ensuing popular outcry to Benoit (*Roman de Troie*, vv. 12967 ff.) and Guido (*Historia*, Strassburg, 1486, sig. i, 1 verso, coll. 1-2). And to the parallels cited from Dante and Boccaccio for iii, 4-5,

Plesaunce of love, o goodly debonaire,
In gentil hertes ay redy to repaire,

might well be added Guido Guinizelli's line,

Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore.

The language is closer to Chaucer's than is that of either Dante or Boccaccio, and if Chaucer did not know Guido's whole canzone (as is likely enough), he may have read this first line in Dante's *Convivio* iv, 20. Again, in the note to v, 817, mention should at least be made of the parallel passage in the *Paradiso* xviii, 21, pointed out by Professor Cook in the *Rom. Rev.*, VIII, 226.

In a number of notes fuller information or discussion would have been welcome. Thus the use of *for* in constructions like *for pure ashamed* (ii, 656) was less uncommon than the note implies, and was familiar with adjectives as well as participles. The idiom is discussed and illustrated by Mr Kittredge in the [Harvard] *Studies and Notes* I, 16-17. In ii, 1108, Mr Root prints *to-laugh* (perhaps correctly) as the preterite singular of a compound verb, but he ought to have noted Professor Kenyon's argument (*The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer*, pp. 80 ff.) for printing *to laughe* and interpreting it as a causal infinitive. In ii, 615, Mr Root wisely keeps the reading *gatis* in preference to the ill-supported variant *latis*. But he is needlessly troubled by the phrase *cast up*, which, as Mr Kittredge has shown, can mean simply 'open.' (See *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 480.)

Near the end of the poem (v, 1857) Mr. Root has followed Skeat in what is pretty clearly an error in punctuation and interpretation. Surely Gower and Strode are both addressed in the second person:

To the, moral Gower, and the, philosophical Stoodde,
as appears by the following plural,

Of youre benignites and zeles goode.

Finally, lest anyone should suppose that all the cruxes in the *Troilus* have been satisfactorily explained, it may be noted in conclusion that Mr Root has handed on unsolved to his successors the problems of *here and howne* (iv, 210) and *kankedort* (ii, 1752). The reviewer, on receiving the book, turned first to the notes on these passages in the hope of enlightenment, and found none. And he is still without a suggestion to offer.

F. N. ROBINSON,
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ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

UNDER this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

T. E. AMERINGER, *The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyrical Sermons of St John Chrysostom*, Washington: Catholic University, 1921.

J. BRECK, *The Cloisters*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926.

G. FRANK, ed., *Rutebeuf, le Miracle de Théophile* (Classiques Franç. du Moyen Age), Paris: Champion, 1925.

F. L. GANSHOF, *Étude sur les ministeriales en Flandre et en Lotharingie* (Mémoire couronné par l'Académie Royale de Belgique), Brussels: Lamertin, 1926. Review in preparation.

A. H. GILBERT, *Dante's Conception of Justice*, Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1925. Review in preparation.

M. GRABMANN, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben: Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*, Munich: Hueber, 1926. Review in preparation.

P. HAGEN, tr., *Mahungen zur Innerlichkeit: Eine Urschrift des Buchs von der Nachfolge Christi*, Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 1926.

H. C. LAWLOR, *The Monastery of Saint Mochaio of Nendrum*, Belfast: Natural History and Philosophical Society, 1925.

H. E. MIEROW, *The Roman Provincial Governor as He Appears in the Digest and the Justinian Code* (Colorado Coll. Publ. Lang. Ser. III, No. 1), Colorado Springs, Col. July, 1926.

C. W. PIERTÉ-ORTON, Z. N. BROOKE, ed., *The Cambridge Medieval History* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), Vol. V. Review in preparation.

H. PIRENNE, *Medieval Cities* (F. D. Halsey, tr.), Princeton: University Press, 1925.

H. L. SAVAGE, ed., *St Erkenwald* (Yale Studies in English, No. LXXII), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926. Review in preparation.

E. N. STONE, tr., *Adam: A Religious Play of the Twelfth Century* (Univ. of Wash. Publ., IV, 2, pp. 156-193), Seattle: Univ. of Wash. Press, 1926. Review in preparation.

L. THORNDIKE, *Short History of Civilization*, New York: F. S. Crofts, 1926. Review in preparation.

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